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The Word and the Fire

A Critical Biography of George Joye

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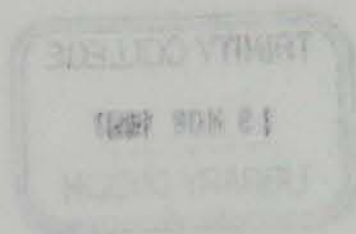
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The Word and the Fire

A Critical Biography of George Joye



Orlaith Aisling O'Sullivan
Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

Trinity College, University of Dublin
School of English
June 1997

The Word and the Fire

A Critical Biography of George Joyce



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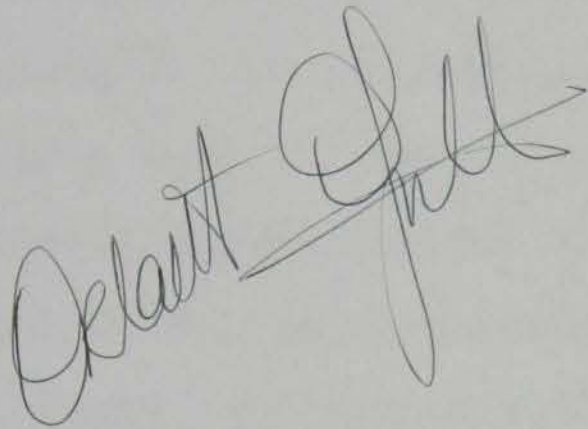
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June 1997

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university.

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A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert J. Hill". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned diagonally across the page.

Summary

The aims of this work were to document as fully as possible the life of the reformer George Joye, and to provide an historical and a theological context for his writings. Perspectives on the English Reformation have changed greatly in recent years, and the notion that the break from Rome was a natural, inevitable, and welcomed progression has been strongly challenged. Writing about the first half of the sixteenth century is inherently problematic: the first historians to document the period were staunch Protestants, and their ingrained bias has had an indelible effect on Reformation scholarship. The work counteracting this focuses upon the dissatisfaction of the laity with the religious innovation, and the monetary and political motives underlying the reformist legislation. With both factions, there is a danger of limiting perspectives: to presume that the Reformation was a 'good' movement ignores the vast majority of the people whom it affected; but conversely in decrying its faults the real gain of the period - an English Bible - is devalued.

This thesis does not pretend to solve this problem, but I have tried to include in it the views of both sides, and the differing opinions within the individual parties, which were by no means monolithic. This oscillating perspective derives in part from the events of Joye's life: he was condemned by reformers and conservatives alike. In order to maintain this approach, it was easier to sidestep much of the historical criticism, and return to the original sources, in which the desire to propagandise is at least communicated openly.

What I hope this thesis shows is that George Joye's contribution to the English Reformation and to the Bible in English has been chronically undervalued. I have also suggested a reason for this neglect, which lies ultimately in the hands of the writer John Foxe. Joye's biblical translations and his polemical works helped to establish a Protestant liturgy, and were a vital part of the ongoing religious debate. If successful in its goal, this work will encourage other scholars to begin to address the lack in Reformation scholarship.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the librarians here at Trinity College (especially in Early Printed Books), at the University Library, Cambridge, the British Library, London, and Lambeth Palace for their help. For their generosity which enabled me to carry out crucial research abroad, I would like to thank the Trinity Trust Travel Grant Award Scheme, Dean Sevastopulo, Bernadette Carroll and the staff of Graduate Studies, Prof. Nicholas Grene and the School of English, Guido Latre of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and Francine de Nave of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. Many thanks to David Daniell and Eilean Ni Chuilleanain for their insightful comments and helpful critiques. Finally, a special thanks to Colin Wilcockson of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for his support and encouragement.

If I start naming people now, this will be longer than the Ph.D., so instead I would like to offer my humblest, most sincere thanks to all of the people who have seen this work through: my family and my friends (you know who you are). Having said that, there are two people without whom this undertaking would not have been even attempted: my mother Pauline O'Sullivan, who gave three years of silent, selfless, behind-the-scenes support, and John Scattergood, who has not only been an immaculate supervisor and a good friend, but has also provided the ultimate model of a moral, intelligent, academic scholar. I live in hope of osmosis.

Abbreviations

For abbreviations of texts cited, see overleaf

BHR	<i>The Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.</i>
C.U.P.	Cambridge University Press
EETS	Early English Text Society
HLQ	<i>The Huntington Library Quarterly.</i>
JEH	<i>The Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</i>
KJB	The King James Bible, 1611 (Authorised Version)
MED	<i>The Middle English Dictionary</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press
Y.U.P.	Yale University Press

Texts Cited with their Abbreviations

- A&M* G. Townsend and S.R. Cattley (eds.), *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols. (1837-41).
- Calendar of State Papers* Robert Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth 1547-1580*, (Longman & Co., London 1856).
- G. Constantine, Memorial* Thomas Amyot (ed.), 'Transcript of an original manuscript, containing a Memorial from George Constantyne to Thomas Lord Cromwell', *Archæologia*, vol. 23 (London, 1831), pp. 50-78.
- R. Crowley, Select Works* J.M. Cowper (ed.), 'The Select Works of Robert Crowley', *EETS*, extra series, no. 15 (1872).
- EBC* Frank E. Gæbelein, (gen. ed.), *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, 12 vols. (Michigan 1990).
- George Joye* C. Butterworth & A.G. Chester, *George Joye: 1495? - 1553 A Chapter in the History of the English Bible and the English Reformation*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1962).
- L&P* J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdnew, and R.H. Brodie (eds.) *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, (1862-1910).
- More, Complete Works* Thomas More, *The Yale Edition of the Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols. (New Haven & London: Y.U.P., 1969).
- J.F. Mozley, Tyndale* J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937).
- RSTC* *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, (1976-86), 2nd edn., revised and enlarged.
- VCH: Bedford* *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Bedfordshire*, 3 vols. (1904-12).

Abbreviations of George Joye's works

- Apologye** *An Apologye made by George Joye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale (1535)*
- Ashwell** *The letters which Johan Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne in the years of our lorde M.D. xxvii.. (1531)*
- Compendyouse Somme** *A Compendyouse somme of the very christen relygyon (1535)*
- Confuteth** *George Joye confuteth/ Winchester's false Articles (1543)*
- Coniectures** *The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, translated by George Joye (1548)*
- Contrarye** *A contrarye (to a certayne manis) consultacion: That adulterers ought to be punyshed wyth deathe. Wyth the solucions of his argumentes for the contrarye. Made by George Joye. (1550?)*
- Daniel** *The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete gathered oute of Philip Melanchton/ Johan Ecolampadius/ Chonrade Pellicane & out of Johan Draconite &c. By George Joye (1545)*
- Defence** *The defence of the Mariage of Preistes: Agenst Steuen Gardiner bisshop of Wynchester... (1541)*
- Frutefull** *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper (1541)*
- Isaye** *The Prophete Isaye/ translated into englysshe/ by George Joye (1531)*
- Jeremy** *Jeremy the Prophete/ translated into Englisshe: by George Joye (1534)*
- Ortulus** *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers (the which a certaine printer lately corrupted/ & made false to the grete sclaunder of thauthor & greter desayte of as many as boughte and red them) newe corrected and augmented. (1530)*
- Present Consolacion** *A present consolacion for the sufferers of persecucion for ryghtwysenes (1544)*
- Refutation** *The Refutation of the byshop of Winchester's derke declaration of his false articles, once before confuted by George Joye (1546)*

Rekening *The Rekening and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik zwingly (1543)*

Subuersion *The Subuersion of Moris false foundation: where upon he sweteth to set faste and shoue under his shameles shoris/ to underproppe the popis chirche: Made by George Joye. (1534)*

Supper *The supper of the lorde (1533)*

Unite and Scisme *The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche (1543)*

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Chapter 1

I wold fain be a clarke,
 But yet it is a strange werke:
 The birchen twigges be so sharpe,
 It maketh me have a faint herte.¹

The scarcity of substantial detail relating to the early life of George Joye renders necessary a certain amount of speculation and hypothesis in any biographical account of the English reformer. In *The History of the Worthies of England*, Thomas Fuller included Joye among the 'worthies' of Bedfordshire, with the remark that Joye 'was born in this county, though the exact place be not expressed.'² Since 1662 the scholarship has made little progress. Up to this point, the completed research resulted in one reliable fact - that George Joye was a Bedfordshire man, 'de Rownhall'. However, on closer examination, the records of Joye's home county reveal his network of relatives; in addition they detail connections between the Joyes and certain Bedfordshire personages. The social status and milieu of the Joye family took on considerable importance for the early career of George Joye. The associations formed during his youth certainly eased, and perhaps even suggested, his entry into both the Church and the University of Cambridge.

I

Before the Black Death, Bedford had functioned as a reasonably wealthy agricultural market town. The devastation caused by the *pestis* was one from which the town had failed to recover two centuries later, and recurrent outbreaks of diseases such as the plague and the sweating sickness maintained a consistent strain upon both the physical and the mercantile health of Bedford. The combined charity of the 12 religious houses and eight hospitals of the county came to be relied heavily upon during the late Middle Ages. The Augustinians, Benedictines and Franciscans had established themselves within the immediate vicinity of Bedford; in addition the small town was served by two hospitals - one

¹'The scholar complains', ll. 3-6, in R.T. Davies (ed.), *Medieval English Lyrics*, p. 289.

²T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, p. 170.

which catered for the sick (St. Leonard's), the other providing help for the poor (St. John's). Yet these were but coping mechanisms, which did not address the fundamental factors motivating the town's depreciation. Despite the support offered by the religious houses, the lacklustre economy of the region waned further, and its population depletion continued.³ In the mid-fifteenth century the town was granted exemption from rent owed to the Crown, due to chronic poverty. In 1504 the dispensation was begged once more, this time with the additional comment 'that if the burgesses and inhabitants had to pay the entire fee farm they would necessarily be obliged to retire from thence and leave the town totally destitute.'⁴ Notwithstanding these adverse conditions, Bedford did have its share of influential families, including the Latimers, Nevilles, the St. Johns and the up-and-coming Gostwicks. Further evidence of wealth in the area was to be found in the Augustinian priory of St. Paul, better known as Newnham Priory. Situated one mile east of the town, this house boasted 11 churches and owned over 400 acres of land in five parishes.

Judging from the extant records, the Joyes of Bedfordshire commanded reasonable wealth and status in this depressed area. George was not the first to go to university: the family already had a civil lawyer. The main familial interest, however, appears to have been in land, with several holdings in the town and environs of Bedford, and a considerable estate in Renhold. A first glimpse of George Joye's relatives is afforded by the wills of Bedfordshire county. The name of William Joye of St. Paul's parish is the most frequent to occur, appearing among the executors of three wills of the early sixteenth century.⁵ William's own will of 20 October 1503 (proved 4 November) reveals a connection with Newnham Priory: he rented various tenements, workshops and farmlands from the religious house, and also bequeathed money to the men of the abbey.⁶ On

³The falling secular population was reflected in the ecclesiastical sphere: for example, the two parish churches of St. Peter Dunstable and St. Mary were served by a single priest from 1448.

⁴VCH: *Bedford*, vol. 3, p. 3.

⁵The testators were: John Denes (will dated 3 June 1501); John Savage (10 June 1501); and John Cowper (20 June 1502). Cowper was most likely a close friend, since William Joye in his own will bequeathed 6s. 8d. to his godson 'William Couper'. These and other will details are taken from 'Bedfordshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1383-1548', M. McGregor (ed.), *BHR*, vol. 58 (1979); , 'Bedfordshire Wills 1480-1519', P. Bell (ed.), *BHR*, vol. 45 (1966), pp.1-98; and 'English Wills 1498-1526', A.F. Cirket (ed.), *BHR*, vol. 37 (1957-8), pp.1-82.

⁶William left instructions for 6s. 8d. each to be given to the prior, sub-prior and cellarer;

4 July of the following year a chantry of Corpus Christi, also known as 'Joye's Chantry', was founded at Newnham. Valued at £8 7s. 4¹/₂d. on dissolution, the chantry funded a priest to sing mass daily and say dirges for the souls of Henry VII, Queen Elizabeth, and for its founders - one of whom was named as William Joye. Elizabeth Joye, wife and heir to William, was presumably instrumental in the establishment of his chantry. The financial accounts of Newnham record 'lady' Elizabeth's transactions with the priory, and show that in the years which followed, Elizabeth managed her inherited holdings, and dutifully paid the various rents owed to the priory.⁷

The detail available for William Joye proves to be something of an exception, and for the remainder of the Joyes we must be satisfied with still fainter outlines. For example, men such as Ralph Joye appear only as rent-payers to Newnham, and beyond this no trace of them has survived. Certain members of the family married into the English gentry: Henry Joye of Bedford was wedded to Anne, one of the Lavinders of Felmersham.⁸ Their daughter also married 'well': among the genealogy of the Estons of Holme is recorded a marriage between 'Thomas Eston of Holme sonne and heire' and 'Margaret daughter of [Henry] Gee [al's Joye] of Bedelowe in com. Bedf.'⁹ Henry Joye was an attorney, who also had dealings with Newnham Priory. In the abbey's account roll for 1520 is recorded a payment of 13s. 4d. to Henry for acting as the monastery's legal representative 'in the Common Pleas'.¹⁰

It is, however, the Joyes specifically connected with the village of Renhold (thirteenth century: 'Runhale', fourteenth century: 'Ronhale') who hold special interest for us, thanks to the clue provided by the Lincoln Register at Dunstable which records the ordination of 'Georgius

every canon was to receive 20d., and every novice 12d..

⁷For example, for the year 1506-7 she paid rents of assize and of free tenants to Newnham. The rental details of the priory record the payment of 17s. by Elizabeth for a tenement and two workshops in Bedford High Street, 2s. "for a messuage formerly John Savages" and an additional 4d. for two headlands. The appellation 'lady' did not necessarily imply nobility, since in a medieval context the term was generic, referring to the landlady.

⁸There were three visitations organised by the College of Arms, which sought to set forth the marriage lines of the gentry entitled to bear arms. See 'The Visitations of Bedfordshire', *Publications of the Harleian Society*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 178.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰G.D. Gilmore (ed.), 'Two Monastic Account Rolls for Newnham, 1519-20', *BHR*, vol. 49 (1970), pp. 19-55.

Joy de Rownhall' on 3 March 1515. Lying three or four miles north-east of Bedford, Renhold is situated in the hundred of Barford, which includes the parishes of Roxton, Ravensden, Wilden, Goldington, Eaton Scoton, Colmworth and Great Barford. It is likely that Renhold was the original family home of the Joyes, as its parish church was remembered by Joyes from farther afield. In his will of 1503 William Joye (of Bedford town) bequeathed 6s. 8d. to the parish church of Renhold, as did Thomas Joye (who wished to be buried in Cauldwell) in his will of 1505. The Church of All Saints serving the village of Renhold was a small affair; in 1534 its advowson (held by Newnham Priory) was worth £12. Interestingly, Thomas Joye's testament also instructed 20s. to be paid to Henry Joye, which link strengthens the probability that these men were closely related.

Of the Joyes who remained in Renhold, there is precious little evidence. It is known that 'Jane daughter of John Joye of Renhall' married into the gentry; her husband was Thomas Rande, son and heir to the Randes of Radwell.¹¹ Jane's father John may be traced through the records of Newnham Priory. Included in the rents generated from the manors of Salphobury with Ravensden, Renhold and other farms was this entry:

Rec'd of John Joye for the manor and demense lands of Salpho, demised to him by indenture for the term of his life and the life of Elizabeth his wife, if she shall be single and unmarried, paid at the four terms of the year; by the book £10 0s 0d.¹²

Apparently Salphobury Manor (one of the large estates in the area), which was held by the Prior of Newnham until 1540, was the home of the Joyes. In their biography *George Joye 1495? - 1553* Charles Butterworth & Allan Chester comment: 'During his early life, the chief residence in the parish was Renhold Manor, in the possession of the Latimers and Nevills. Another prominent family occupied Salphobury Manor.'¹³ Apparently, the Joyes were this prominent family. Throughout the sixteenth century there are references to the wills of the

¹¹'The Visitations of Bedfordshire', *Publications of the Harleian Society*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 49.

¹²G.D. Gilmore (ed.), 'Two Monastic Account Rolls for Newnham, 1519-20', *BHR*, vol. 49 (1970), p. 21.

¹³*George Joye*, p. 17.

Joyes who lived in Salphobury: John Joye senior (1521), John Joye (junior, presumably, 1556), Richard Joye (1561), and William Joye (1586). The younger John and William are listed as yeomen. Considering the auspicious marriage of Jane, it is significant that the boundary existing between yeoman and gentleman at that time has been described as fluid, and also that 'In so far as generalization is possible, it seems that the people who prospered most were often yeomen.'¹⁴ William Joye's will of 1586 leaves all his leases and farms of 'Salphoburie' to his wife Joane. The inheritance left to his son-in-law Paul Peck helps in the visualisation of their estate: Paul was left 'the mansion house or the bury-steede of Salphobury, with all the houses, closes, meadows, feedings, arable lands, sheepgates, commons, water rings, & tithes &c.'¹⁵ J.F. Mozley, whose work has helped to keep the name of George Joye alive during this century, speculated that the Jane Joye recorded in the visitations might well be George's sister.¹⁶ This is likely, considering that their branch constitutes the only reference to any Joye in Renhold at that time. In addition, the new evidence provided by the will of Elizabeth Mason adds further weight to Mozley's hypothesis.

As far as I am aware, the earliest extant reference to George Joye in print occurs in the will of Elizabeth Mason, a Renhold woman. The testament, dated 13 January 1506 (proved 16 January), bequeaths 3s. 8d. to Henry Joye, 13s. 4d. to the Prior of Newnham, 6s. 8d. to the cellarer, and to every canon and novice 3s. 4d.. One John Mylward is bequeathed 'a Brason pott', bought from John Joye. Mason appointed John Joye the elder as overseer. The witnesses are listed as: 'Sir John Wyon, vicar, Mathew Colman, *George Joye* with many oders.'¹⁷ Initially, it seemed unlikely that this referred to the reformer George Joye, since his year of birth was calculated by Butterworth to have been *c.* 1495, therefore at the time of Mason's will he would have been at most 11 years of age. However, an alternative dating may be suggested, due to the absence of any papal dispensation for Joye's ordination to the priesthood in 1515. Certain canonical ages were set for each ordination from sub-deacon upwards, and the minimum age for entry into the priesthood was 24

¹⁴C. Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments*, pp. 16-7.

¹⁵F.A. Blaydes (ed.), 'Some Bedfordshire Wills', *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, vol. 3 (Bedford, 1893), p. 82.

¹⁶See J.F. Mozley, 'George Joye, or Gee', *N&Q*, vol. 185 (1943), p. 252.

¹⁷(My italics). A.F. Cirket (ed.), 'English Wills, 1498-1526', *BHR*, vol. 37, p. 28.

years of age.¹⁸ If there was no dispensation required, then Joye was at least 24 in 1515; he was therefore born at the latest in 1491. If this is indeed the case, then the 'Georgius Joye de Rownhall' of the Bishop's Register and the George Joye of Elizabeth Mason's will are one and the same.

The only other area worthy of mention at this point is that of Joye's early studies. Between the age of seven and ten years he may well have attended a reading or 'song' school in Renhold. This is the type of school mentioned in *The Prioress's Tale*, where the students are taught 'to syngen and to rede,/ As smale children doon in hire childhede.'¹⁹ Attendance at such a school would have provided the young George Joye with a very basic education through the use of a primer, the lay devotional handbook which Joye revolutionised thirty years on. Here he would have also had his first taste of Latin, in the form of the psalms, which the students were taught to sing. Again, Joye's later career is invoked with the mention of the psalms, since his were the first to be printed in the English language.²⁰ Although there is no evidence of the existence of such a school in Joye's parish, the very prevalence of reading schools often resulted in their going unrecorded: in his *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, Nicholas Orme mentions that 'a good deal of elementary education was provided privately and informally all over the country by ordinary chaplains and parish clerks.'²¹ If, however, there was no provision for such education in the village of Renhold, Joye may well have attended Newnham Priory, whose canons were active in teaching children. In his discussion of schools Orme goes on to comment: 'Although song and grammar were different stages of the educational curriculum, this did not necessarily mean that they were taught and studied in different institutions ... a strict organization of song and grammar into different schools, though practised in a few places, was not fundamental or universal over the country as a whole.'²² In any case,

¹⁸For example, John Fisher received a dispensation before being ordained priest, being only twenty-two years of age.

¹⁹*The Prioress's Tale*, ll. 499-500.

²⁰Chaucer's tale also provides a useful example of a "litel child, his litel book lernynge,/ As he sat in the scole at his prymer,/ He Alma redemptoris herde syng..." *The Prioress's Tale*, ll. 516-8.

²¹N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, p. 66.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. In his discussion of reading or 'song' schools, Orme remarks (p. 64): "Sometimes the local house of regular or secular canons came to provide or to supervise such education."

after mastering rudimentary reading and writing skills, the next step for George Joye was grammar school. To meet university entrance requirements, Joye needed to be able to read, write and speak Latin, which would have involved five or six years of attendance at a school 'set up purposely for the good educacion of childer, as well in good nurture as in good learning'.²³

Schools at Elstow Abbey and Dunstable have been documented, but in all probability there was no need for Joye to travel beyond the town of Bedford. However, establishing the existence of a grammar school in Bedford between 1500-10 has proved problematic. Included in the foundation of St. Paul's Church was the duty of maintaining a grammar school, which was passed on to the regular canons of Newnham when the original collegiate church of secular canons was dissolved. 'Scole Lane' is referred to in the records of the time, and it has been presumed that the implied school was the one patronised by the priory. However, the street name could have been left over from a school which had since closed down. This theory is supported by the rental book of Newnham Priory, which in 1506-7 records the Schoolhouse in School Street turning in rent of 13s. 4d.. In his documentation John Salpho (who maintained the priory accounts) refers to 'a messuage called the Schoolhouse', leading to the presumption that, although it retained its old name, the house was let as any other Priory-owned tenement. There is a change in the account roll of 1519-20, where John Salpho begrudgingly notes the 'allowance of rent of one messuage called the Scolehouse, charged under High Street, at 13s. 4d.; granted for the Grammar School, and no profit could be had; by oath of the accountant'.²⁴ It would appear that the school had only been recently returned to its original dwelling, perhaps due to growing numbers of students. Since Newnham Priory had apparently not shirked its responsibility to maintain the school, it is probable that in the interim classes - which George Joye would have attended - were held in the abbey itself. Grammar school days were long: most schools opened at six or seven in the morning and held lessons until five or six in the evening, allowing a break for breakfast and for dinner. Common texts employed included the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei; verse treatises were also popular. The wealthier

²³This is the definition of a grammar school given in a sermon written by Richard Ramsay in 1558. John Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 48.

²⁴G.D. Gilmore (ed.), 'Two Monastic Account Rolls', *BHR*, vol. 49, p. 33.

schools could stretch to Priscian, Alexander, and the *Poetria Nova* of de Vinsauf or Alain of Lille's *De planctu naturæ*. If he went to such a school Joye would have left with a good grounding in Latin, and perhaps a preliminary introduction to scholastic disputations. He also evidently wished to further his education at a higher level.

While by no means conclusive, the extant evidence does provide us with a reasonably plausible background to the reformer. When viewed in retrospect, from the early years of Joye's ecclesiastical and university life begins to emerge a pattern. The familial connections with civil law, the multiple links to Newnham Priory and the influential people in the vicinity were all to work to his advantage. Never again would so many factors converge in George Joye's favour.

II

The University of Cambridge - thanks in part to its status as a centre untainted by heresy (unlike Oxford) - blossomed into a well-respected *studium generale* during the fifteenth century, when six new colleges were founded. At the time of Joye's enrolment, the University was undergoing another period of educational revision and transformation. With the reprioritisation of education, the formalization of university teaching systems, and the dissemination of humanist thought (still nascent in many respects) through the curriculum, the early sixteenth century university surged forwards.²⁵ The generous endowments of the previous century were surpassed during this period, thanks in large part to the example, interest and dedication of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. Statutes enacted in 1488 established the first three salaried professorships in Cambridge; their example was followed in later years by benefactors who looked favourably upon the 'new learning', wishing to support financially the humanist belief in a worthy educational system.²⁶ In this vibrant period of reassessment and growth, the practicality and the social contribution of various establishments were scrutinised. Religious houses considered obsolete were taken over and converted to the cause of education: in 1496, for example, Bishop

²⁵ For the decline of learning at Cambridge see E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, pp. 3-4, and D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 234ff.

²⁶ See D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, pp. 246-7.

Alcock of Ely shut down the Cambridge house of St. Radegund's and refounded it as Jesus College. Men such as Thomas Wolsey and John Fisher took similar action in order to found Cardinal College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge.²⁷

John Fisher first arrived in Cambridge in 1483, and was fellow of Michaelhouse by 1491. In 1495 he first met with Lady Margaret Beaufort, and a partnership that would literally change the face of Cambridge was established. As Fisher proceeded from strength to strength, so did (what became) his university; his chancellorship (according to a much-used quote) 'marked the spring of Renaissance Cambridge, no less surely than it witnessed the Indian summer of the medieval university.'²⁸ In her final decade Lady Margaret Beaufort displayed an untiring concern for the welfare of the university and a similar zeal for actively supporting the cause of evangelical preaching. On 8 September 1502 she endowed the first public lecture in theology. The man appointed Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity was of course John Fisher. Two years later she established a chantry in Cambridge for the maintenance of a preacher, whose duties included the preaching of at least six sermons *per annum*, and in 1505 she set about refounding Godshouse. The interim had seen significant advancement for Fisher: he had been appointed Bishop of Rochester, made a member of the King's Council and elected Chancellor of Cambridge, a post to which he was re-elected annually until 1514. Henry VII himself graced the University of Cambridge with a brief visit on St. George's Day 1506; it was apparently then that he pledged his support to the monumental project of King's College Chapel.

It was two years after Henry VII's visit when building (after a 'delay' of 25 years) resumed on the chapel. The undertaking employed over 140 workmen, and continued until 1515. This was not the only construction work visible in the University: the old school of Godshouse was being renovated to harbour Christ's College, and the reconstruction of Great St. Mary's was progressing slowly. It was probably in this year (1508) that George Joye enrolled himself for the first time on the

²⁷There were three institutions appropriated for the founding of St. Johns: the hospital of Ospringe (in 1519), the nunnery at Broomhall in Berkshire (1521) and Higham Priory in Fisher's own diocese of Rochester (1523).

²⁸H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, pp. 6-7. For an account of Fisher's career see B. Bradshaw, 'Bishop John Fisher 1469-1535: the man and his work', in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, pp. 1-24.

matricula of a Cambridge master. This he had to do within 15 days of arrival in order to achieve the privileges and the immunity of a recognised scholar. The entire information extant on Joye's undergraduate years is contained in a single sentence of a letter written fourteen years after the fact. The letter was written by Sir John St. John, who lived six miles from Bedford town, and who was step-brother to Lady Margaret Beaufort. On 25 April 1522 he sent a letter by one Robert Smith to Henry Golde, Fellow of St. John's College and chaplain to William Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir John wanted Golde to allow Smith to board temporarily with him, explaining that Smith 'wishes to know when a room falls vacant in Christ's College, trusting he may be a scholar there. I hand [have had] none there, seth Master Jorge Gee was mytted a scholar there.'²⁹ The throwaway remark is pregnant with possibilities. Considering the influence of his step-sister within the Cambridge milieu, the backing of Sir John must have carried considerable weight in the college application of a young man of Joye's standing. St. John may even have acted as patron for George. Unfortunately no other reference to the arrangement has survived, therefore the meagre conclusion that the support of St. John (whether verbal or otherwise) would have smoothed the way for Joye, must suffice.

If Sir John was not referring to the University of Cambridge in general, and Joye did indeed enrol at Christ's College, the undergraduate soon transferred his studies, and for the rest of his university life was associated solely with Peterhouse. The Grace Books of Cambridge record Joye's admission as commencing Bachelor in 1513, by which time he had completed ten terms of formal lectures, and had been granted a 'grace' for four terms of 'enforced' absence. If Joye enrolled in Christ's in Michaelmas Term 1508, then 14 terms of lectures would have taken him to Candlemas 1513, when he was admitted *ad respondendum quaestioni*.

In transferring to Peterhouse, Joye moved further into the heart of the progressive university. Several prime movers of the 'spring of Renaissance Cambridge' were Peterhouse men. The achievements of its Masters and the work of its fellows stand as testament to the college's commitment to the advancement of learning and its openness to new

²⁹L&P, vol. 3, pt. 2, [2198].

ideas (some of which were decidedly heretical). Peterhouse was managed by humanists: the 'revival of letters' was actively supported by Peterhouse men such as William Burgoyne, Robert Shorton, and John Watson, who became one of Erasmus' closest friends at Cambridge. The college's leading figures were also influential with royalty. For example, the comptroller of the household of Lady Margaret, Hugh Ashton, was a member of the college, as was Thomas Deynman, who had been physician to both Henry VII and to Lady Margaret by 1494. The most significant member of Lady Margaret's household was undoubtedly Henry Hornby, who acted as Dean of the Chapel, Secretary and Chancellor to the benefactress, in addition to being her close friend. He was naturally named among the executors to her will, and struggled to fulfil its instructions, being instrumental in the foundation of St. John's College. Hornby also served as Master of Peterhouse from 1500 to 1518. Considering the interconnectedness of Peterhouse with Lady Margaret, it seems apposite that Joye, referred to the University by her step-brother, should end up under the ægis of Hornby, in a college deeply committed to her, both personally and philosophically.

The considerable ecclesiastical, social and political connections offered by Peterhouse were ancillary; the primary aim of Hornby's college was to provide a thorough education. In his history of Peterhouse, T.A. Walker remarks that the early college 'was not a school throwing open its doors freely to undergraduates, not a mere boarding-house, but a close corporation of advanced students pursuing learning under a Rule.'³⁰ The college had the financial means with which to maintain its independent status and high ideals: it was wealthy. The Master and Fellows were the appropriators of Thriplow Rectory, and the college was also entitled to the tithes from the King's Mill, the Bishop's Mill, the Mill of Newnham, and Barnwell Priory. Another source of revenue for the college members was the chantry of Thomas Lane (a Master of Peterhouse who died in 1473). It lay on the north side of Little St. Mary's, and held lands at Hinton, Fulbourn, and saffron gardens at Walden.

This serves only to provide a brief background to the university milieu in which Joye found himself. The young man's life there, from 1508 (at the latest) to 1527, covered as concentrated a period of change -

³⁰T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, pp. 27-28.

both physical, political and philosophical - as the University ever underwent. His time at Cambridge introduced George Joye to the men and the ideas which so deeply affected his career and his theology, and ended with him fleeing England in fear for his life.

Unfortunately, the Peterhouse Computus Rolls (the annual summary of the college accounts) from Michaelmas 1507-11 are not extant, which denies us a wealth of information (incidental or otherwise) on the daily life of the students. The Computus of Thomas Lane's Chantry details the six college fellows of that time, and records the many losses to Peterhouse - most likely due to bouts of the recurrent plague. As a newcomer to Cambridge, one of the priorities for Joye was to find accommodation for the year. There were two options open to him: he could either sign up with a hostel, or live on campus. By the turn of the century, independent hostels were decreasing in number, and it was becoming more common for halls and hostels to be affiliated with particular colleges. For example, Physwicke Hostel had been established by Gonville Hall, and St. Thomas' Hostel was acquired by Pembroke College in 1451. Peterhouse's main connection was with Borden Hostel, which it owned jointly with Clare College. A collegiate hostel provided a more stable, controlled environment for the younger students, and the older hostels often had the advantage of possessing their own libraries and chapels. If there was a well-organised tutorial system in operation, the undergraduates could receive valuable assistance from the older scholars, and could attend the disputations often held in the hostels. However, whether independent or not, the Chancellor and his men had the right of visitation of all hostels at any time, and the extant documentation points towards close regulation of the students' lives.

Considering his backing by John St. John, George Joye may have been one of the undergraduates permitted to stay on campus, where rooms were commonly charged at the nominal rent of 13s. 4d. *per annum*. There was little luxury: all rooms were shared by one Junior and one Senior of the same faculty, the former was expected to be encouraged and positively influenced by the latter. If he did stay in Peterhouse, Joye was probably kept on a tighter reign than the hostel students. Regulation of the students of Peterhouse was carried out at all levels: twice a year the Master, Deans and a few of the Senior Fellows held a Chapter to 'report on the life, conversation, manners, progress and studies of the entire

society.³¹ 'No Scholar might pass the night in the town, nor wander aimlessly abroad even by day, but when for purposes of health or other reasonable cause'; the usual practice was to close the colleges at 8pm in the winter, and at 9pm in the summer.³² The eschewing of women was given particular stress in the statutes: 'a scholar at Peterhouse might meet a female relative or other reputable woman in the hall or some other public place, with another scholar or a college servant acting as a chaperon, the meeting to be kept as brief as possible lest the scholar be led by temptation to commit an evil act.'³³

On a brighter note, one of the advantages of living in the college was that Joye would have eaten well. The Computus Roll for 1516-17 shows receipt from Barnwell Convent of 40s. in tithes of sheaves from Little St. Mary's Parish. Also received were tithes of lambs, wool, geese, eggs, hay, saffron, grain and a tithe calf. Furthermore, the Bursar 'drove a brisk trade in rabbits, pigeons and sucking pigs, in wood, malt and corn.'³⁴ Peterhouse also provided for seasonal entertainment; it traditionally celebrated Founder's Day with a feast, and hired entertainers ('players') for banquets held over the Christmas season, presumably to cater for those who did not return home.³⁵ Considering the proximity of Bedfordshire county, it is likely that Joye spent his holidays at Renhold.

The deaths of the king and his mother, occurring during Joye's first academic year, must have been sorely felt both within the University and Joye's own college. The ill health of the great benefactress Lady Margaret Beaufort had called Master Hornby away from his college for long periods since 1507. Chancellor Fisher was also preoccupied both with the failing health of the royal family and his own ecclesiastical duties, concern for which resulted in his resignation as President of Queen's College in 1508.

³¹For the regime at Peterhouse at this time see *ibid.*, pp. 24-28.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 26.

³³A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities*, p. 379. See also T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, pp. 26-7: "*Lotrices mulieres, praesertim juvenes*, were on no account to be permitted to enter the chamber of a Scholar. ... Clothes must be taken to and brought back from the wash by a boy of the House, unless the laundry were that of a male."

³⁴T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 22.

³⁵See T.A. Walker, *A Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men*, vol. 1, p. 115. The Computus Rolls for 1516/7 record expenses "*de xvjd Histrionibus in die Sti Stephoni et de xiid pro vino expenso eodem die et de iiiis viid pro candelis et de xiii pro gaudimoniis in die circumsicionis et Ephiphanie.*" The 'players' may well have been a theatrical company, such as that hired by King's College to put on a Christmas play from 1508. See P. Happe (ed.), *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, vol. 1, intro., p. 3.

Henry VII died at Richmond Palace on 21 April 1509; John Fisher preached his funeral sermon at St. Paul's on 9 May. The king's mother outlived her son by only two months, dying at the Abbot's house at Westminster on 29 June. Considering the respect that Lady Margaret had held for Fisher's preaching (encouraging the publication of his sermons on the Penitential Psalms), it was appropriate that Fisher was chosen to preach the commemorative sermon at her month's mind. Hornby, Fisher and numerous others were taken up with the execution of Beaufort's will. The major construction on Margaret's first college (Christ's) finally came to an end, and John Fisher, who had been so active in its foundation, was appointed Visitor for Life. Despite meeting considerable difficulty in the attempt to found her second proposed college, on 20 January 1511 Thomas Martyn (Fellow of Peterhouse) was one of the formal witnesses to the delivery of the possession of the Hospital of St. John to Henry Hornby, and on 12 March the dozen or so Augustinian canons remaining in the hospital were rowed off to Ely. The old institution became a centre of biblical humanism and theological modernity - St. John's College.

The changes in the physical university were a manifestation of the impression being made by humanism. The revival of letters, begun in Italy in the previous century, was steadily gaining ground in the English universities, and Joye's undergraduate studies reflected this development. The alterations to the Cambridge course in arts began with the 1488 Statutes, when the undergraduate requirements were revised. Whereas before, the first two years were spent in the study of grammar and logic, the new dictates required them to be spent in 'humane letters'. No books were specified.³⁶ The sophister years shifted in focus from natural philosophy to logic and moral philosophy. This regimen was further honed in 1495, when the required *libros humanitatis* was specified as 'Terence'. These educational reforms sought to reassert classical learning and cut away the 'blotterature' of the 'later blynde worlde' without dismissing medieval scholarship.³⁷ Their spirit was evident in Dean Colet's ideal behind St. Paul's School (founded 1512),

³⁶*Humanitatis* was at the time often synonymous with *rhetorica*, *poetria*, *Terenciana* and *Oratoria*.

³⁷Colet declared: "I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be called blotterature thenne litterature". See J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet*, p. 280.

which consisted in the teaching 'all way in good litterature both laten and greke, and good auctors suych as have the veray Romaine eliquence joyned withe wisdome specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose'.³⁸ The syncretic trend of the time blended medieval scholasticism with Christian humanism, as exemplified by the magnificent Peterhouse library, which in 1418 boasted 380 volumes, the majority of which were theological works. The library represented both the traditional medieval corpus of educational literature and the texts rediscovered by the humanists - Aquinas and Terence were side by side.³⁹ The chasm which later developed between the two was at this time either not pronounced or recognised: for example, works of Lorenzo Valla and sermons of the eleventh-century Benedictine William of Merula both found a place in the work book of Robert Ridley, appointed Terence professor 1508-10.⁴⁰ Ridley, who was uncle to Nicholas Ridley, shared the concern for clerical reform of his fellow Christian humanists, and lectured on undergraduate courses that George Joye would have attended.⁴¹

As Master of Peterhouse, Hornby's lecturing obligations were waived; after two years of studying 'the humanities' under such men as Ridley and John Watson, Joye rose to the status of a *sophista generalis*. This permitted (indeed, required) him to take part in university disputations, ranging from 'solemn' debates (over which a master presided) to less formal, more light-hearted (or raucous) matters. In addition to the bi-weekly solemn disputations held by Peterhouse, Joye could also attend debates in the Common Schools, or informal tutorial debates in the hostels. His exposure to humanist teaching increased tremendously from August 1511, when Desiderius Erasmus arrived at Queen's College, catalysing a great surge in the revival of letters.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 279.

³⁹See A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities*, pp. 245-6: "For in fifteenth-century England, humanism was not seen as an alternative culture: it was viewed as a storehouse, from which elements might be extracted and either applied to current philosophy, theology or grammar, or used to raise standards of Latinity in diplomatic, university or private correspondence."

⁴⁰Similarly among the books listed in William Melton of Michaelhouse's will (1528) were works by Aquinas and Erasmus, Augustine and Pico della Mirandola. See M. Underwood, 'John Fisher and the promotion of learning', in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, p. 26.

⁴¹The term 'reformed' is used in the less radical sense of the early sixteenth century: for example John Colet in 1512 urged his audience at Convocation to "mynde the reformation of the churches matter." J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet*, Appendix C (p. 293).

Erasmus conveyed his first impressions of the University to his friend Ammonius: 'I think I shall be staying for some days at least in this College. I have not yet offered to read a lecture, wishing to have regard to my health. I do not like the beer of this place at all, and the wines are not satisfactory.'⁴² The myriad complaints of the Dutch scholar concerning the damp, lack of funds, and bad weather do not need to be repeated here. Despite the disadvantages, Erasmus endured the hardships of Cambridge for over two years, and went on to read lectures in theology and in Greek, which were given without charge to the students. (Ammonius also eased his suffering by sending over wine regularly). In his *Illustrium majoris Britanniae scriptorum summarium* (1548) John Bale describes Joye as being learned in both Latin and Greek. It may well be that George Joye had the most famous Greek teacher of the sixteenth century.

Joye's next step was to apply for consideration as a respondent in arts, to which he would be admitted only if he had stood as a *sophista generalis* for at least one year (preferably two), and had responded twice and opposed twice in the *sophismata generalis* disputations.⁴³ All this normally took 12 formal terms (i.e. excluding the autumn term in which no ordinary lectures were held). By Joye's time the University authorities were quite lenient in their dispensation of graces: the autumn term was often permitted to count towards the course, therefore students commonly took three years and one term to complete their degree. In 1513 Joye was admitted as respondent, having been granted a grace (as mentioned earlier) for the completion of ten terms of formal lectures, including the enforced absence for four terms.⁴⁴ He paid his *communa* of 12d. (the fee for standing as a questionist) and a caution of 13s. 4d. (as promise to perform the requisite acts) to the University chest. Before Candlemas (2 February) he was one of the questionists gathered by the bedells and college Masters from the colleges and hostels at nine o'clock in the morning, and led to the Schools for the ceremonies. The dialectical exchanges between the 'Father' (the presiding Master) and his 'sons' (the questionists) were by the early sixteenth century something of a formality; the *quaestiones* posed were not very challenging. The

⁴²Epistle 220. F.M. Nichols (ed.), *The Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. 2 (London, 1904).

⁴³See D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 96.

⁴⁴"Item conceditur Georgeo Joye vt decem termini in forma quorum per maiorem partem ordinaria audiuit et quatuor termini in quibus necessitate coactus abfuit cum oppositionibus et responsionibus requisitis sufficientibus sibi ad respondendum questioni", W.G. Searle (ed.), *Grace Book Gamma*, p. 103.

Alumni Cantabrigiensis list one George Clarke as commencing in 1513 (Joye used a double name, as did William Tyndale/Hutchins),⁴⁵ and the *Ordo Senioritatis* lists 'Gee' from Peterhouse seventh in the B.A. examination of 1513.⁴⁶ There only remained the act of determination before the questionists became *bachalarius formatus*, which was normally undertaken in the Lenten term following the questioning ceremony.

George Joye, however, did not determine in 1513. Again, the absence of Computus Rolls from Michaelmas 1513-1516 impedes investigation; possibly there was a recurrence of the circumstances which had caused the 'enforced absence' referred to by the Grace Books. Of the many reasons which could have kept Joye out of Cambridge, one of the most probable is the outbreak of the plague, which had returned to Cambridge in 1513. Erasmus was driven away, ordinary lectures were dispensed with, and Michaelmas Term was postponed until 6 November. In general, the town of Cambridge in the early sixteenth century was not conducive to health: besides sharing the problems of other medieval towns ('open sewers, rats, filthy streets, draughty rooms, floors strewn with soiled straw, and shared, flea-infested beds'), the serious attacks of the plague which it succumbed to almost yearly brought with them a host of other illnesses, including cholera and the sweating sickness.⁴⁷ It was standard procedure for college fellows to flee the epidemic together and take refuge in the relative safety of the neighbouring villages; Hinton and Thriplow were common resorts. Peterhouse had a plague house at Hinton, in which the Master and fellows of the college continued their studies until the University was declared safe once more. Plague allowances (normally around 17s.) recur throughout the Computus Rolls of Peterhouse. The *pestis* was particularly virulent during these years, for example in 1514 university assemblies had to be discontinued for an entire term. Despite these impediments, university proceedings (as far as possible) continued as normal. In 1514 Chancellor Fisher, due to pressures of state, offered his resignation, and suggested the Bishop of Lincoln as a replacement. When offered the position, Thomas Wolsey

⁴⁵ William Tyndale's commencements as B.A. and M.A. are both recorded under 'Hychyns'; see D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 22.

⁴⁶The placement is probably not significant. See D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 99: "There is no indication in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century that this was an honours list, or really anything other than a ranking of the scholars according to their age or time spent since matriculation."

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 212.

refused, and the regents of the University of Cambridge conferred upon Fisher the title of Chancellor for life, an unprecedented appointment.

III

The Determination list for this year (1514) is again without Joye's name. He can be placed in Bedford county at the beginning of the summer, for his name appears on the will of Thomas Wytt from Colmworth.⁴⁸ Dated 3 June 1514 (proved 8 June), the document names 'Sir Geo. Clerke' as the Overseer and 'Geo. Clerke, priest' as the witness. As Joye was not ordained until the following year, it may be that the second 'George Clerke' referred to a relation such as a maternal uncle. In any case, George Joye returned to the University of Cambridge, and finally appears twenty-ninth in a list of *Determinatores* for the Lenten Term of 1515. This would have been his final opportunity, since commencing bachelors had to determine within two years or lose their *cautio*. Determination, or 'standing in quadragesima' entailed partaking in the Lenten disputations held in the Philosophy School. Each student performed in dialectical arguments of *quaestiones*, initially with the presiding Master, and afterward with any regent who cared to debate with him. Joye successfully engaged in the formal polemic, and was officially declared B.A..⁴⁹

In addition, Joye was advancing himself within the church. The Lincoln Register at Dunstable records on 3 March 1515 the ordination of 'Georgius Joy de Rownhall' as sub-deacon of Newnham Priory.⁵⁰ His assigned benefice comes as little surprise, considering the various connections between his family and the Augustinian house. There is no extant record of his ordination as deacon, and 21 days after being made sub-deacon, Joye was ordained priest to the Benedictine abbey of Humberston in Lincolnshire.⁵¹ The Abbey of St. Mary and St. Peter

⁴⁸A.F. Cirket (ed.), 'English Wills, 1498-1526', *BHR*, vol. 37, p. 72.

⁴⁹Butterworth & Chester's remark (*George Joye*, p. 18) that "it is still uncertain whether he qualified for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1513 or 1514" presumably results from the gap between the two stages of attaining the degree. Although Joye began the procedure in 1513, the formalities were completed only in 1515.

⁵⁰See J.F. Mozley, 'George Joye, or Gee', *N&Q*, vol. 185 (1943), p. 252.

⁵¹See *The Early Tudor Church and Society*, ch. 1, for J.A.F. Thompson's discussion of the procedure for conferring orders: one could receive an ordination at an exceptional service, of which the Bishop's Registrar may not have been informed.

differed greatly to Newnham, and probably never housed more than 12 monks. Setting aside the size of the abbey, the fact that Joye received two benefices within three weeks is significant in itself. In *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* R.N. Swanson comments: 'Most clerics never obtained a proper benefice, and were therefore dependent for their survival on less secure forms of income ... Where the evidence has been assessed, delays of ten years and more between ordination and institution are not uncommon.'⁵²

George Joye's good fortune may have been due to his status as a university graduate or to the presence of an influential patron, perhaps someone from Peterhouse or a Bedfordshire personage such as John St. John. Joye obviously never served full-time in Humberston. As a scholar, he would not have been permitted to reside in either benefice. The episcopal license necessary for non-residence was easier to obtain when the application was accompanied by supporting letters: 'Several licences for study were issued following representations from the prospective student's patrons, although such support is not always explicitly recorded. Such sponsorship had a double advantage: it helped secure the licence, and might also induce the ecclesiastical authorities to waive (or at least reduce) their demand for fees.'⁵³ The relative proximity of the abbey both to Cambridge, and of course, to his family home would have made it much easier for Joye to fulfil his obligations to Newnham Priory, and it was there that he served and preached in the years which followed.

By 1515 Joye was well established at Peterhouse, and working towards his M.A.. He was probably living on campus, which would have allowed him easier access to the Peterhouse library, whose vast heterogeneity of texts provided great resources for research in the quadrivial studies, or *artes mathematicales* (consisting of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy). Several past fellows had specialised in medicine, astronomy and astrology, and had bequeathed their libraries (and instruments - at least two astrolabes and three volvelles) to their *Alma Mater*. Similar bequests of legal and theological works are common, and these helped to maintain the extraordinarily broad range

⁵²R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, p. 46.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

of books available to the Peterhouse scholars. It is likely that Erasmus (particularly considering his friendship with Hornby and other Fellows of the college) frequented the library, since it was at his bidding that Robert Aldrich of King's College in the 1520s collated the manuscripts of Seneca in the Peterhouse and King's College libraries.

In June of 1516 the Chapel of St. John's was consecrated, and on 29 July John Fisher visited Cambridge to complete Lady Margaret's establishment of the college. He founded four fellowships, and drew up the college statutes, which emphatically stressed the importance of evangelism. The demands on the fellows of St. John's reflect this renewed concern of the Theology faculty with the obligation of preaching, a ministerial duty strongly emphasised by the orthodox Catholic reformers. This concern had been evident through the previous decade, and was exemplified by the 12 annual University preachers, Pembroke College's theology lectureship of 1509, and the Lady Margaret Preachership, established in 1504.⁵⁴ John Fisher, whose sermons testify to his concern for the edification of laity and clergy alike, apparently practised the reform that he preached: he refused the bishopric of Lincoln (1514) and that of Ely (1515), retaining for 40 years the smallest, poorest diocese in England. St. John's foundation as a tri-lingual college also reflected the humanist interest in returning to the original languages of the Bible. The idea that the 'essence' of the Word was to be found in the Greek or the Hebrew Scriptures was by this stage gaining considerable support. The commitment of Erasmus to the Greek language soon caught on; when his ground-breaking Greek edition of the New Testament was published in this year, he was supported wholeheartedly by John Fisher, who declared that it was 'now possible for everyone to read and understand it with more gratification and pleasure'.⁵⁵ The foundation of the first Professorship in Greek followed two years later.

⁵⁴In 1502, at the instigation of vice-chancellor Fisher, a papal bull was issued granting the university the privilege of appointing 12 university preachers, who could preach "throughout the whole kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland, under the common seal of the university, without any other licence from a Bishop." For further details see E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, p. 17. For Fisher's zeal for preaching see B. Bradshaw, 'Bishop John Fisher 1469-1535: the man and his work', in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, p. 4.

⁵⁵Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 47.

Of more immediate relevance to George Joye were the findings of the visitor appointed to Peterhouse in 1516. The inspector considered the wealth and status amassed by the college to be a distraction to the scholars. Their privileges were curtailed: the commons of each fellow being limited to 14 pence weekly. At the same time the Master and fellows 'passed for themselves a Self-denying Ordinance'.⁵⁶ Thenceforth, at the third and the seventh hour after noon, when the bells sounded for 'bibers' (*ad biberium*) each senior fellow was to send to the Buttery for just one pint of beer and one eighth of a halfpenny loaf. These restrictions were in place by the time of Joye's first year as a fellow, 1516-17. When on St. Denys' Day Master Hornby and his eight fellows received their Founder's Allowance, seven bachelors in their probationary year appeared with them, who were charged admission fees of 20s.. George Joye was one of these men, who would receive his bare maintenance from Peterhouse until promoted to full membership and admitted as *solaris perpetuus* the following year. In his *Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men* T.A. Walker describes the statutes established in 1344 by the bishop of Ely Simon de Montacute: 'To a vacant Scholarship (i.e. Fellowship) must be chosen the best qualified candidate available, being *vir honestus*, chaste, peaceable, humble and modest (*quatenus humana fragilitas nostra sinit* - a delightful personal touch of the highborn Simon), poor, and a complete Bachelor of Arts.'⁵⁷

Peterhouse statutes ruled that the majority of fellows were always to be engaged in the study of the Liberal Arts; a maximum of two scholars could study canon or civil law, and one man could study medical art. John Warkworth (Master 1473-1500) had divided the Fellowships into two districts (northern and southern), and had regulated the appointment of fellows depending on their home county. Joye would be one of the two fellows allowed to represent Bedfordshire at the same time.⁵⁸ All men were to dress only in appropriate clerical habit and tonsure. Peterhouse fellows were forbidden to wear rings, keep dogs or birds (specifically falcons), or play dice or chess, except in special circumstances.⁵⁹ They could also have their fellowships revoked if they

⁵⁶For full details see T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 32.

⁵⁷T.A. Walker, *A Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men*, pt. 1, p. 3.

⁵⁸This applied to all the counties except for Cambridgeshire and Middlesex, which were permitted four fellows each.

⁵⁹The forbidding of hunting as a pastime inappropriate for scholarly and religious men, has a long history. For an insightful introduction to medieval hunting cleric satires, see

earned too much. The college in return would provide for the maintenance of its fellows, including provision for times of pestilence and cash allowances for sickness. Joye now moved from the Bachelors' Table up to the Scholars' Table at Commons. One of the *pauperes Scolari* maintained by the College would be designated to wait on the new fellow: Joye would henceforth share a room with this proto-sizar, whose trundle-bed would be rolled out from underneath Joye's own bed each night. As a fellow, Joye could borrow up to £2 from the Peterhouse loan-chest, and his college would also grant him a *pensio* to study outside of the university if he so desired.⁶⁰ Each year on the Feast of St. Denys (9 October) Joye would receive a Founder's Day Allowance (20s.), his share of the profits from the chantry of Thomas Lane (which ranged from 20d. to 20s.), and his 'livery', an allowance for the *liberatura* worn by the Master and resident Fellows.

On 27 April 1517 Joye was formally admitted fellow of Peterhouse, filling the place left by William Rattclif. The 1517 Computus of Lane's Chantry records 17 fellows in residence (an unprecedented number) who each received 20d.. Later that year Joye received a grace granting him license to incept, despite his study of nine terms which were 'not according to the statutes'.⁶¹ This may mean that one or more of the non-formal terms were allowed to count towards his M.A. quota. To meet the qualifications for inception, the Cambridge bachelor was to have heard lectures for three years (i.e. nine formal terms) since determining. Joye could have only completed a maximum of six terms. The candidate was also to be judged suitable 'in character and learning', to have responded in three solemn disputations, and opposed in one. As an inceptor Joye was obliged to pay a *communa* of 20d. and a *cautio* to the University Chest, give numerous gifts and provide a meal for the University officials. He also 'had to supply himself with a surplice within three

V.J. Scattergood, 'Skelton and Traditional Satire: *Ware the Hauke*', *Medium Ævum*, vol. 55, pt. 2, pp. 203-216. In 'Ware the Hauke' (ll. 8-18) Skelton amply sets forth the inappropriateness of the hunting cleric: "But they that play the daw,/ To hawke, or els to hunt/ From the aulter to the funte,/ With cry unreverent,/ Before the sacrament,/ Within the holy church bowndis,/ That of our faith the grounde is./ That pryest that hawkys so,/ All grace is farre him fro;/ He semeth a sysmatyke,/ Or els an heretyke."

⁶⁰The loan-chest, endowed by Thomas de Castro-Bernardo in the early 1400s, functioned similarly to the University chest: those eligible to borrow money would first deposit a pledge (*cautio*). The sum of the *pensio* was in the region of 53s. 4d. *per annum*.

⁶¹"Item conceditur domino Joy vt novem termini in forma cum tribus responsionibus quibus lectiones ordinarias audiuit licet non secundum formam statuti sufficient sibi ad incipiendum in artibus", W.G. Searle (ed.), *Grace Book Gamma*, p. 146.

months and, without delay, had to present a mazer cup and a silver spoon to the society'.⁶² The ceremonies (or 'vespers') were held on certain evenings in July, and took place in the Schools. As with the undergraduate ceremony, the Commencement (*comitia maxima*) involved dialectical disputation. The day following the completion of the ceremony, the new regent masters were escorted to the Schools, where they read their first solemn lecture.

Again, the Computus Roll for 1517-18 is not extant (as with the Roll for 1519-20), although it is known that lectures were disrupted in this year, and that Michaelmas Term was adjourned on 12 November for fear of the plague. There was a similar attack in the following year, and the occurrence of the name of George Clerk as witness for the will of Thomas Goldyngton, of Houghton Conquest (dated 24 August 1518), may well indicate that Joye spent the summer in his (considerably safer) home county. The Computus Roll for 1518-19 shows payment made for an absence of seven or eight weeks to the Master and the Fellows (Joye included) in *tempore pestis*. By that stage Peterhouse had a new Master, for in 1517 Henry Hornby, who had served as Master of Peterhouse since 1500, died. Hornby provided for eight poor scholarships, and, like his predecessors, bequeathed his books to Peterhouse, and founded a chantry. It was left to the Fellows of Peterhouse to elect possible replacements, and on 11 February they presented to the Bishop of Ely candidates Burgoyne and Curwen. Nicholas West chose as Hornby's successor William Burgoyne, who remained Master until 1523.

From this point onwards, George Joye (with the approval of the Masters and Fellows of the college) could limit his studies exclusively to theology, 'the Queen of the Sciences'. The basic texts for the course were the Vulgate Bible and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Of course, there was a plethora of biblical commentaries, glosses and tracts available to Joye through the Peterhouse library, which also held several popular sermon collections. The Cambridge statutes of the theology faculty required its scholars to attend and give lectures, involve themselves in disputations, and to preach sermons - both *ad clerum* and at St. Paul's Cross. Joye's first two years were spent hearing lectures on the Bible; the two following concentrated on the *Sentences*. The non-obligatory lectures and debates

⁶²A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities*, p. 325.

held around Cambridge would have perhaps contained more than an element of subversion, being informal, lively, and employing vernacular texts more frequently than the solemn lectures. Through both kinds of lectures and through the sermons attended, Joye would have been exposed to the complaints of Catholic reformers calling for a return to the 'true' church. The influence of men such as Erasmus, John Fisher and Robert Ridley is evident in the concern for the vernacular Word, practical religion, and evangelism shown by the Cambridge reformers of the 1520s. Apart from the teachings of these humanists, Joye may also have been influenced by orations of a more heretical nature. The subversive element in Peterhouse was pronounced, but at this time was not sharply highlighted due to the widespread push towards clerical reform and a more scriptural-based theology. Included among the members of Peterhouse at this time who later displayed radical reforming tendencies were Edward Staples, John Cheesewright, Henry Aykeroid, and John Edmunds, who was a leading college figure and university preacher. The great preacher Hugh Latimer may well have begun his university career at Joye's college, before moving his studies to Clare.⁶³ Looking beyond Peterhouse, we find among the people whom Joye could have encountered in the open debates the names of Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Shaxton, Edward Crome, Richard Bayfield, Thomas Arthur, George Stafford, Thomas Bilney, Robert Barnes and John Bale. The majority of these men were obliged to take part in the disputations, to give lectures, and to preach several sermons *per annum*.

The call for reform of Christian humanism must have resounded through the University. For George Joye, this was a time of challenging theological tradition and of interrogating the status quo. The issues raised by the 'revival of letters' were not merely abstract and speculative; they took on a vital presence in Cambridge, which by the time of Joye's fellowship 'had quite outstripped Oxford as a centre of the new learning.'⁶⁴ Within a very few years the University of Cambridge

⁶³See T.A. Walker: *Peterhouse*, p. 41, and *A Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men*, pt. 1, p. 96.

⁶⁴J.F. Mozley, *Tyndale*, p. 17. See also D. Daniell's comment that at this time "Cambridge was inferior to Oxford in both size and reputation", but that with the presence of Erasmus "Cambridge had the edge." *William Tyndale*, p. 51.

outstripped Oxford as a cultivator of the damnable heresy of the Continent.

The Lutheran heresy which was first introduced into England by the first Lutherans who came to this country in 1550, and which was afterwards introduced into the country by the first Calvinists who came to this country in 1563, was a heresy which was introduced into the country by the first Lutherans who came to this country in 1550, and which was afterwards introduced into the country by the first Calvinists who came to this country in 1563. This heresy was a heresy which was introduced into the country by the first Lutherans who came to this country in 1550, and which was afterwards introduced into the country by the first Calvinists who came to this country in 1563. This heresy was a heresy which was introduced into the country by the first Lutherans who came to this country in 1550, and which was afterwards introduced into the country by the first Calvinists who came to this country in 1563.

The Lutherans who came to this country in 1550, and the Calvinists who came to this country in 1563, were the first heretics who came to this country. They were the first heretics who came to this country, and they were the first heretics who came to this country. They were the first heretics who came to this country, and they were the first heretics who came to this country. They were the first heretics who came to this country, and they were the first heretics who came to this country.

Chapter 2

Now I begin to taste of holy scriptures: now ...

I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters

Miles Coverdale, 1 May 1527.¹

The Lutheran heresy which took root in England during the 1520s coincided with significant phases in both the political and the religious life of the country, phases which culminated decades later in the utter absorption of the 'heresy' by both Church and state. This radical transformation occurred against the odds. Although there was evident anti-clericalism, this was in part merely traditional, and there had been no significant theologically-based threat to the church since the time of Wyclif. Some of the factors which allowed the rapid spread of the Continental heresies had lain dormant for a century, others were generated in the 1530s as a result of political expediency. The imported doctrines could perhaps have been diligently eradicated, had the church mounted a sustained, thorough, practical attack on the arenas in which it flourished. This, however, did not happen, and soon it was quite out of their hands, for the heretical doctrines were not merely adopted by English men, but were reinforced and amplified. The conservative clergy were forced to subdue their own, causing a rift in the *Ecclesia Anglicana* which eventually threatened its downfall.

I

The problems on the continent seemed at first the problems of the continent. The ravings of a friar as far away as Wittenberg were not perceived as a direct threat, and his tracts were freely imported into England from 1518. Within two years the unequivocal polemic of Martin Luther resulted in the papal bull *Exsurge, Domine*, which called for the burning of his works. Issued on 15 June 1520, it allowed Luther 60 days (from receiving it) either to recant or be declared a heretic and excommunicated. Despite such vehement condemnation of Luther by Pope Leo X, no immediate action was taken by Cardinal Wolsey or Henry

¹In a letter to Thomas Cromwell, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 490.

VIII.² A formal bull of excommunication - *Decet Romanum Pontificem* - was released 3 January 1521. After this the danger presented by the Lutheran heresy began to manifest itself, pressing home the gravity of the situation and the urgent need for countermeasures. The movement to detect and suppress dissident constituents in the English church, given the backing of the king and taken on by the chancellor, soon accelerated.

Although the official reaction to the new Continental heresies took time to materialise, the church in England had not rested easy since the appearance of John Wyclif in the 1370s, and in the interim had persevered in its efforts to stamp out unorthodox elements as a matter of course.³ The cases involving heresy in England dating from the turn of the sixteenth century serve in large part as examples of the sustaining power of Lollardy. In his *Actes and Monuments* John Foxe documents trials from 1506, listing the 'men and women, who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversely troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same.'⁴ The charges testify to the enduring legacy of Wyclif, including: refusal to reverence the crucifix or pray to the mediating saints; rejection of pilgrimage, image worship, holy days, the sacrament of the altar, and superstitious practices; and finally reading (or hearing the scriptures read) in the vernacular. Richard Hunne's trial was the most scandalous of the period: the verdict of guilty was delivered posthumously, the accused having 'hung himself' in the Lollards' Tower on 4 December 1514. That Hunne was still receiving mention 15 years later hints at the considerable impact of the case.⁵ The heresy investigations continued, and in 1519 there were 'Seven godly martyrs burnt at Coventry' for teaching their families basic prayers and commandments in English. Death, however, proved to be the exception: the majority of the accused did penance, and were sent off marked with the sign of heresy.⁶

²Although there were plans made: Erasmus wrote in May 1520 that Luther's books were shortly to be burnt in England. See *L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 1, [810].

³For example, between 1511 and 1521 there were over 300 abjurations in the diocese of Lincoln. See M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 268.

⁴*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 173.

⁵In Simon Fish's 'The Supplication of the Beggars', *ibid.*, p. 662. For a vivid account of the affair see W.R. Cooper, 'Richard Hunne', *Reformation*, vol. 1, pp. 221-51.

⁶This usually took the form of a brand on the cheek, or of a green badge (or cloth or silk) which was embroidered in the shape of a faggot of wood, and was to be worn on the right sleeve. See *ibid.*, p. 580.

'I heard as a boy that heretics must be avoided ... other heretics arise from their ashes.'⁷ The words of warning given to the young John Fisher proved all too true; the indigenous heresy Lollardy contributed greatly to the momentum of the new learning. The convergence of certain economic and social conditions similar to those which had originally fostered the growth of Lollardy may help to explain the relative ease with which the old Lollard and new Lutheran doctrines merged and gained ground.⁸ In *Medieval Heresy*, Michael Lambert describes the factors which 'both gave cover to and stimulated' the radical theologies of the late fourteenth century.⁹ One of the most often cited is lay dissatisfaction with the *clerici*, noticeable in the vocal criticism of abuses, which went hand-in-hand with a 'vitality in the religious scene ... that could easily lead away from orthodoxy'.¹⁰ It is however, dangerously tempting to overestimate the extent of anticlericalism during this period. Incidents such as the trial of Richard Hunne were exceptional, and the extant complaints derive from a small percentage of the populace.¹¹ The anti-clerical element was in many ways traditional, and did not seek to threaten fundamentally the clerical hierarchy, but it converged with other factors in the early sixteenth century, producing a cumulative, widespread effect. Popular dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical judicial system and tithes, and the anxiety concerning the sinful state of the clergy

⁷From Fisher's *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* (1523). Quoted in H.C. Porter, 'Fisher and Erasmus', in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, p. 82.

⁸See M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 372-81. For an account of the areas of intersection between Tyndale and the Lollards see D.D. Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, (esp. pp. 249-255). For an examination of the points of contact between Lollardy and Lutheranism see A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, pp. 56-60.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 223.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹¹See C. Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 6: "There was no general hostility towards the clerical estate, and such criticism as there was came from specific interest groups, especially lawyers, London merchants, and the political enemies of Cardinal Wolsey. The English people had not turned against their Church, and there was no widespread yearning for reform." Haigh (p. 56) later describes anticlericalism as one of the "convenient fictions" which "owes its popularity to utility not veracity". See also J.M. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word*, p. 163: "The publishing record gives no evidence of the mounting anticlericalism and disillusionment with the papacy..." The issue is a highly contentious one, but recent scholarship generally agrees that whatever anticlericalism existed "probably owed less to the actual faults of the clergy than to a gradual shift in the attitude of lay society and to the growth of its literacy and intellectual resistance, its wealth, its political power." A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, p. 382.

were not helped by the financial strain placed by the state upon the laity, who were expected to help finance expensive military campaigns through crippling taxation. In addition, the people had to cope with a considerable increase in the cost of living, and reconcile their faith in the church with the 'popo-holiness' of 'the ministry of Wolsey, whose career brought clerics themselves to the point of anti-clericalism.'¹²

In flauders & in almayne,
& in my litle bryttayne,
full sore infect thei the ayere:¹³

Facing reports of the further spread of Lutheranism abroad, the clergy began monitoring the people for evidence of nonconformity. Of the English clergy, John Longland the newly appointed bishop of Lincoln and William Warham archbishop of Canterbury displayed acumen in their swift movement to suppress heresy. Longland addressed the 'old' heresy, instigating a search for Lollards in his diocese. Warham followed the new heresy to the universities. On 8 March 1521 he wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, informing him that Oxford was infected with Lutheranism.¹⁴ Rejoicing that England was under so orthodox a sovereign as Henry VIII, the Archbishop eagerly set about examining the forbidden works of Luther and the 'no less dangerous and pestilent heresy' of Wyclif which had gained circulation at Oxford. The owners of the contraband were detained. Anxious about the 'slander' if the suspected heretics were questioned in London, Warham instead held the examinations within the seclusion of the university.

Such diligence did not go unnoticed by Pope Leo X, who wrote to Wolsey on 16 March to thank him for his zeal against the heresies of Luther and the Hussites.¹⁵ In the weeks that followed Wolsey arranged for a formal examination of Luther's works in London, for which he requested four doctors to be sent down from Cambridge.¹⁶ The findings were to be sent to the authorities in Oxford, who (presumably not

¹²A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, p. 12.

¹³'The Blaspheming English Lutherans', W.R. Morfill (ed.), *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 284.

¹⁴*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 1, [1193].

¹⁵*Ibid.*, [1197].

¹⁶These men were all friends of Erasmus: Henry Bullock, Humphrey Walkedon, John Watson and Robert Ridley.

wishing to revive the university's reputation as a centre of heresy) had petitioned for a list of undesirable Lutheran writers. On 17 April Leo again wrote to Wolsey, voicing his opinions that Luther's books should be burnt in England, and that the reading of them (except for purposes of refutation) forbidden.¹⁷ And so Wolsey began to collect Lutheran texts, and arranged a splendid incineration ceremony at St. Paul's for 12 May, which he oversaw with the Papal ambassador and the Archbishop of Canterbury at his right foot, the Imperial ambassador and the Bishop of Durham at his left. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester preached a sermon (later published), during which he condemned the heretics as 'clouds without the moisture of grace':

And now such another cloud is raised a lofte. One Martin luther a friar, the which hath steered a mighty storme and tempest in the church, and hath shadowed the clear light of many scriptures of god, and he maketh issue from hym a perylous lyghtnyng, that it to say a false light of wrong understanding of scriptures.¹⁸

In 1521 Fisher's University of Cambridge had aided Wolsey in disclosing Lutheran errors, and it continued to involve itself with the checking of heresy. A book-burning was arranged, possibly as early as 1520, the year in which Wolsey visited the University. The proctor's accounts for 1520-1 record (along with the expenses of doctors sent to London) 'To Dr. Nycolas, deputy Vicechancellor, for drink and other expences about the burning of the books of Martin Luther, 2s.'¹⁹ Despite such measures of discouragement, and the added pressure brought to bear by the surrounding conservative bishops and its conservative Chancellor, the University of Cambridge became one of the main fosterers of heresy in the 1520s. Geographically the University was vulnerable to the spread of heresy, since it was easily accessible from the east coast, the route though which heretical material mostly entered England. Apparently it also offered a fair example of the urgent need for reform within the church. Nicholas Daryngton's letter to Henry Gold (14 Dec 1522) asserts that Cambridge would be the foremost university in the world, were it not for: "*insuper magistratus ambiuntur, desiderantur lucra, negligitur administratio; suffragia prece, largitione, fallaciis, minis*

¹⁷L&P, vol. 3, pt. 1, [1234].

¹⁸J. Fisher, *The sermon of Johan the bysshop of Rochester*, fol. A2v.

¹⁹C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 1, pp. 303-4.

extorquentur; competitores diffamantur uti alterius causa promoveatur, alii subrogantur ut innocentes (si qui sint) minus corruptos accusent."²⁰

The impact of the humanist scholars on the University of Cambridge served in many ways as a catalyst for the reform movement; indeed, the revival of letters became confused with the 'new learning', a misunderstanding for which it paid a considerable price. The work of the humanists dramatically shifted the focus of biblical scholarship and called for practical clerical reform within the church. Men such as Dean Colet and Chancellor Fisher frankly acknowledged the abuse occurring, and warned of the danger in refusing to reform. Erasmus did likewise, and then opened up to Christendom the potential of vernacular scripture with his New Testament of 1516. Although John Colet was labelled a heretic by Fitzjames, bishop of London, and Erasmus was plagued with accusations of Lutheranism, the biblical humanists always spoke from a position within the clerical institution. They never doubted its basic tenets, and although eager for change, did not question the 'natural' authority of the (only) Church. This period, however, witnessed the deaths of many great humanists: Andrew Ammonius died in 1517, Grocyn and Colet both died two years later, and Linacre passed on in 1524. The next generation, although trained as humanists, were subject to radically different stimuli. Martin Luther had nailed up his thesis at Wittenberg on 31 October 1517; the following year Huldrych Zwingli was appointed *Leutpriester* to the collegiate foundation of the Great Minster in Zurich. The English universities at this time were melting pots of continental and indigenous reforming theologies. A synthesis developed, and soon escalated into heresy. Many students amalgamated the erudition of the humanist scholar with the blunt scepticism of the new continental reformers, who refused to take anything for granted except the Word. *Sola scriptura* was the call-to-arms; one which menaced the institution of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

Indications that Fisher's university had also become infected with the new learning soon became manifest. The chancellor received letters on 4 June 1521 from Wolsey (as *legatus a latere*) condemning the Lutheran heresy; these communications were to be promoted by the

²⁰*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 2, [2052].

clergy throughout the diocese.²¹ Henry's permission was required before Wolsey's instructions could be carried out, and their execution was delayed. When Fisher finally posted the refutation around Cambridge, one of the bills was altered to read 'Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord, and who has not regarded *these* vanities and lying follies.'²² The chancellor called an assembly, but his endeavours to persuade the culprit to repent failed. A second assembly was held, this time to excommunicate the heretic, but Fisher wept when he tried to proclaim the bill, and instead offered one last chance for repentance. It was only at the third University assembly that judgement was finally pronounced. The wanted man was suspected to be Peter de Valence, a priest from Normandy, but in any case Cambridge could boast reformers of its own...²³

Out of 1520s Cambridge emerged practically every theologian of the early English Reformation. Through preaching and publishing, these men struggled to provide the laity with a basic understanding of the reformed faith. By 1520, when George Joye was a Peterhouse undergraduate in Divinity, scholars of the University included: William Tyndale (who had moved from Magdalen Hall, Oxford c.1518), Thomas Arthur, Hugh Latimer, Thomas Cranmer, and John Bale.²⁴ Pembroke Hall had among its students John Thixtel, John Clark and Nicholas Ridley. Gonville Hall bred many reformers later protected by Anne Boleyn; men such as Nicholas Shaxton, Edward Crome, Thomas Patmore, and William Butts 'whose unobtrusive services to the gospel were to play a key part in the course of the Henrician reformation.'²⁵ It is unfortunately impossible to gauge the degree of camaraderie shared by these men during this time. Many did not display reforming tendencies until later years, and certainly in the 1520s conservatives such as Stephen

²¹A *legatus* was a papal representative: the Archbishops of Canterbury and York possessed status of *legatus natus* ('born legate'), but in this instance Wolsey, as *legatus a latere*, was in effect a plenipotentiary of the pope.

²²E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, p. 102. For a description of the three assemblies which followed see *ibid.*, pp. 102-3. The original quote merges Jeremiah 17:7 and 16:19.

²³For which Skelton consoled her: "*Alma parens O Cantabrigiensis/ Cur lacrimaris? Esto tui sint/ Degeneres hi filioli, sed/ Non ob inertes, O pia mater,/ Insciolos vel decolor esto.*" 'A Replycation Agaynst Certayne Yong Scolers Abjured of Late, Etc.', V.J. Scattergood (ed.), *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, p. 373.

²⁴D. Daniell, *William Tyndale* (p. 49), points out that John Foxe's reference to Tyndale attending Cambridge is the only one extant.

²⁵M. Dowling, 'Anne Boleyn and Reform', *JEH*, vol. 35 (Jan 1984), p. 35.

Gardiner freely associated with those whom he bitterly opposed later. Perhaps at this early stage a shared belief in clerical reform and in the tenets of biblical humanism was the only common denominator required.

Meanwhile, university life continued as usual for George Joye. Despite the great scholars lost, humanism continued to effect changes in Cambridge: 1524 saw the establishment of three lectureships (in humanity, logic, and divinity) to be held without charge in the Common Schools.²⁶ Joye would have had little trouble in gaining access to forbidden texts, which were smuggled from the Continent either through London or through the Cambridge booksellers themselves. Nicholas Spierink owned a book shop in the town, as did Sygar Nicholson, who was charged with circulating Lutheran works in 1531. This period also saw the establishment and demise of Cambridge's first press.²⁷ John Laer of Siegburg near Bonn (generally known as John Siberch) was loaned £20 by the University in 1520-1 to set up his own press in Cambridge. Guarantors included Robert Ridley and Henry Bullock. Although Siberch was bankrupt within five years, by 1526 he had published works by Bullock, Erasmus, Lily and Fisher, and the niche that he had recognised and had then vacated was soon filled by other entrepreneurs.

Where extant, the Peterhouse records show Joye receiving his livery, founder's allowance and his share of the proceeds from the chantry of Thomas Lane between 1520 and 1527. The attacks of the plague continued, and appear to have intensified; in 1520 the *pestis* once again drove the scholars out of Cambridge for a significant length of time. Two years later the Master and fellows of Peterhouse migrated for an entire term; some stayed at Thriplow and were allowed their expenses there. Despite the interruptions, Joye apparently showed promise in his studies, and was elected university preacher in 1521. Soon after John Frith began at King's College, where he was taught by Stephen Gardiner.

Regardless of presences such as Tyndale, Joye and Frith, if any men can be dubbed the originators of the reform movement in Cambridge,

²⁶See D.M. Owen, *Cambridge University Archives*, p. 15.

²⁷Previous to this the presses at Oxford (established 1478), London and St. Albans had met the needs of the University of Cambridge.

they are Thomas Bilney and George Stafford. Of the former, Foxe informs us:

his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of him, and partly also of another, called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish...²⁸

Bilney, who graduated from Trinity Hall as a bachelor of both canon and civil law, finally 'heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather by the Latin than by the word of God ... I bought it'. Initially the attraction of Erasmus' work lay in its originality and in its rhetoric, but soon after it appealed to Bilney in an altogether different way. On reading St. Paul, the scholar underwent a private conversion: 'After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honey-comb'.²⁹ Ordained in 1519, Bilney endeavoured to disseminate the Word throughout Cambridge, preaching to everyone from the scholars and doctors at the University to the prisoners and lepers in the town.

George Stafford, fellow of Pembroke, was likewise an early convert, who came to the new theology through his divinity studies. His contemporary Thomas Becon describes him as 'a man of a very perfect life, and if I may so speak, of an Angelic conversation, approvedly learned in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin tongues, and such one as had through his painful labours obtained singular knowledge in the mysteries of God's most blessed word.'³⁰ As part of the requirements for his B.D., Stafford was expected to take part in 16 disputations and to give lectures on one of the books of the Bible. In 1526-7 he was reading lectures at Peterhouse, for which he paid tithes of 7s., recorded in the Computus Rolls. Stafford's teachings on St. Paul, (according to Becon) merited the saint's indebtedness,

²⁸*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 656.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 635.

³⁰T. Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, D7r-v.

seeing that by his industrie labour, pain and diligence he seemed of a dead man to make him alive again and putting away all unsemliness to set him forth in his native colours, so that now he is both seen, read and heard not without great and singular pleasures of them that travail in the studies of his most godly Epistles.³¹

Stafford worked at casting off 'prophane and old wives fables', and 'vividly restoring us the Apostles' mind and the mind of those holy writers, which so many years before had lain unknown and obscured through the darkness and mists of the Pharisees and Papists.'³² Above all, 'He was gentle unto every man and with meekness informed them that resisted the truth.'³³ Although there is little evidence supporting the existence of an independent reforming group, momentum was certainly building during these years, thanks in large part to the work of Thomas Bilney and George Stafford.

II

The English book-burnings and investigations were much commended in Rome, particularly since the papal bull for the burning of Lutheran texts was as yet unpublished. In the wake of the spectacle at St. Paul's, both Henry and Wolsey received letters of thanks from Leo X. The success of the event proved that in implementing the sorely-needed censorship of lay reading material, England could gain the respect (and the ear) of the pope. Two days after the ceremony Wolsey instructed the Bishop of Hereford to instigate a search for any material penned by Luther; all texts were to be delivered up within 15 days.³⁴ The earlier work of the Cambridge doctors was made use of, and the lists of the 42 Lutheran errors were distributed to the bishops of England. On 21 May Henry wrote to Pope Leo from Greenwich, expressing his concern that the infection of the Lutheran heresy was so great, it would not be easily defeated. He went on to write of his new project. The king's conviction that the learned must openly denounce Luther's errors had provoked him to take up his own pen against Luther. The work was to be dedicated

³¹*Ibid.*, D7v-8r.

³²*Ibid.*, D8r.

³³*Ibid.*, D8v.

³⁴*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 1, [1279].

to the pope.³⁵ Furthermore, Henry took it upon himself to exhort the other Christian princes (including the Emperor Charles) that it was their duty to follow his example.

Leo X was of course in full agreement, and considered a suitable reward for Henry. On 8 June 1521 Campeggio sent Wolsey news that Henry VIII was to have bestowed upon him an honourable title, 'in return for his piety in resisting the spread of Lutheran heresy.'³⁶ The following month the king's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus M.Lutherum* was published. In September 28 copies of the book were sent to Rome, two of which were to be presented to the pope, one bound with cloth of gold. More letters reached the English court describing the enthusiastic reception that Henry's book received. This jubilation was undercut sharply when Leo cancelled the public consistory planned for October, 'as men's minds are so much infected with Lutheranism, and the people "so frowardly disposed," he was afraid of stirring a controversy'.³⁷ It was not until 2 October that Clerk (the Dean of the Chapel) was allowed to present formally the *Assertio* (kneeling the entire time). On 11 October the papal bull *Fidei Defensor* was conferred by Wolsey upon Henry VIII in full consistory, 'though the king had it already, and had read it ... which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.'³⁸ The ensuing communications between Rome and London describe the pope's pleasure at Henry's book, and the king's joy at the pope's pleasure. Their mutual appreciation was soon overshadowed and engulfed by other events: Leo X died later that year, and by May 1522 England was once more at war with France. Henry VIII never again wrote against Luther, and Wolsey temporarily left the business of suppressing heresy to the other bishops.

³⁵To address in detail the question of the authorship of the tract would be beyond the scope of this thesis. In brief, on 16 April 1521 Richard Pace recorded that Henry was in the process of writing a text against Luther; he later claimed that "Henry never intended to write the book until Wolsey moved and led him thereunto." (*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 2, [1772]). Protestant writers maintain the image of Henry as a staunch reformer by eliminating all evidence to the contrary: Foxe explains that Wolsey penned the tract; for George Constantine the authors are Lee and Thomas More (who himself was not in any doubt that it was Henry). The current opinion is that Henry may have been helped, but that he most likely wrote the tract himself (see W. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 19-23, and E.E. Reynold's remark that it "was not a deep theological treatise, but the kind of exposition that an intelligent and well-instructed layman might write." *Saint John Fisher*, p. 96).

³⁶*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 1, [1335].

³⁷*Ibid.*, pt. 2, [1654].

³⁸*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 596.

The other bishops, it transpired, were facing a growing problem. Longland's investigation began, supported by a royal mandate of 20 October 1521 ordering the mayors and others 'to assist the bishop of Lincoln in executing justice upon heretics, of whom there are now no small number in his diocese.'³⁹ The 'fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor servants of Christ' began with the questioning of 'known men'.⁴⁰ Those who had in the past been suspected of Lollard tendencies underwent examination, and were encouraged to lessen their own inevitable punishment through implicating their friends and family.⁴¹ The detected errors were predominantly in the same vein as those described earlier, with the occasional exception. Thomas Geffrey's 'crime', for example, was of causing John Butler 'divers Sundays to go to London, to hear Dr. Colet.'⁴² In all, 50 people abjured in Lincoln diocese that year; all were branded upon the cheek, and sent to religious houses to be kept in perpetual penance.⁴³

Next to join Warham and Longland in the fight against heresy was Cuthbert Tunstall, who was appointed to the see of London after the death of Bishop Fitzjames in January 1522. Tunstall had served as Warham's chancellor since c. 1508, and had been involved in the heresy trials of 1511-2, and in the visitation of Canterbury, which began in September 1511. As a suppresser of heresy, Tunstall was more concerned with the censorship of the literature than with the interrogation and burning of heretics. He also supported clerical reform: in the summer of 1523 the aldermen and the Common Council of the City of London petitioned Warham and Tunstall for the London parishes' feast days to be limited to one day. The bishop was wholly in agreement, and 3 October was set as the generic day of parochial celebration.⁴⁴

³⁹*L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 2, [1692].

⁴⁰As described in *A&M*, vol. 4, p. 219.

⁴¹For example, in the case of the Bartletts (*A&M*, vol. 4, pp. 221-2). Two brothers were accused of reading English scripture and holding that images of saints were but stocks and stones: Robert Bartlett impeached his wife, his sister and his brother Richard; Richard then also impeached his sister (for reading the Epistle of St. James in English, not believing in the Real Presence, and speaking against image-worship and pilgrimage), and finally accused his own father.

⁴²*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 230.

⁴³For a summary of their opinions see *ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴⁴C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall*, p. 128.

In many respects, the bishops' attempt at reform was too weak and came too late, but still England's reputation as a bastion of orthodoxy held firm. With the election of Clement VII, Henry continued in his bravado, presenting himself as concerned prince, anxious to protect Christian unity.⁴⁵ On 20 January 1524 he wrote to the Dukes of Saxony, asking: 'What can be more the duty of the powerful and devout princes than to restrain the Lutheran faction'. Added to this was Henry's surprise 'that the Germans can bear such disgrace from a good-for-nothing friar.'⁴⁶ Ironically, as the advice of the English church was being sought by the papacy, the reforming spirit in England was growing stronger, stimulated by reports of Continental churches being returned to their purer, apostolic form.⁴⁷ In 1522 Nuremberg had addressed popular complaints, including clerical celibacy, the forbidding of meats, the selling of pardons, clerical immunity, and the injustices rife within the ecclesiastical courts. The German mass had been instituted at Wittenberg. On 2 July 1522 Huldrych Zwingli and others sent a petition concerning married clergy to the Bishop of Constance, who was told: 'there is really no need for you to interfere. For there is a report that most of the clergy have already chosen wives, not only here in Switzerland but among all peoples everywhere. So to settle this affair peacefully is not only beyond your power but even beyond that of those with greater authority than you have.'⁴⁸ The following year priests began to marry openly in Zurich. Zwingli put forward 67 articles of faith at a public debate held in the *Rathaus* on 29 January 1523. He was strongly supported and the council declared that 'all parish priests, authorized preachers and their assistants in the city, countryside and its dependencies shall undertake to preach nothing but what can be proved by the holy gospel and the pure holy scriptures: furthermore, they shall in no wise for the future slander, abuse, or call one another heretic.'⁴⁹ Later that year the council ordered the removal of images from all Zurich churches and the vernacular to be used in church services; it also arranged daily public lectures on the Bible. By that time

⁴⁵This strategy worked: late in 1526 Francis I gave a speech in commendation of the proposed marriage between himself and Henry's daughter, during which he said Henry "For the sake of the Faith has been reconciled to Francis..." *L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 2, [2742].

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pt. 1, [40].

⁴⁷See *ibid.*, [435]: On 20 June Clement wrote to Wolsey, asking him to send Tunstall and Fisher to Rome to consult on strategies for the removal of abuses in the Church.

⁴⁸G.R. Potter, *Huldrych Zwingli*, p. 18.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 26.

the mass had also been 'overthrown' in Geneva, Strasbourg and Bern, which William Roye and Jerome Barlowe later celebrated:

Departed is nowe the masse and clean gone
 The chefe upholder of oure liberte
 Wherby our whores and harlotis everychone
 Were mayntayned in ryche felicite...⁵⁰

In London the cries for reform grew louder, perhaps spurred on by the attempted suppression, as Susan Brigden suggests: 'The proclamation of Luther's heresy and the burning of his books had advertised his ideas to a multitude who had never heard of him before, and fostered speculation where silence was intended.'⁵¹ Reports of iconoclasm became more numerous, causing Thomas More to lament 'that never have the images of the saints been mistreated with such insult as they are mistreated from day to day by the most criminal fingers of these scoundrels'.⁵² The ban on English renderings of the Bible was questioned strenuously: 'If all the scripture be good and profitable to teche/ why wyll ye not let men rede it?'⁵³ It was rumoured that the forbidden vernacular scriptures in fact revealed the shameful state of the clergy:

Might men the scripture in Englishe rede
 We secular people shuld than se in dede
 What Christ and the apostles lyues were.
 Which I dout nothings are contrarye
 Unto the lyuyng of oure clargye
 Geuen to pompous ydlenes euery where...⁵⁴

⁵⁰'Rede me and be nott wrothe', E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 31.

⁵¹S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 156.

⁵²'Responsio Ad Lutherum', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 5, p. 689.

⁵³*Subuersion*, E4r.

⁵⁴'A proper dyaloge', E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 142. See also Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars: A&M*, vol. 4, p. 663: "This is the great scab why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue, lest men should espy that they, by their cloked hypocrisy, so translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honours of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him."

Likewise, George Joye condemned the controversy of the vernacular scripture as a smokescreen to hide the unholy living of the popish clergy, who

set men to loke whether it be truly translated into englisshe that while they ar in conferringe on texte with a nother lokinge narrowly for fautes in the translacion were non was: your fautis and abhominacion might be balked - or the lesse espyed: but had they lefte hontinge for errours in the translation and conferringe texte to texte/ and compared your lyuinge to the Gospell/ they had sene them agre to gyther as derkenes with light, and the deuell with Christe.⁵⁵

Joye later celebrated the 'restoration' of the vernacular scriptures 'which haue ben locked up longe in latyne so that the lay man (I dare say) understode [them] not/ nor yet parauenture many that repute them selfe learned.'⁵⁶ Hugh Latimer, referring to Saint Paul's description of the Word as the sword of the spirit, asked 'how could the lay people have that sword, how could they fight with the devil, when all things were in Latin?'⁵⁷ It is in arguments such as these that we realise the influence of the early reformers: the rationale of vernacular scripture presented by the theologians working under King James invokes reformist (and Lollard) *apologiae* for the English Word:

Happy is the man that delighteth in the Scripture, and thrice happy that meditateth in it day and night.

But how shall men meditate in that which they cannot understand? How shall they understand that which is kept close in an unknown tongue? ... Translation it is that openeth the window, to let in the light; that breaketh the shell, that we may eat the kernel; that putteth aside the curtain, that we may look into the most holy place...⁵⁸

The concern with the education of the laity was one of the legacies of the humanists; in the hands of the reformers it became ineluctably bound up with the issue of faith and works, and the belief that the Church headed by Rome was Antichrist. One of the centres of hostility towards the dealings of the Church lay in the Inns of Court, which

⁵⁵Ashwell, fol. A8.

⁵⁶Isaye, A2v.

⁵⁷Quoted in P.E. Hume, *The Theology of the English Reformers*, p. 15.

⁵⁸*The Holy Bible: The Authorized or King James Version of 1611*, x.

proved to be crucial to the success of the reform movement in London.⁵⁹ A.G. Dickens remarks: 'it is difficult to exaggerate the role of common lawyers in the development of anti-clericalism.'⁶⁰ Certainly, the Inns were pivotal to the spread of Lutheranism, providing a vibrant unchecked arena for the free play of opinions. In addition, they focused more widespread resentment, as the ill-will borne against the ecclesiastical judicial system was not merely limited to civil lawyers. The Church insistence that it handle all cases relating to any of its sacraments or to public morals (i.e. issues of probate, marriage-related suits) proved to be a consistent cause of lay dissatisfaction. Yet although the church presided over cases which could have been tried in civil courts, its system could neither fine nor deliver prison sentences, it could only excommunicate. The exception was a case involving the accusation of heresy.

In 1401 heresy had been declared a criminal activity, and burning had been set as the sentence for a pertinacious heretic. In that year *De heretico comburendo* was legislated under the supervision of Thomas Arundel. It was originally intended to deal with the heresy of Lollardy. The statute legislated that a bishop could arrest by suspicion only, and detain indefinitely, a possible heretic (it was the only offence for which the Church could order a lay person detained). Those who refused to conform were to be turned over to the secular law for burning. The laity, quite simply, had no defence against such a charge.⁶¹ As the 1520s progressed, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* leaned increasingly on *De heretico comburendo*, which reformers such as Simon Fish associated with clerical greed for tithes: 'the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else who getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic.' Each will must allow payment for masses and dirges 'or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy.' He also challenged: 'If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, ere the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it maketh him wish that he had not done it.'⁶² Robert

⁵⁹For a list of the reformers entered in the Inns see S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 116-7.

⁶⁰A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, p. 14.

⁶¹See A.K. McHardy, 'De Heretico Comburendo, 1401', in M. Aston & C. Richmond (eds.), *Lollardy and Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 112-126. Also C. Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments*, pp. 59-60, and S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 150.

⁶²From *A&M*, vol. 4, p. 659, p. 662.

Barnes wrote to Henry VIII, asserting that anyone speaking out against the corrupt clergy 'is either made a traitor un to your grace or an heretic against holy church ... Is it not a marvellous court that they have? there was never man accused afore them of heresy were he learned or not learned but they found him guilty. Ys not that a marvellous court that never hath innocants?'⁶³ And, quite apart from issues of money or anticlericalism, the clergy were motivated by their desire to suppress the Word of God: 'Yf the holy gospell allege we shuld/ As stronge heretikes take us they would/ Unto their churche disobedient.'⁶⁴

Men such as James Bainham and Thomas Cromwell entered the Inns of Court early in the 1520s, and 'thus moved instantly into a world of advanced ideas in the heart of the metropolis.'⁶⁵ In 1524 Francis Denham was admitted to the Middle Temple, and was soon connected with the English Merchants of Calais (the headquarters of the brethren⁶⁶ overseas), and was supplying followers of the new learning with contraband texts imported from Antwerp and Calais. Some time after Simon Fish entered Gray's Inn (c.1525), he acted the part (which everyone else had refused) of Thomas Wolsey in a satirical play.⁶⁷ The Cardinal reacted by having the author imprisoned, and began a search for the actor, with the result that Fish 'the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyndale.'⁶⁸

Despite the disruptions brought about by the dissenting teachings and the plague (Joye and the rest of the Peterhouse fellows were absent

⁶³R. Barnes, *A Supplication made by Robert Barnes*, A2v.

⁶⁴'A proper dyaloge', E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 146.

⁶⁵A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, p. 14.

⁶⁶The term 'brethren' was used by various dissenting religious groups over the centuries. For example, 'the Church of the Moravian Brethren' derived from the followers of Jan Hus. In general these communities formed a persecuted minority, and the name implies the fellowship necessary to sustain them in their imposed self-sufficiency.

⁶⁷Edward Halle gives the author as John Roo, and dates the play c. 1526-7. J. Scattergood briefly considers the play in 'Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars* and Protestant Polemics', in *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, p. 68: "In this interlude, now lost, the familiar allegorical pattern of fall through vice and a resurrection through virtue was enacted: Lord Governance, under the influence of Dissipation and Negligence, put from him Lady Public Weal, but *Rumor Populi*, Inward Grudge (= Conscience?) and Disdain of Worldly Sovereignty restored her." Presumably, one of the vice figures was endowed with a definite political dimension, which pointed to the Cardinal's abuse of worldly power.

⁶⁸*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 657.

for long periods during the year *pro metu pestis*), the University of Cambridge continued to function as normal. It took steps to overhaul its legislation,⁶⁹ received Melchior Langus, *nuncio* of Clement VII, and established more lectureships.⁷⁰ Then the reformers became more vocal: 'Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolency of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove the excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.'⁷¹ Few of the 'other good men' are named by John Foxe; Joye's name does not occur until 1527, but the nature of the accusations made against him in that year suggest that he had held the continental heretical opinions for some time. (As shall be demonstrated later, the representation of Joye in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* has little to do with the reality of Joye's life or work). There were two crucial additions to the reforming cause in the early 1520s. Firstly, there was Robert Barnes, described by Stephen Gardiner as 'a trymme minion frere Augustine, one of a merye skoffynge witte frerelike, and as a good felowe in company was beloued of many'.⁷² Converted by Thomas Bilney and the other Cambridge 'gospellers', Barnes was an affirmed Lutheran by 1524. It was in this year that George Stafford had to answer for his B.D.; at the ceremony Barnes (who was his tutor) preached a reformist sermon, and was subsequently accused of heresy.

The second addition to the reformers was Hugh Latimer, who had in the past interrupted Stafford's lectures and had preached conservative dogma against him, warning the students not to believe the radical. He was then 'called to knowledge' by 'Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney', an experience which he recalled in a sermon almost 30 years later:

For I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should be made bachelor of divinity [in 1524], my whole oration went against

⁶⁹See D.M. Owen, *Cambridge University Archives*, p. 33. On 18 April 1524 an agreement was made "in full congregation of the regent and non-regent houses to surrender to Wolsey the written and unwritten laws, statutes, ordinances and customs (excepting the privileges and statutes of colleges); [Wolsey was] to abrogate, reform, interpret and strengthen them, and remove obsolete decisions."

⁷⁰Langus arrived 20 September 1524. The lectureships - in humanity, logic and philosophy - were established by Jesus College, and were to be held free of charge in the Common Schools.

⁷¹*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 621.

⁷²S. Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles*, A2v.

Philip Melancthon and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge: and he came to me afterward in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so; and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries.⁷³

Latimer went on to preach against superstitious practices which detracted from the glory of God. He condemned the impossible vow of chastity, and 'proved in his sermons that the holy scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christen people, whether they were priests or lay men'. As with his ex-opponent Stafford, Latimer's charismatic teachings deeply affected his audience. Thomas Becon goes on to write: 'He spake nothing but it left as it were certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearts, which moved them to consent to his doctrine.'⁷⁴

By this stage several university lecturers had been won over to the brethren. Despite the trouble caused by Barnes' sermon, George Stafford commenced B.D. and went on to deliver a four-year lecture course in which the Bible usurped Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as the primary text. Considering the sheer number of disputations, public lectures, and sermons required of the scholars, the theological arguments must have been unceasing, and the vitality generated immense: 'ther is a common saying, which remaineth unto this day, when Master Stafford read, and Master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.'⁷⁵

III

On 2 December 1525 the Archbishop of York Edward Lee wrote to Wolsey from Bordeaux. Lee informed the Cardinal of the rumour that, at Martin Luther's instigation, an Englishman had translated the New Testament into English. Copies would be reaching the country within days.⁷⁶ Facing this imminent threat, Thomas Wolsey started in earnest his campaign

⁷³G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, pp. 334-5.

⁷⁴T. Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, fol. D4.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, D7r.

⁷⁶*L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 1, [1803]. William Tyndale had sought patronage in his work from Tunstall; when he was refused he went to the Continent, funded by English merchants.

against heretical literature.⁷⁷ The Lutheran heresy to be quelled no longer originated from the Continent, but was now being generated by English men. The Cardinal clamped down on the London merchants, and ordered a search of the Steelyard. The headquarters of the Hanse Merchants were searched by Thomas More on 27 January 1526. Four merchants of the Steelyard had the Lutheran interrogatory put to them on 8 February, and all four publicly recanted the following Sunday.⁷⁸ Bishop Tunstall sought to tighten his control of London publishers, and on 19 December had his vicar-general order Wynkyn de Worde and John Gough to recover all copies of the controversial devotional treatise *The Ymage of Loue*, which had attacked the 'supersticyous obseruaunces and vayne customes' of the modern Church.⁷⁹

The measures taken in the city of London were too late to represent any serious hindrance to the Cambridge reformers, who were by this stage openly associating with each other:

Then the godly learned in Christ both of Pembroke hall, St. John's, Peter-house, Queen's college, the King's college, Gunwell-hall, and Benet college, showed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools, and at open sermons at St. Mary's, and at the Augustines, and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together. The house that they resorted most commonly unto, was the White Horse, which, for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany.⁸⁰

⁷⁷There had been plans made earlier in the year, but (as with those of 1520) these were set aside until the situation had reached critical conditions. On 5 January 1525 Longland wrote to Wolsey, mentioning his proposal for a widespread search for books, to be followed by a burning and a sermon (to be given by Fisher - at Henry's suggestion) at Paul's Cross. The proposed action was put into effect twelve months later.

⁷⁸The merchants were Herbert Bellendorpe, Hans Reusall, Henry Pryknes and Hans Ellendorpe. There were two interrogatories in use at this stage, one in English, and one in Latin. See M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 373: "The implicit assumption was the learned heresy would be Lutheran, and that of the rank and file Lollard."

⁷⁹The book was by John Ryckes (a contemporary of Joye's at Cambridge), and was translated from the Latin by John Gough and printed by de Worde in 1525 (RSTC 21471.5). The majority of the text is benign, but certain of its reforming views were dangerously close to those of the Lollards: it claimed that money spent on images was better given away in alms, and lamented the unnecessary wealth of the Church and the new, false rules of the monastic orders. For an account of the book see 'A Dialogue Concerning Heresies', More, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pt. 2, Appendix A, pp. 729-59.

⁸⁰*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 415. Foxe's account remains the only extant historical reference to the 'men of the White Horse'.

Ironically, much of the heresy was spread through men dutifully fulfilling their obligations to the conservative University. For those who had completed their M.A., the formal course in theology normally lasted a further ten or 12 years: in 1525 George Joye graduated as Bachelor of Divinity. This meant that from 1523 he would have held an active role in the disputations; between their fifth and seventh years students had to take part in at least 16 disputations. Having commenced B.D. Joye would begin lecturing on *Sentences*, and on the Bible, and would have to preach publicly in English at the University and at St. Paul's Cross, in addition to continuing his participation in the debates. Peterhouse statutes also prescribed that the fellows were to help the newcomers in their studies, and were to watch over their moral welfare.⁸¹ With men such as George Joye and John Edmunds duty-bound to provide spiritual guidance for the young scholars, and with similar systems in operation throughout the colleges, it was no wonder that the 'new learning' spread with such alacrity through the university.

In December 1525, Erasmus risked further execration and requested of Tunstall a study of Luther's works by the English clergy to divine the many truths within. But the rift between English humanists and reformers was beyond repair. In the same month Hugh Latimer evaded the suspension of his preaching licence (ordered by the Bishop of Ely) with the aid of Robert Barnes, who extended an invitation for Latimer to preach the Christmas Eve sermon at the Austins. Barnes himself delivered a sermon in the small church of St. Edward in Cambridge town. It was a highly condemnatory oration, in which Wolsey was targeted for criticism. In attendance were Robert Ridley and Preston (chaplains to Tunstall), who wrote down the contentious points made.⁸² Ridley later claimed 'that it was never his mind that they should be presented as heresy', he merely thought Barnes' words 'were very evilly and uncharitably spoken against the bishops seeing there was none of them present.'⁸³ The University attempted to deal with the matter quietly; Barnes was called before the vice-chancellor (Edmund Natares) and his council who handled the questioning 'secretly in the common schools (the doors locked) and in the vice-chancellor's chamber for they

⁸¹See A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities*, p. 180.

⁸²'Preston' was most likely Walter Preston, who commenced B.A. from Christ's College in 1512.

⁸³R. Barnes, *A Supplication made by Robert Barnes*, C6v.

knew well that all men of learning were against them'.⁸⁴ Both interrogations were interrupted by student demonstrations. The popular support for Robert Barnes is significant, but whether it derived from staunch reformist belief or from a mixture of concern for orthodox reform and dislike for Wolsey, is unknown. On the advice of his friends, Barnes refused to make the recantation prepared for him, and demanded a public university trial. The court was never convened, the matter being taken out of the hands of Natares by Cardinal Wolsey.

On Tuesday 6 February Wolsey's agents were sent to Cambridge to procure Barnes' arrest and to search the rooms of 30 suspected heretics. Unfortunately for Wolsey, the President of Queen's College Thomas Forman not only tipped off the men of the new learning, but also concealed their Lutheran texts during the search. George Joye was held for questioning by Robert Shirton and William Capon at this time, having been found in possession of Oecolampadius' translation of John Chrysostom upon Genesis.⁸⁵ Whether he did not receive the warning in time or simply did not consider the text inflammatory is not known. In any case, at his questioning Joye received assistance from none other than Stephen Gardiner, who was not wholly adverse to the 'new learning' at this time.⁸⁶ In one of his tracts against the Bishop of Winchester, Joye recalls Gardiner's help, describing how he 'defended the truth against this papistry ... you standing by them at the cupborde in peter college aule did speak for me & for my bokes ...and gaue us both your good word, so that I kept the boke stil.'⁸⁷ By the time of this furore George Joye was definitely close to the centre of the reformist group, and had formed the close ties with Robert Barnes later discernible in Joye's *Refutation*. In the course of the investigation, when Stephen Gardiner wrote to George

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, C6v. Since John Fisher had been elected Chancellor for life, the role of vice-chancellor increased substantially. In *Ceremonies of the University of Cambridge* (p. 6), H.P. Stokes comments: "when the Chancellor was a non-resident magnate, his substitute became the leading official at Cambridge."

⁸⁵Capon was Master of Jesus College and Wolsey's almoner, Shirton was Master of Pembroke and Dean of the Chapel for Wolsey.

⁸⁶Gardiner later exonerated himself from any imputation of Lutheranism, describing himself as being "of acquayntaunce with Barnes: and not accompted his enemy, and yet I thanke god, neuer faouored such straunge opinions, and he and some other wantanlie began to set furth, but bycause there was not them in them malyce, and they maynteyned communication, hauynge some faouour of lernynge, I was familiar with such sort of men, and was then sory for Barnes, and glad to holpe him, so farre as myght stande with my dutie, to my lorde my mayster agaynst whome he rayled." *A Declaration of such true articles*, A3v.

⁸⁷*Refutation*, fol. M1.

Stafford 'to geue hym warninge when he was complained of to the cardinall', it was George Joye to whom Stafford 'didde euer shewe' Gardiner's letters.⁸⁸ One 'M. Chikens' fell under similar suspicion, and likewise consulted with Joye concerning Gardiner's advice.⁸⁹

Chikens, Stafford and Joye evaded prosecution, but Robert Barnes was not so fortunate. Condemnatory articles had been drawn up for the bishops by a Master of Arts called Terelle, 'a man of no learning as all the bishops do know right well'.⁹⁰ Arrested on 6 February, Barnes was taken to London, accompanied by Miles Coverdale, who wished to assist in the defence. When examined on Thursday 8 February, Barnes demanded a formal trial; this began the following day, presided over by an ecclesiastical commission which included Gardiner, Tunstall and Fisher. Faced with recantation or burning, Barnes abjured on the Saturday, and on Sunday 11 February 1526, with the Hanse merchants, he burned a symbolic faggot along with the seized Lutheran texts at Wolsey's second book-burning. The Cambridge scholar may well have been the star attraction of the ceremony at St. Paul's Cross, as A.G. Chester argues: 'Wolsey's demonstration might have proved a poor show, with only a few books and four or five obscure foreigners as the centre of interest. The injection of Prior Barnes was just what was needed to give a fillip to what otherwise might have been a flat performance.'⁹¹

As it happened, the ceremony in St. Paul's was far from flat, and it may be argued that Wolsey's elaborate book-burning spectacles marked a new significance for the process of incineration. For the remainder of the Henrician era the laity of England received various contradictory commands concerning their books, whether 'Lutheran' or 'Romish'. When the equivocation was suspended, however, fire was the only eradicator trusted. The horror and pain experienced by the majority of the laity at the burning of their statues, paintings, and devotional works was mirrored by the reformers' reactions to the burning of the Word of God. The 'cleansing' fire wielded by the authorities made an indelible

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, M1v.

⁸⁹There is little information extant on this man. He is most likely the 'Chykyn' who commenced B.A. in 1521, M.A. in 1524, and B.D. 1531. His college is unfortunately unknown.

⁹⁰R. Barnes, *A Supplication made by Robert Barnes*, C6v.

⁹¹A.G. Chester, 'Robert Barnes and the Burning of the Books', *HLQ*, vol. 3 (May 1951), p. 221.

impression on both factions, who were forced to witness the burning of the men and women pronounced stubborn heretics (whether 'papist' or reformist).⁹² Margaret Aston writes:

Fire was the ultimate destroyer, the agent of the expected conflagration that would end the world, and the sight of the long-revered holy objects vanishing in the flames prompted thoughts of last things. ... Everyone was conditioned to think of the consummation of the world by fire, and the iconoclasts, who set out to reduce a whole world of impurities to ashes, impressed the finality of flames on their generation. Theirs was an idealistic vision: renewal by obliteration.⁹³

Returning to 1526, we find Thomas Wolsey concerned with burning dissident texts and symbolic faggots - the signifiers of heresy - rather than destroying the heretics themselves. John Fisher delivered a moving sermon at the book-burning, which 'for the great noyse of the people within the churche of Paules, when it was sayde, myght nat be herde.'⁹⁴ He explained that 'heresy is a perillous wede, it is the sede of the deuyll, the inspiration of the wicked spirites ... the quenching of our faith, the distruction of all good frute, and fynally the mourder of our soules.'⁹⁵ The sermon addressed controversial issues of the day, including clerical celibacy and justification by faith. Fisher argued without recourse to the Church Fathers, but instead based his sermon on the scriptures, inverting the reformers' interpretation of Luke 18:42: 'Open thine eyes, for thys faith hath made thee safe'.⁹⁶ According to Fisher, 'faith' meant obedience to the orthodox church, which Jesus had promised to remain with and to send his Holy Spirit to guide. To deny the Church Fathers was to deny Jesus' promise. The true doctrine of Christ could only be learned within the formal establishment of the Church. This belief was supported by Christian Cabbalism, much admired by Bishop Fisher in the works of Johann Reuchlin. The Church's authority could be strengthened by

⁹²For an early example of this see Norman Tanner, 'Penances Imposed on Kentish Lollards by Archbishop Warham 1511-12', in M. Aston & C. Richmond (eds.), *Lollardy and the Gentry in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 235.

⁹³M. Aston, *Faith and Fire*, p. 313. For her discussion of the issue see ch. 10 'Rites of Destruction by Fire', pp. 291-313.

⁹⁴J. Fisher, *A sermon had at Paulis by the commandment of the most reverend father in god my lorde legate/ and sayd by Johnn the bishop of Rochester/ upon quinquagesom sonday*, A4r. Henceforth *A sermon had at Paulis*.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, A3r-4v.

⁹⁶The translation is John Fisher's.

citing the Cabbalist tenet that there existed extra-scriptural information, passed down orally from generation to generation.

According to the Fisher, the Lutheran (rather than the humanist) concern with evangelism misunderstood the full duty attached to the office: 'The preaching of this word be nothing else, but as the cophyns and the hoppers wherein this seed is couched.'⁹⁷ The reformers devoted their attention to the hoppers and not to the seed: 'The fair speech, the eloquence, the knowledge of languages, these be but the veray hull of the scriptures. This hull these heretics have: But the veray pithe and substance of the seed is piked out of their hearts by these evil spirits, that keep them in this carnality.'⁹⁸ Several times during the course of the sermon Fisher turned to the abjured, whom he addressed as "my bretherne", exhorting them:

Therefore if ye love your owne soules, nowe flee this doctryne hens forwarde: and ioynye you unto the doctryne of the churche, and beleue as the churche beleueth: that I may saye unto eche of you: Rispice, fides tua te saluum fecit: Open thyne eies, for this faithe, that nowe thou haste, beleuyng as the Churche of Christe belieueth, hath saved the.⁹⁹

Fisher's attitude to heresy had not greatly altered in the five years since he had openly wept in the University of Cambridge while trying to pronounce a sentence of excommunication. His words reveal a genuine concern for the souls of the heretics, and a need to convince them of the error of their ways. Of any unrepentant Lutheran, he says:

if it may lyke the same disciple to come unto me secretely, and breake his mynde at more length, I bynde me by these presentes, bothe to kepe his secreasy, and also to spare a leysoure for hym to here the bottum of his mynde, and he shal here myne agayne, if it so please hym: and I trust in our lorde, that fynally we shall so

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, D1r.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, F3r. Huldrych Zwingli used this argument two years previous: "One need not have a visible person in order to believe; for one person never converts another unless the Spirit who draws heart and mind, does so. Though one may need a preacher, he still does not cause the heart to believe; the Spirit and word of God do that." D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, p. 90.

⁹⁹J. Fisher, *A sermon had at Paulis*, D3v.

agre, that either he shal make me a Lutheran, orels I shal enduce him to be a catholyke, and to folowe the doctryne of Christis churche.¹⁰⁰

Perhaps unwilling to admit the extent of English heresy, after the second book-burning Thomas Wolsey focused his attentions on Dutch men resident in England; Lutherans such as Adrian Dalewyn and Abraham Walter recanted during the year. Within a matter of weeks of the ceremony at St. Paul's Cross, there was a new, monumental book to burn, one which would stir more English hearts than any work of Luther's - William Tyndale's New Testament. Sixteenth-century English heresy was on the map.

Thomas More described Tyndale's New Testament as 'nothyng ellys in effecte but the worst heresyys pycked out of Luthers workes and Luthers worst wordys translated by Tyndall and put forth in Tyndals own name'.¹⁰¹ He even disapproved of its title: 'Whyche who so callyth the new testament calleth it by a wronge name/ excepte they wyll call it Tyndals testament or Luthers testament. For so had Tyndall after Luthers counsayle corrupted and chaunged it from the good and holsom doctryne of Cryste to the deuylysh heresyys of theyr own/ that it was clene a contrary thyng.'¹⁰² However, More's complaints can not alter the fact that with the appearance of Tyndale's New Testament, the English language and the English Church were irrevocably changed. In the wake of its appearance, the contraband book trade came under fierce pressure, both in England and on the Continent. On 30 September 1526 Wolsey wrote to Fisher, ordering the surrender of all Lutheran books containing the vernacular New Testament. He also instructed John Hackett (the English Ambassador to the Low Countries) to prevent further printings of the heretic's work. Despite difficulties, Hackett succeeded, and on 16 January 1527 a proclamation was issued forbidding the possession of the English New Testament. On the same day all known copies of suspect books were seized and burnt in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.

Cuthbert Tunstall joined Wolsey in his initiative, and on Wednesday 24 October publicly denounced 'the pestilent and pernicious poison in the vulgar tongue' in his sermon at Paul's Cross. Injunctions

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, A4r.

¹⁰¹'A Dialogue Concerning Heresies', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, p. 303.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 285.

were issued to his archdeacons calling in all copies of the forbidden book on pain of excommunication; in addition the Alderman of London were to examine every man in their wards concerning heretical books. The day following his sermon, Bishop Tunstall brought 31 of London's booksellers before him, and forbade them to import any books unless approved by the Archbishop Warham, Cardinal Wolsey or himself. Another book-burning followed shortly afterwards (possibly on Sunday 28th). On 3 November both Warham and Tunstall sent out lists of the prohibited books and instructions, all copies of which were to be sought out and handed over to the Church authorities within 30 days.

By this stage, the London illegal book trade had had ten years to establish an efficient network, which proved impossible to disband. The mercantile connections with printing towns such as Antwerp, Strasbourg and Calais ensured that the widespread dissemination of texts continued. Men like Richard Harman exported books from Antwerp, finding willing recipients in those such as John Tyndale, a London cloth merchant.¹⁰³ Much of the contraband passed through the hands of the clergy of the parish of All Hallows, Honey Lane, which was headed by Thomas Forman, the ex-president of Queen's College, Cambridge. There Forman preached sermons obviously intended for the brethren, and imported the works of Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli, and new editions of John Wyclif and Jan Hus. His curates at Honey Lane included Thomas Garrett and Francis Bigod. Geoffrey Lome was another in Forman's service: he translated Luther's tracts and distributed them among the universities and neighbouring dioceses. Within London, the books were either sold privately or in St. Paul's churchyard. Unaffected by his incarceration, Robert Barnes continued to supply illegal books and to convert people to the 'new learning'. Having been transferred from the Fleet prison to the House of the Austin Friars in London, at Michaelmas 1526 he received two men from the Lollard community of Steeple Bumpstead, who wanted his opinion of their heretical Bible. Barnes sent them off with a brand new New Testament.

1527 saw a further escalation of the situation. William Warham attempted to stop the flow of New Testaments by buying all of them up

¹⁰³John was later forced to abjure for sending five marks to his exiled brother William. See D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 180, p. 210.

himself, a plan which backfired disastrously. Two years later, George Constantine confided in Thomas More the secret of the reformers' success: "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort."¹⁰⁴ The dissemination of the heretical texts printed on the Continent continued: at Easter Thomas Garrett journeyed to Oxford, a known place of 'infection' (ironically, it was Wolsey's Cardinal College which boasted such dedicated Lutherans as John Frith and Richard Taverner). The Bishop of Lincoln was informed that Garrett 'sought out those who knew Hebrew, Greek and Latin, pretending that he wished to learn Hebrew and Greek, and distributed a great number of corrupt books among them.'¹⁰⁵ Further religious upheavals followed in May 1527, with the sacking of Rome. The pope, God's plenipotentiary on earth, was held captive in his palace. As with the Great Schism of the fourteenth century, the scandalous event pointed to the temporal preoccupations of the papacy, and to the gulf between the apostolic calling and the 'popo-holy' pretensions of Rome.

The various foci of the reformers in this period demonstrate the substantial areas of intersection between orthodox, Lollard and Continental theories of reform. Miles Coverdale had been preaching since 1525 against image worship and auricular confession. George Constantine admitted to 'meddling' in: 'Justificacyon and by lyvinge faith: Pilgremage: Invocacyon of Saintes: Worshippinge of Images: cownterfayted religions: trustinge to ceremonies & abuse of them: Ignorante and superstitious prayeing: superstitious fastes & conjugium sacerdotum'.¹⁰⁶ Hugh Latimer was working along a similar line, differentiating between 'necessary' works and mere *adiaphora*, and declaiming against the obscene wealth of the clerical establishment. In May 1527 Bilney and Arthur left Cambridge, 'enbolned with the flyblowen blast of the moche vayne glorious pipplyng wynde'. They began a preaching tour that eventually led them to London. Along the way, they preached 'howe it was idolatry to offre to ymages of our blessed lady, or to pray and go on pylgrimages, or to make oblacions to any

¹⁰⁴A&M, vol. 4, p. 671.

¹⁰⁵L&P, vol. 4, pt. 2, [3968]. Letter written by Dr. London (25 Feb 1528).

¹⁰⁶G. Constantine, *Memorial*, pp. 77-8.

ymages of sayntes in churches or elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ The two men were accused of heresy, and were called to the same court where George Joye was scheduled to appear to answer for his own religious 'errors'. The charges directed against Joye touched upon issues such as clerical marriage, justification by faith, and the authenticity of the sacrament of confession. In essence, they constituted an attack on the fundamentals of Church doctrine, posing a far greater theological threat than the iconoclasm of Thomas Bilney.

IV

Surprisingly, the imputation of Joye's theological belief did not emanate from the University of Cambridge, but originated much closer to home. As a sub-deacon of Newnham Abbey, Joye had been active in Bedford since 1515, preaching and ministering to his parishioners. In 1527 the prior of Newnham John Ashwell prepared a charge of heresy on four counts, which he sent to Bishop John Longland. Ashwell's original letter is not extant, and the only available rendition of his accusations comes from the accused. Having received a copy of the condemnatory letter (perhaps from Stephen Gardiner), Joye includes a transcription of the prior's sycophantic epistle 'taken out of his owne hande word for word' at the beginning of his retaliation.¹⁰⁸ Certainly, such an inclusion is characteristic of the time: Luther's heretical work appeared in Henry VIII's *Assertio*; in his *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* John Fisher refuted John Oecolampadius' sacramentarian tract line by line; and Thomas More's *Confutation* practically reprints Tyndale's *Answer to More's Dialogue*. However, the inclusion of Ashwell's letter served another purpose: it would remind the reading public of the charges, which by the time of publication were four years old, for George Joye did not publish his reply until 1531, when from an Antwerp press came:

The letters which Johan Ashwel Priour of Newnham Abbey besids Bedforde sente secretely to the Bishope of Lyncolne in the yeare of our lorde M.D. xxvii. Wherein

¹⁰⁷J. Skelton, 'A Replycacion', V.J. Scattergood (ed.), *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, p. 375.

¹⁰⁸*Ashwell*, A2r. For Gardiner having the letter in his possession see *Refutation*, M2r, where Joye refers to "the prior of Newnahams letters, which letters ye had...".

the sayde priour accuseth George Joye that tyme being felawe of Peter college in Cambridge of fower opinions: with the answer of the sayed George unto the same opinions.

Ashwell's letter provided Longland with the charges (in Latin), then described the prior's diligent action in the case. He had exhorted Joye 'openly & sumtime secretly that he shulde leue such Lutronous opinions. Also M. chawnceler [Longland's chancellor, Rains] made serche for him diuerse times when he came into the contre but then he was euer at Cambrig in Peter house.'(A2r) Rains eventually instructed John Ashwell to prohibit Joye from preaching in church, but this measure proved insufficient, as Joye was also spreading his 'lewde opinions ...among lay persons at festis or yonkeres in the cowntre'.(A3r) Joye's campaigning proved effective, for concluding the accusatory letter was a request for secrecy: the prior was afraid that 'I shall lose the favor of many in my country'.(A3r) George Joye's perspective on the matter is understandably, quite different:

Master priour/ I meruel gretly/ considering the grete kindenes & loue that you euer pretended towerd me/ neuer opening your grefe and mynde to me so ofte resorting to your place/ neuer moneshing me (although you saye that you exhorted me openly & secretly, which is not trwe) that you neuer made eny insinuacion unto me of this your preuey odious entente/ but rather shewed me utwordly a fayer flateringe contenance desyeringe me ofte to abyde which you : but (as I nowe perceau) all was to honte out somewhat of me wherby you might thus Judasly betraye me/ & so do your spiritual father & other/ sich a secrete sacrifice. (A3r)

The refutation which follows provides the only extant evidence of Joye's theology in the 1520s. It may be seen as a culmination of his education to date, merging the orthodox teaching of his humanist college with the subversive polemic of the Continental reformers: for example, although the dialectical argumentation evident in *Ashwell* would have been learned through the university disputations, it was also employed in the polemic of the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli.

The first charge was essentially concerned with the primacy of Rome. In Matthew 16 Jesus bestowed the keys to his kingdom upon the apostle Peter: presenting itself as Peter's heir, the see of Rome asserted its superiority over all other churches. It alone had inherited the keys from

Peter, therefore it alone possessed the divine power to hold or to remit sin. The issue was highly topical: in the years following Prior Ashwell's accusation, Robert Barnes, John Frith and William Tyndale were among those who assumed a similar stance to Joye. Roye and Barlowe also derided the pope, with 'his keyes lockis chaynes and fetters'.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the argument became part and parcel of the reformers' diatribe against the Romish Church, which was pictured as revelling in its manufactured confessional, 'abusing alwaies Peters keyes to fill Iudas Satchels'.¹¹⁰ Allegedly, by 1527 Joye believed 'that a simple priest hath as large and as grete powr to bynde and to lose/ as hath a bishope or the Bishope of Rome.'(A1v) His response follows closely the articles of the Reformed faith published by Huldrych Zwingli in 1523. The keys are not annexed to the sacrament of confession, but to the duty of preaching. The basic argument is that when Jesus asked 'Who do you say that I am', 'Peter answerde as the mouthe for them all'.(A4v) Therefore, all of the apostles were given the keys, although Peter was the only one named.¹¹¹ Cuthbert Tunstall shared this view, 'Peter answered for them all, for of all them the question was asked'.¹¹² The rightful heirs to the apostles (and their keys) are those who lead apostolic lives, those who fulfil their obligation to preach, not those who hear confessions. Furthermore, the keys are in fact the Word of God: their power lies not within the human sphere, but manifests itself only through the proper preaching of the Word:

when the gospel cometh which is that joyful tidingis/ that Christe came to cal & to saue sinners/ & that grace & forgeuenes of sinnes is geuen thorowe his deth to as many as beleue this comfortable promise: then the sinner hearing these tidingis & beleuinge them perfityly: fealeth his harte eased/ comforted & losed. But if he beleueth it not: then is he yet holden stil bounden in to damnacion: this is the bindinge and losinge of the keyes of gods worde. (A7r)¹¹³

¹⁰⁹'Rede me and be nott wrothe', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 29. See also 'A proper dialoge', *ibid.*, p. 133, p. 135: "Of popes pardones they boosted the treasure./ Challengynge of heuene and hell the kaye ... They take upon them apostles auctorite/ But they folowe nothings their profession".

¹¹⁰From a sermon by Bernard Gilpin (1552), J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 30.

¹¹¹This derives from an argument of Zwingli's: "it should be quite clear that they [the apostles] did not all prattle at one and the same time, but that one spoke in the name of the others." D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, p. 300.

¹¹²C. Tunstall, *A Sermon of Cuthbert Byshop of Duresme*, C7r.

¹¹³In this Joye is extremely close to Zwingli's 50th Article - 'On Remission of Sin': "The keys are none other than the preaching of the pure, undefiled word of the gospel. Whoever believes in it, is freed from sins and becomes whole. But whoever does not

Joye's argument of the 'rustye tradicions and lawes of men'(B1r) is archetypal of the reformist approach to the issue. Hugh Latimer in 1535 espoused similar views:

What a rusty truth is this, *Quodcumque ligaveris*, "Whatsoever thou bindest," &c. This is a truth spoken to the apostles, and all true preachers their successors, that with the law of God they should bind and condemn all that sinned; and whosoever did repent, they should declare him loosed and forgiven, by believing in the blood of Christ. But how hath this truth over-rusted with the pope's rust?¹¹⁴

According to the reformers, the power of the Roman see to remit sin was in fact illusory, and derived from a deliberate 'wresting' of the scriptures. The medieval industry which had grown around the sale of pardons and indulgences was thought to serve no spiritual purpose. Furthermore, it deprioritized the one crucial Christian attribute upon which remission of sin was contingent: faith.

The second charge involved what was surely the most ubiquitous topic of the early Reformation: the belief in justification through faith alone. One opinion alleged to Joye was his belief in the sufficiency of faith without works. Joye flatly denies the accusation, then adds: 'but I might saie that by faith withoute workes a man is justified/ which is Pauls saying in the thirde chap. to the Romans/ and this sentence I believe as true with Paul/ and hold it for none 'opinion'.'(B2v) The Zwinglian position of Joye, normally not attributed to him until the 1530s, is discernible at this earliest of stages. He reasons that when we have faith and believe in God's promise (of the one redeeming propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus), 'we love him so earnestly agene that we cease not ... to fulfill his plesures in doinge the workes of loue or charite to our neighbours'.(B2v)¹¹⁵ This was of some import, since the Roman church branded the reformers as people who abandoned good works,

believe, shall be condemned." D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, p. 308.

¹¹⁴G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 30.

¹¹⁵John Fisher similarly depicted the performing of good works as resulting from belief in the Word: "The Worde of god causeth all goodnes in the soule/ it maketh it moyste and redy to sprynge in good werkes." *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd*, oo2v.

smug in the certainty of their redemption. For Joye, good works done without faith are always sinful, but even when done with faith they merely 'shewe us rightwise before the worlde/ but faith justifieth us before God.'(B3v) This subject permeates his body of works, culminating in *Refutation* (1546), which is wholly concerned with the issue. In *Isaye* Joye warns against 'puttinge our vayne confidence in our workes leauinge his commaundements undone'.(A3r) His line of reasoning continues in *Subuersion* (1534), where he writes: 'Yet ought we not under payne of damnacion to leue them [good works] undone. Nomore than thoughe our leggis & handis serue us not to se with all: yet ought we not therfore to kut them of & cast them awaye but to noresshe & holde them in their propyr placis and use.'(A6r) In effect this represents an endorsement of 'double justification', which differentiates between the righteousness of God (i.e. his mercy towards us) and the righteousness of the law:

we ar justified before God only in that we ar chosen in Christe before the worlde was created, Ephe.I. Of the whiche election and justificacion/ our faithe when god geueth it us/ certifieth our hartes/ & aftirwarde when our faith breketh forth in to good workes (for trwe faith cannot be ydle) then ar our workes a testimony before men of our faithe/ so that our faithe is a secrete and a suer persuasion to our selfe of our election before God/ and our workes that procede of faithe ar a testimony of our faith to the worlde/ of the which utward workes the worlde judgeth us rightwis aftir the rightwisnes of the law. (B3v)

Good works are a necessary result of the 'lively', justifying faith of a true believer; far from ceasing to do good works, the heirs of the apostles are filled with the love of God, and are therefore 'bounde for this loue to do mor then euer'.¹¹⁶ However, despite any amount of good works, we must trust only in the Gospel (which is 'to us an earnest peny to be assuerde of our promised heretage'(B5r)),¹¹⁷ and to God's righteousness, 'for all our

¹¹⁶Tyndale, in his preface to Exodus (A7v), professed a similar belief: "Yf any man axe me, seyng that faith iustifieth me why I worke? I answere loue compelleth me For as longe as my soule fealeth what loue god hath shewed me in Christe, I can not but loue god agayne and his will and commaundmentes and of loue worke them, nor can they seme hard unto me."

¹¹⁷Zwingli calls it "the best proclamation ... the most certain assurance of salvation" in Article 5, D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, pp. 24-5. For the use of 'earnest peny' see Thomas Adams' sermon 'Dining with the Devil' (c. 1613): "Sinne is the Deuils earnest-penny on earth, in Hell he giues the Inheritance." J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 193.

rightwisnesses saith Isaie in the .64. chapter ar as the spotted and foule clothes of a menstruouse'.(B5v)¹¹⁸

Ashwell's third allegation held that Joye advocated clerical marriage. Zwingli's outspokenness on this matter has been mentioned, but Joye's opinion may have been formed by incidents at the University. One possible influence was Thomas Dugate, who chose to marry, and consequently resigned his fellowship at Corpus Christi (assuming the name 'Benet'). More significantly, Joye's Master at Peterhouse John Edmunds had married a sister of John Mere. Such a flagrant act of disobedience, both to the austere statutes of the college and to the church itself, must have made a considerable impact on George Joye. By the time of writing *Ashwell* he had already rejected his vow of celibacy and had married (or according to Thomas More: 'beynge preste, he hath bygyled a woman and wedded her/ the pore woman I wene vnaware that he ys preste.').¹¹⁹ Despite the diverse legislation enacted over the Henrician era, Joye and his wife remained together, whether in England or in exile. In his response to the charge Joye draws lines of argumentation from several of Zwingli's arguments: that chastity is a gift from God and therefore cannot be 'vowed'; that the apostles were married; that God himself commanded us to marry; and that Paul stated that it is better to be married than to burn with lust. According to Joye, the Church's ban is invented, and serves only to expose its hypocrisy. Although forbidding holy, chaste wedlock, the 'church militant ... permitteth the prestes in some places to haue their concubines paynge theyr annual tributes to their bishopes for their leencial luste/ and in many places/ to their grete sclaunder/ their Commissares, Scribes with other officers winke at their horedom and adultery/ for bribes/ for faouere/ or feare.'(B6v-B7r)¹²⁰

¹¹⁸See Zwingli, 'Of Divine and Human Righteousness and How They Relate To One Another', D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 2, p. 18, where he concludes "that it is with human righteousness very much as it is with the defiled cloth of a menstruating woman."

¹¹⁹'Confutation of Tyndale', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 8.

¹²⁰Although C. Butterworth & A.G. Chester remark (*George Joye*, p. 80) that Joye "inclines to the Lutheran position", it seems to me that Joye's approach to this issue is fundamentally Zwinglian. For example, the condemnation quoted above echoes Zwingli's 49th article: "I know of no greater offence than to forbid priests to have wives, yet allow them to engage prostitutes." D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, p. 295. The condoning of incontinent priests is satirised in John Bale's *King Johan*, where Sedicyon announces: "I have a great mynd to be a lecherous man -/ A wengonce take yt - I wold saye a relygyous man." (Act 1, l. 305) . William Tyndale addresses the issue in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (fol. 73r): "A Bisshope must be fautelesse/ the husbände of one wife. Nay sayth the Pope/ the husbände of no wife/ but

Having no concern for the spiritual well-being of the clergy, the ban instead promotes licentious living, and ensures that the Church retains control of its vast wealth.

The fourth charge concerned the validity of confessions heard by the laity. The sacrament of confession was subjected to much criticism and scorn over the course of the Reformation. According to the gospellers, it was at best a matter of *adiaphora*, at worst an invented sacrament that served the schemings of a power-hungry pope. For example, in John Bale's *King Johan*, Sedicyon declares:

For by confessyon the Holy Father knoweth

Throw owt all Christendom what to his holynes growyth. (Act 1, ll. 272-3)

Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* declared: 'And thorow confessions know they all secretes/ so that no man maye open his mouth to rebuke what so ever they doo/ but that he shalbe shortly made an herytike.' (fol. 42r) Joye refines the prior's allegation, contending that some lay people could hear 'confessions', which were not actually confessions as such, but provided an opportunity to counsel and to comfort. In this argument he is close to Zwingli's 52nd article, which defines confession not 'as the remission of sin, but simply as seeking advice.'¹²¹ Following James 5:16, Joye believes in open confession followed by communal prayers for forgiveness. The most important factor is the contrition of the penitent. The laws of Rome allow sinners to consider their sins automatically forgiven by the priest, regardless of genuine repentance. In contradistinction to this Joye advances an image of a close-knit, non-hierarchical community, whose sole priority is the spiritual welfare of its members. Support and counsel are given freely; true repentance is entirely dependant on the individual sinner.

There was also an additional charge concerning the condemnation of pilgrimage, which Joye answers briefly. He denies mocking pilgrimages himself, but explains that 'he that sitteth in heuen hath them in derision. It is the lorde that scorneth them'. (C6r) Despite Joye's denial, *Ashwell* communicates clearly the author's little regard for those who

the holder of as many whores as he listeth."

¹²¹D.K. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 1, p. 317.

'wyll runne after straunge goddes/ into hylles/ wodes and solytary places/ there to worshype stockes and stones ...of mannes making. Are not these men to be laughed at/ or rather to be lamented'.(fol. C6) Joye's certainty and bluntness is characteristic: 'Let them cloke theyr worshyppe with Dulie and Hyperdulia and yet shall it be Idolatria...'(C7r)

For all its Zwinglian echoes, Joye's defence bears little resemblance to the measured prose of the Swiss reformer. *The letters which Johan Ashwel* oscillates between a theological *apologia* and a damning indictment of his accuser. It is littered with jibes against the learning (or lack thereof) of Prior Ashwell and his cellarer John Salpho, a man who 'could beter skill in makinge of a pease rike then in allegging of holy scripture'.¹²² Much of the tract presents itself as a formal theological debate, yet the structured argumentation is filled with diatribes against the 'Synagoge of Satan', which Joye exhorts to cast aside its 'rusty traditions' and to repent. The 'storie of my state' appended to the tract recounts the dire result of Ashwell's accusations. This idiosyncratic complaint provides a subjective slant on the upheavals of the time, and amply demonstrates the sacrifices which were required of all the exiled reformers. Joye describes himself 'now expulsed my native land thorough your letters/ losing my poor living/ forsaking al my kin and friendes/ being in great povertye and care'.(A3v) Yet although vitriolic at times, the tone is generally tempered, and often humorous. Joye admits that he has not been as patient as he ought in his answer, and expresses his opinion that Prior Ashwell has 'a good zele to god/ but (as Paule sayeth) not according to knowlege'.(D3v) He simply asks Ashwell to judge by the Word, 'to reade my answer againe with a pacience and with an hart purged from all carnall affectes/ and conferre it with the scriptures purely not wrested with mennes gloses nor with longe customes/ nor yet wyth the Popes decrees and hys churche'.(D3v) Joye ends the tract with his hope for Ashwell's redemption: 'God geue you grace by readyng hys worde to decerne Christe from Antichryste/ and god from the ungodly/ to fle by tyme oute of Babylon/ and to saue your soule. Amen'.(D4r)

¹²²MED, *pese*, n. 3, *pese-rek*, 'a stack of harvested pea plants'. Joye's taunt is echoed in *Confuteth* (1543), fol. C6, where he claims that the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp "is more meate to rowe in a galey or to holde the plough then to gouern so worshiple and honeste a companye."

As a reformation document *The letters which Johan Ashwel* is to be prized for its merging of theology and autobiography, a contextualisation which makes it impossible to fall into the trap of treating 'the early Reformers as if they lived in a world of religious conflict remote from workaday experience.'¹²³ Joye retains this authorial perspective, and the majority of his works possess such a personal dimension. The idiomatic colloquialisms, parochial vocabulary, and formulation of new words (such as 'menstrouse') also remained features of his style. Similar to the language of the other early reformers, Joye's prose is steeped in Biblical paraphrase and allusion. The doctrine of *sola scriptura* infuses the book: although Bede and Augustine are referred to in passing, the arguments are fundamentally based on the Scripture: Matthew 16, John 20, Luke 24. He demonstrated a distrust of a high-flown, grandiloquent style and believed that a simpler, homelier construction and vocabulary, which could be understood by all, was more truthful and honest. In this Joye was reacting (consciously or otherwise) to the hybrid Latin-English sentence forms of men such as Thomas More, whose 'insistence upon maintaining clerical authority (and superiority) through retention of a traditional and specifically Latinate vocabulary becomes the core of the English Catholic position regarding Biblical translation.'¹²⁴ Also evident is the nascent awareness of the complexities of the process of signification, of how words mean. Joye mentions certain interchangeable words: 'to heare in scripture is sometimes taken for to beleue'(B3r); 'the keye of knowleg and the gospel ar al one'(B3v); as for 'mercy' and 'truth' - 'the maner of the scripture is/ to vse the one for the tother/ as the kingdome of heauen for the gospel'.(B3r) Within a few years these matters were problematised, and resulted in fiery argumentation. The fundamental issues of the English Reformation, encompassing both theology and semantics, were already becoming manifest.

On Saturday 23 November the vice-chancellor of Cambridge John Edmunds received orders 'sent as from the Cardinall' to send George Joye to London, to appear at 9am at Westminster on the 27th. Bilney and Arthur were likewise subpoenaed to answer for their 'erroneus opynyons'. Edmunds sent for Joye and showed him the letters on

¹²³A complaint of A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants*, p. 63.

¹²⁴J. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word*, p. 208.

Monday. Joye rode in to London, arriving late; Bilney and Arthur ('those two poore shepe'(C8v)) were already being questioned (by 'so many cruel wolues' (C8v)).¹²⁵ Wary of the 'shrewd mayney of bisshops besides the Cardinal',(D1r) Joye instead held back and waited to see how the others would fare. The trial continued for the week, with no verdict passed. On Saturday 30th Joye went to Wolsey's treasurer, William Gascoigne, who told him to wait in the chamber of presence, from where Wolsey's almoner Dr. Capon would take him to see the Cardinal. Joye's own account describes what followed:

I was but a course courtyer neuer before hearynge this terme chamber of presence ne knew where it was and I was halfe a shamed to aske after it/ and went in to alonge entrye on the lefte hande/ and at laste happened upon a dore and knocked/ and I opened it and when I loked in/ it was the kitchen... (D1r)

Joye finally reached his destination, and waited for over an hour (daring not to stand near the roaring fire 'for feare of burnyng'(D1r)). As bishops passed by Joye envisioned 'nothing els but the galouse and the hangmen'.(D1r) He was then sent down to Gascoigne's chamber 'and there he tolde me/ that the Cardynal sente not for me. Then I began to smell theyr secrete convayaunce/ and howe they had counterfeted theyr lordes the Cardinales letters.'(fol. D1) Gascoigne informed Joye that it was Longland's suffragan who had pressed charges, and sent him to the bishop of Lincoln. *En route* Joye met Longland's chancellor (Dr. Rains), who instructed him to return the following morning at 6am. Joye obeyed, waiting at the foot of the stairs until 8 o'clock, at which time Longland (with the other bishops, who were visiting Henry VIII at Greenwich) breezed by, ordering Joye to remain with Rains and await his return. When Joye tracked down Gascoigne, the veneer of friendship dropped away, and the treasurer rebuked him for reading the heretical Origen, and accused him of sharing in the heresies of Bilney and Arthur. An anagnorisis followed, and the accused finally realised that Gascoigne 'was the author of all my trouble'.(D1r) After waiting for Longland most of the night, Joye insisted on going to his lodging, promising to return in the morning. Rains was loath for him to go, and Watson, his scribe, asked where Joye was lodging. Joye lied about his accommodation, 'for I

¹²⁵For the interrogatories see *A&M*, vol. 4, pp. 624-8. Wolsey's episcopal tribunal included Tunstall, Warham, Fisher, West and Longland.

never trusted Scribes nor pharisais/ and I perceyved he asked me not for any good.'(D2r) Joye's growing doubts about the legality of the proceedings and the harm intended towards him were confirmed the following morning, when he met a scholar of Cambridge on the way into London:

he tolde me that the bisshop of Lincolne had sente hys servaunt besely to enquire and to seke me; what is the matter quoth I? Mary quoth he it is sayde that he wold geue you a benefice for preachyng in hys diocese/ A benefice quoth I? ye a Malefice rather/ for so rewarde they men for weldoinge. Then I gote me horse and rode fro my Benefice/ and lefte college and all that I had and convayed me selfe towards the sea side ready to flee farther yf nede were. (D2r)

Joye was fortunate in his timing: Longland had 'layed prevey wait for me to be taken and my fete bound under an horse bely to be brought in him', and the Bishop of Ely was planning a trip to Cambridge for the purpose of expelling Joye from Peterhouse.(D2v) The Computus Rolls of 1527-8 show Joye receiving his last livery, and the founders day allowance for 1528 is without mention of George Joye. It is perhaps surprising to find Joye - almost 20 years on - thanking Stephen Gardiner, who had in his possession the accusatory letters of the Prior of Newnham. Joye explains that he realises

what good words and good counsell ye gave me, and even after it I did, and so escaped the cardinals and the byshops handes. For ye saide, I did wisely, if I coulde kepe me out of their hands for that tyme did M Bylnay and arture apere before him, and I was sent for, to kepe them companye to have holpen them to bere fagots or els to burne for gods word or to recant, But I thanke god and your good premonicion and counsell for that I toke another waye.¹²⁶

The trial ended on 7 December; both Bilney and Arthur abjured. The former was imprisoned, the latter was released on condition that he

¹²⁶*Refutation*, M2r. Joye may have exaggerated Gardiner's input in order to stir up trouble for him as bishop of Winchester. There is a widespread myth that Joye appeared and recanted at the tribunal, see for example D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 323: "George Joye of Peterhouse was similarly summoned in 1527 and promised to conform.", and H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, p. 49: "Joye and Bilney were summoned before Wolsey, in their turn, in 1527; and promised to conform." Generally C.H. Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* is cited as the source, yet Cooper tells of Joye being charged and then fleeing.

never preach again. The two men (whose charges included speaking against the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary) were taken to St. Paul's Cross on 8 December:

Bycause ye her mysnamed,
And wolde have her defamed,
Your madnesse she attamed;
For ye were worldly shamed,
At Poules Crosse openly,
All men can testifye.
There, lyke a sorte of sottes,
Ye were fayne to beare fagottes;
At the feest of her concepcion
Ye suffred suche correction.¹²⁷

In Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* the character Stephen Gardiner comments on the danger of the new heresies, and the imperative need to reform them:

Which reformation must be sudden too,
My noble lords; for those that tame wild horses
Pace 'em not in their hands to make 'em gentle,
But stop their mouths with stubborn bits and spur 'em
Till they obey the manage. If we suffer,
Out of our easiness and childish pity
To one man's honour, this contagious sickness,
Farewell all physic; and what follows then?¹²⁸

Wolsey's tribunal came too late, and his attempt at suppression led to an inevitable backlash. Joye's condemnation of the English clergy, who could not see 'how syth you inhybyted the preachers, and the worde of God to be taught and redde of the laye men, and persecuted it, the more it encresethe, it groweth, it spreadeth, it thrusteth you downe'(B1v), came close to the truth. Both clergy and doctrine became suspect, and the demand for an authorised vernacular scripture only grew. On Christmas

¹²⁷J. Skelton, 'A Replycacion', V.J. Scattergood (ed.), *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, p. 376.

¹²⁸W. Shakespeare, *King Henry the Eighth*, Act 5, sc. 3, ll. 20-7.

Eve 1527 Thomas Garrett journeyed to Oxford with two fardels of forbidden books to deliver to the ever-increasing numbers of those 'beginning to smell the word of God.'

Chapter 3

But if thou canst do any good
 In teachyng of an A B C,
 A primar, or else Robynhode,
 Let that be good pastyme for the.¹

The abjurations of Bilney and Arthur late in 1527 marked only the beginning of the movement to suppress the anglicised Continental heresies. In the three years that followed, the endeavours both to spread and to suppress the doctrines of the heretics shifted into a higher gear; the stakes were (literally) raised. The English reformers had two avenues of attack: from inside the ecclesiastical machine, or from without, overtly challenging the oppressive regimen from a somewhat safer distance across the Channel. The survival and writings of exiled reformers such as Tyndale, Joye and Frith in these years were of crucial importance for the future of the English Church. In succeeding to maintain the stream of reformist polemic serving the brethren at home, they managed to solidify the foundations laid earlier in the decade. During this time the 'Continental' heresies ceased to be so; they took on an independent existence, blending Lollard, Lutheran and Zwinglian tenets. Despite the doctrinal amalgamation, the movement for reform in England never again possessed the single-mindedness and unity of purpose displayed at this stage.

I

While William Tyndale's publications increased the unease of the clergy, the provocative lampoon *Rede me and be nott wrothe* of William Roye and Jerome Barlowe helped to convince them of the need for swift action. Copies of *A Supplication for the Beggars*, written by the exiled Simon Fish, were in 1529 'thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas day'.² Its appearance was followed by an

¹'The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 71.

²*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 659. Foxe gives the year as 1528, but evidence suggests that the *Supplication* was printed by Joannes Grapheus in Antwerp early in 1529. For an account of the book see J. Scattergood, 'Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars* and Protestant Polemics', in *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, pp. 67-73.

intensification of the bishops' campaign. That same month saw the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, the first man in the realm to be condemned to the flames for espousing explicitly Lutheran doctrine. Momentum was sustained by Cuthbert Tunstall and his vicar-general Geoffrey Wharton: their questionings continued through to May, encountering pertinacious Lollard communities (such as Steeple-Bumstead) and committed adherents of Thomas Bilney and James Hacker. They also exposed the illegal trading in New Testaments of men such as Robert Barnes (who was 'safely' incarcerated in the House of the Augustinian Friars). The network of contraband smugglers (who sold New Testaments priced between 9d. and 4s.) began to materialise gradually. In March the confession of Robert Necton implicated Simon Fish, George Constantine and Geoffrey Usher (a servant of Thomas Forman), and the pressure upon the brethren was further increased. Already in February the investigation into Thomas Garrett had led back to Honey Lane. Tunstall planted men in the congregation, but the sermons preached appeared benign. Thomas Forman was brought before the bishop with John Gough, the bookseller involved with the controversial text *The Ymage of Loue*. The parson of Honey Lane denied smuggling Lutheran books to Oxford, but he did admit to purchasing the texts, supposedly to witness the heretical opinions firsthand.³ Unable to substantiate the allegations of heresy, as punishment for possessing Lutheran texts Forman was forbidden to celebrate mass or to deliver sermons. Despite the pressure on preaching and on illegal book-trading, Englishmen continued to support the compilation and translation of reformist texts. The case of the London merchant Humphrey Monmouth has been well documented, but he was only one of several patrons. An examination on 7 March 1528 of John Stacy, a bricklayer of Coleman Street, revealed that he had 'kept in his house a man named John to write the Apocalypse in English, the expences being borne by John Sercot, grocer, of Coleman Street'.⁴ In June Francis Denham appeared before Cardinal Wolsey and confessed to being a purchaser and translator of Continental reforming works.

³Significantly, Forman added "that a license to that effect had been given by Wolsey to the students at Cambridge." *L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 2, [4073]. If this was indeed the case, it would help explain the significant percentage of Cambridge scholars among the early reformers.

⁴*Ibid.*, [4029].

By this point another problem was becoming clear: when the English reformers fled their country, they were not merely evading the law, but were seeking elsewhere the support and opportunity necessary for the continuation of their work. The situation facing the English authorities was now no longer contained within their jurisdiction. Realising the foothold that the English heretics were gaining abroad, Cardinal Wolsey attempted to extend his reach across the sea. On 18 June 1528 John Hackett was instructed to bring about the extradition of three reformers, apparently William Tyndale, William Roye, and Richard Harman. Despite a marked lack of support from the regent of the Low Countries, a search was finally instigated, resulting in one arrest - that of Richard Harman in Antwerp on 12 July. Harman was a known exporter, who had been named by Robert Necton and Richard Halle as the source of their illegal New Testaments. His imprisonment caused a furore in Antwerp, and there was much pressure for his release. Wolsey's hunting abroad continued, and in August John West was sent over to aid in the apprehension of the fugitives. West succeeded in arresting George Constantine, and returned him to England, where he underwent an interrogation by Thomas More. The name of George Joye was prominent in the questioning.

For Joye, Antwerp was a logical place in which to seek shelter. The support which Richard Harman received from the people of Antwerp on being arrested in July comes as little surprise; the reformed tendencies of the town had been visible from the outset. Attempted suppression of Lutheran preachers had resulted in serious riots in 1522 and in 1525, the year in which Wolsey was informed that the town was 'thought to be marvellously corrupt'.⁵ Apart from its congenial atmosphere, there were other reasons to attract English exiles to the town. The colony of English merchants settled there was impressive, and many of these wealthy men helped to fund the translation work being carried out, as Humphrey Monmouth had patronised William Tyndale in London. The merchants also smuggled the books home, 'packed in tubs ... mixed up with wares of more innocent nature.'⁶ Antwerp's proximity to England enabled the men to keep up-to-date with current events, as well as affording them the opportunity to risk a quick visit home. Most crucial, however, was

⁵See *L&P*, vol. 3, pt. 2, [2586]; vol. 4, pt. 1, [1549].

⁶M.E. Kronenberg, 'Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries', *The Library*, ser. 4, vol. 9 (1928), p. 147.

Antwerp's publishing community. The myriad printing presses of the town welcomed the additional business brought by the exiles, and kept the English people amply supplied with illegal polemic. Furthermore, as the demand for English religious works (both orthodox and radical) increased, the reformers often eked out a living by working as typesetters, editors or proof-readers for the publishing houses.⁷

With the successful emigration of Tyndale, Roye and Barlowe overseas, and with the continuing degeneration of conditions in England, the Continent came to be seen as a haven for reformist refugees. The exiles resorted to Antwerp and similarly advantageous cities such as Strasbourg and Calais. On learning of the deliverance of his death sentence, Robert Barnes staged his own drowning and absconded, making his way to Antwerp. Within a short space of time, the town could boast among its infamous inhabitants: William Tyndale, George Joye, Miles Coverdale, Richard Bayfield, Simon Fish and John Frith.⁸ The outspoken group of Cambridge and the London Inns had simply relocated to the Continent.

Meanwhile, in England the pressure on the reformers eased somewhat. The spread of Lutheranism in England was deprioritized, superseded by business considered more pressing. The validity of the papal dispensation granted to Henry on marrying his brother's widow Katherine of Aragon was now being questioned. As William Shakespeare summed up:

Lord Cham. It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

Norfolk No, his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.⁹

The king had met Anne Boleyn, and wanted a divorce. A tribunal was arranged to consider the issue. Wolsey and Archbishop Warham met in a secretly convened court at Whitehall on 17 May 1527; after four sittings

⁷As pointed out in *George Joye*, p. 50.

⁸C. Butterworth & A.G. Chester speculate that Joye may have settled in Strasbourg for a time, considering "his use of Strassburg as an alibi in the colophons of the books he put forth at Antwerp' and the evident influence of Martin Bucer's writings on Joye's early publications." *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹W. Shakespeare, *King Henry the Eighth*, Act 2, sc. 2, ll. 14-6.

they begged the advice of other leading prelates, yet still failed to reach a conclusion. When the news of Pope Clement's death reached England in February 1529, Wolsey tried and failed to grab the papacy and rule himself on 'the King's great matter'. The English court was split between those supporting Henry without question, and those who stood their moral ground. When Campeggio opened his legantine court at Blackfriars at the beginning of the summer, Fisher, Tunstall, Standish and Ridley stood resolutely by their lawful queen.

By this time Henry's attitude to the 'new learning' had altered somewhat. The heresy of Martin Luther had been formally instituted in many powerful territories. One consequence of this was that 'the Lutherans' became a recognised power, whose strength was to be considered in weighing matters of affiliation. Rumours of Henry's tolerance towards Lutheranism had been a cause of anxiety over the previous five years. He had openly supported vernacular scripture from 1524; speculation increased when Luther wrote to the king the following year, having heard that he had 'begun to favour the gospel'.¹⁰ The elevation of Anne Boleyn was further cause for alarm. In addition, there was a strong financial motive, which must have appealed to Henry: as with the Wycliffite heresy, certain Lutheran ideas 'attracted interest because of the virtually uninhibited place [they] gave to the secular power as disappropriators and reformers of the Church.'¹¹ Henry's eagerness for a swift decision began to stretch to veiled threats: at Rome the English ambassadors pressed for a marriage dissolution, menacing with Lutheranism. They were promptly informed that Rome would return Henry's book, and strip him of his papal title. In June Henry remarked to Campeggio: 'Let us expedite this my business, in order that I may apply my mind to these Lutheran affairs, and then I will do all things.'¹² On 23 July Campeggio adjourned the case for the summer vacation (i.e. until October), refusing to pass judgement. He closed the proceedings affirming: 'I came not to please, for favour, need, or dread, of any person alive, be he king, or otherwise...'¹³ The pope revoked the case to the papal law court of the Rota, and the king of England was subpoenaed.

¹⁰See *L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 1, [40, 1614].

¹¹M.D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p.236.

¹²*L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 3, [5417, 5700].

¹³W. Scott (ed.), *The Somers Collection of Tracts*, vol. 1, p. 35. For a technical study of the case against the marriage, see J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, ch. 7, 'The Canon Law of the Divorce', pp. 163-97.

The dismal failure of Henry and Wolsey's efforts rebounded upon Thomas Wolsey: on 21 September 1529 he was commanded to hand over the Great Seal to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and on 9 October a bull of indictment was preferred against him. The charge was *præmunire*: Wolsey had allegedly attempted to usurp the power of the king by exercising in England his power as *legatus a latere*.¹⁴ He submitted to the charge on 22 October, and was found guilty eight days later. Wolsey was stripped of the bishopric of Winchester and the abbacy of St. Albans, but was allowed to remain as Archbishop of York. Pardoned by Henry on 12 February 1530, he was subsequently arrested for treason on 4 November 1530. Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey, *en route* to the Tower. Rumour had it that he starved himself to avoid the humiliation awaiting him in London.

In his appointment of a layman, Thomas More, to the position of Lord Chancellor, Henry VIII was distancing himself, deliberately, from the Roman network of power. Such is the view generally taken by historians, and indeed, Henry's action has considerable significance in light of the anticlericalism voiced by the reformers. One of the most common complaints concerned the temporal preoccupations of the *clerici*. Their alleged greed and extortion is well documented in satires and complaints. Thomas Holme's *The fall and euill successe of Rebellion* provides one example:

And as for their pouertie, ther is neither knight nor lord,
Earle, Marques, nor Duke like them in abundance ...

The poem continues:

And as for their obedience, al men can recorde,
They are high Rebellions against true allegiance,

¹⁴A list of articles was published early in November. The 43rd article accuses Wolsey of prohibiting two bishops from visiting the University of Cambridge to prevent the spread of Lutheran heresies. This appears to be grounded in truth - on 15 July 1529 the University wrote to Wolsey, the summary of which follows. "Thanking him for the protection he has afforded them. It has quite obliterated from their memories the bitterness they felt at a calumny which had been circulated of their being favourable to Lutheranism. They have done nothing more than practise their old scholastic disputations." *L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 2, [4512].

Having both their king and their God at defiance... (fol. E2)

Perhaps closer to the king's heart was the second, ominous complaint, which warned of the usurping nature of the clergy, who would not be ruled by Henry, and who (under the guise of obedience) in fact lorded over the country. In his preface to Genesis William Tyndale asserted that the clergy, '(unto their damnation) neuer yet obeyed' their king.¹⁵ According to Simon Fish, Henry's land had become

the kingdom of blood-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and what is one given them, never cometh from them again ... Oh how all the substance of your realm (your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people) runneth headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

The clergy's control of temporal matters was proven by the fact that 'the chief instrument of your law, yea the chief of your council, and he that hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man'. Simon Fish's inveighing against the clergy also contained veiled threats directed at the person of the king: he asked 'What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled?', and looked to the day when the king would disendow the clergy: 'then shall you have full obedience of your people ... then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.'¹⁶

However, despite the rejection of Rome implicit in Thomas More's appointment, the reformers, who had long complained of the usurpation of secular power by the English clergy, discerned no great weakening of Rome's power. Thomas More had been affiliated with the clerical suppression of heresy. He was licensed by Tunstall on 7 March 1529 to read the 'pestilent doctrine' of the 'children of iniquity who have gone about to bring in the old and damnable heresy of Wicklif and Luther', so that he could 'the easier understand in what starting holes these winding serpents do hide themselves.'¹⁷ George Joye in 1534 related how:

¹⁵W. Tyndale, *The fyrst booke of Moses called Genesis...*, A1v.

¹⁶S. Fish, 'Supplication for the Beggars', in *A&M*, vol. 4, pp. 660-4.

¹⁷*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 697.

in the dayes of that gloriouse Cardinal Thomas wolsaye begane these wyked pharisays to suborne & set them forthe M. More their proctoure & patrone to wryte & wrestle for them agenst the trouthe agenst the lorde & his anynted to defende their anticristen sinagoge: More then beinge a ful fet kouer for siche a cuppe to furnessh it with subtyl falsehed/ & to mayntayn their gloriouse ungodlynnes with his autorite/ for the cardinal deed he succeeded him in the chauncelership.¹⁸

The fall of the Roman Church in England would only be celebrated with the resignation (and execution) of Thomas More. Yet despite its lack of significance for the reformers, the appointment of a layman to the title of Lord Chancellor clarified the obedience expected of the man; Henry would never again face one who also wielded the powers of a papal-plenipotentiary. To complement this readjustment of secular power, Henry called for the convening of Parliament.

The Reformation Parliament, which sat for seven years, was opened on 3 November 1529 by Thomas More. The parliament provided a conduit through which Henry could focus the virulent anticlericalism of the lawyers, and try to neutralise the reformer's inflammatory rhetoric on the decayed state of the Church (all the time using their arguments as justification for the necessity of taking such action). It would also make the king a tidy sum. The agenda of the House of Commons manifested itself immediately. Its sole focus in the first months was on clerical abuses. These were largely financially motivated, and dealt with mortuary fees (a live issue since the Richard Hunne fiasco), excessive probate charges, and the inappropriate temporal dealings of the clergy: 'For in matters of worldly busynes/ The clergie haue moche more entresse/ Than temporall men I ensure the'.¹⁹ They also addressed the problems of multiple-beneficed clergy and non-residence. Christopher Haigh argues that the three bills drawn up 'were not the product of popular clamour or widespread discontent: the issues seem to have been raised by specific interest groups, and the objective may have been an attack on Wolsey and his allies rather than the clergy in general.'²⁰ While the first bill was passed without objection by the House of Lords,

¹⁸*Subversion*, A1v-A2r.

¹⁹'A proper dialoge', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 143.

²⁰C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 62.

resentment and unease grew as more anticlerical bills were presented. William Warham was among the more outspoken opponents, as was John Fisher, who, having drawn an analogy between the Commons and the Hussites, was 'encouraged' by Henry to reword his argument. The king supported the changes, and in response to the uproar created in the Lords, had two of the bills redrafted in order to appear more palatable. The 'reforming spirit' of this parliament was ineluctably intertwined with questions of wealth and power. The king and the anticlerical element oversaw the institution of the measures. Henry had taken his first step against the power of Rome.

During this time the king hedged his bets, shifting between the roles of *fidei defensor* and of (an independent) protector of his people; two identities which were causing increasing friction. The orthodox clergy was forced to contend with Henry's equivocation, and silently suffered as Simon Fish and Robert Barnes were granted royally-approved passages of safe conduct. Nevertheless, the *clerici* of England did not desist in their heresy investigations, and sustained their endeavours in the wake of the appearance of Tyndale's *The Practice of Prelates*. Predicting further contention to come, Tunstall sought for retaliatory conservative propaganda. Having engaged Thomas More to destroy the 'new learning' in the eyes of the common people, he urged Erasmus to state clearly his orthodox views and his support of the Church, and warned him not to sink to the level of the reformers.²¹ Pressure on the brethren and their book-smuggling operation was maintained. By the end of the decade, the English reformist cause had suffered grievous losses: the evidence given by George Constantine led to several significant arrests; the stream of exiles such as Richard Bayfield robbed the country of key reformers; in addition there was the loss of George Stafford and Thomas Bilney, the former having died in the course of his evangelical work, the latter having succumbed to a severe depression after his abjuration in 1527. Bilney did not preach again until 1531. If ever there had been a 'leadership' of the Cambridge reformers, it now fell to Hugh Latimer.

In the course of the 1520s the humanist call for clerical reform came to be confused with Lutheranism. After the danger of such

²¹See C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall*, p. 125.

unchecked enthusiasm in church matters was realised, the humanist voice lost much of its strident tone for reasons of self-protection. Any remaining exhortations and warnings came under immediate suspicion. Dissatisfaction with the ecclesiastical judicial system had been directly linked to Lutheranism through the civil lawyers of the London Inns, and what had previously been a common complaint was now perceived as not merely heretical but treasonous. Likewise, other issues of contention were merged, and drawn under the ægis of Lutheranism by osmosis. For example, support for the radical reformation of the church and for the king's divorce were presumed to go hand in hand, as was demonstrated by Hugh Latimer's *Sermons on the Card* of Christmas 1529, which resulted in several complaints being lodged against the preacher. Edward Foxe, Provost of King's College informed William Buckmaster: 'It is not unlikely that they of St. John's [i.e. the accusers] procedeth of some private malice towards Mr. Latymer ... Which malice, also, peradventure, cometh partly for that Mr Latymer favoureth the king's cause, and I assure you it is so reported to the kinge.'²² The vice-chancellor simply commanded both parties to silence until Henry's will became known. At this time, when any action could be interpreted as Lutheranism, non-action was often the safest route.

In supporting the parliamentary bills of 1529 and 1530, the king succeeded in a practical reformation of certain abuses, and simultaneously humoured his people, whose dissension was becoming more evident. Most importantly, the legislation hinted to Rome of the power that the state wielded over the Church in Henry's country. The quest for the divorce was ongoing, and the king was growing ever more impatient to glean a verdict from the pope. Early in 1530 the Continental universities were canvassed for opinions on the case: theologians, canon and civil lawyers considered the issue, and by mid-1530 emissaries had returned to Henry with eight rulings in favour of the divorce. The English universities were also charged with judging the case, and decided for the king. Henry's awareness of the potential power available to him became heightened as the divorce proceedings encountered delay after delay. Rome had been sacked, Clement had died, and now Henry was dependent on a pope who would in all likelihood rule in favour of Katherine. In creating an issue of jurisdiction, as he had done with

²²C.H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, pp. 334-5.

Wolsey's *præmunire* charge, Henry could side-step the papacy altogether and arrange his own hearing, and verdict.

Although threatening support of Lutheranism, Henry was forced to address in earnest the dissension and dissatisfaction which the 'new learning' had effected among the laity. In 1529 he had published 'A Proclamation for the resisting and Withstanding of the most damnable Heresies', in which he, in his role as protector of his people, forbade any preaching contrary to either the Christian faith or the determination of the holy church. All books associated with the 'malicious and wicked sects of heretics and Lollards' were to be delivered up within 15 days.²³ Whatever his personal position with regard to Lutheranism, he was at least publicly seen to be taking action against the undesirable elements of both heretics and corrupt clergy. It is not certain if the church in England could boast the same.

The sittings of Convocation, traditionally held simultaneously with Parliament, apparently showed Warham to be 'more interested in legislation against heretical laymen than in ordinances to reform the clergy.'²⁴ That the archbishop responded to the immediate threat of Lutheranism and set aside the time-honoured, traditional complaints of clerical corruption, would seem to demonstrate logical prioritising, but this neglect was cited to support a state-controlled religious cleansing: '...touchinge their reformacion./ Little trust is to be had certaynly/ Tyll their fautes be detects manifestly.'²⁵ The king's next step supported the Church's, and took action against theological rather than practical decay. Henry called for a conference to examine the alleged heretical works being smuggled into the country. It was convened in St. Edward's chapel on 24 May; the men elected to the council included Warham, Tunstall, Gardiner and Thomas More. Warham, as has already been mentioned, was enthusiastic about such work. Tunstall showed a similar zeal: earlier in the month he had arranged a burning at St. Paul's of his dearly-bought New Testaments. The chosen men undertook an examination of seven English theological works which had been printed on the Continent. Although Hugh Latimer was one of the determinants, the majority of those gathered were strongly orthodox, and this was reflected in their

²³For the text of the proclamation see *A&M*, vol. 4, pp. 676-9.

²⁴S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation Parliament*, p. 100.

²⁵'A proper dialoge', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 132.

findings. Henry was informed of the errors and the pernicious heresy contained within all of the works. The following month he issued a proclamation which condemned and prohibited the 'blasphemous and pestiferous English books', and likewise banned all vernacular scriptural translations, in an attempt 'to cast out the poysened draught of these heretykes bokes, whych when they be dronken downe infecte the reader and corrupte the soule vnto the euerlastyng deth'.²⁶ The laity, warned of the dangerous heresies contained within the books, were ordered to surrender all known copies.

In this Henry had lived up to his papal title of *fidei defensor*. He now began to expand the responsibilities annexed unto the appellation. The king asked of the council whether the provision of the Scriptures in the vernacular should be considered among his lawful duties as king. When they advised against, Henry accepted the decision of the divines, but concluded that he would provide his people with an English New Testament when he deemed it safe to do so. The proclamation demanding the destruction of all heretical books added: 'If, in future, the people abandon their present perverse opinions, the King intends that the Scripture shall be translated into English by "great learned and Catholic persons."' In *Henry VIII*, J. J. Scarisbrick sets forth the tremendous import of the situation:

No English king had ever claimed the duty to give the Word of God to his people; indeed, for Henry to have suggested such a thing to the clergy which had so long set its face against the translation of Holy Writ into the vernacular was as startling a novelty as his suggestion that he should withhold it until his people showed themselves worthy to receive it.²⁷

For the purpose of this thesis, the most significant aspect of the council gathered in the summer of 1530 was their examination of the first primer printed in the English language. This primer was George Joye's debut publication.

II

²⁶'Confutation of Tyndale', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 38. For the proclamation see *L&P*, vol. 4, pt. 3, [6487].

²⁷J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 332-3.

Nothing substantial is known of the life of Joye once he fled England. *Ashwell* provides little factual help, but does succeed in conveying a remarkable sense of Joye's grief and bitterness. He recalls the danger of the crossing, and laments his poverty and his inability to return to his native land, 'Whose desyre yet holdeth me, for that I woulde right gladly returne and dare not, beyng exiled into a strang lande amonge rude and boisterous people, with whose maners I can not wel agre, which is to me no lytell crosse'.(D3r) Joye's account offers a hint of the tragic actuality of the exiled reformers: Prior Ashwell's accusations caused the young preacher not only to forsake his friends and family, but more importantly,

they slaundered me so greuously that they made them to forsake me, and so to hate me that yet I can not come againe in to theyr fauour, for they abhorred me so sore after that your secrete letters had openly defamed me, that they wolde not suffer me to come into their houses nor speake wyth me, nor helpe me, but fled fro me and lothed me, as I had ben a kocketrice which slaith only with his syght... (D3r)²⁸

Apart from his failure in his attempt to re-establish contact with his family, and the fact that he fraternised with the brethren when settled in Antwerp, nothing is known of his first years in exile. There is no evidence suggesting that Joye ever ventured to Wittenberg or Strasbourg, or that he attempted to make contact with Continental brethren such as Bucer or Melanchthon in the early years of his exile. It seems that he made his way to Antwerp, found the means of surviving there, and did not move. Joye's situation differed considerably to that of William Tyndale, who worked under the patronage of Humphrey Monmouth, and arrived on the Continent already connected with a network of sympathetic merchants. There is no evidence to suggest that George Joye benefited from any such contacts. It is likely that his first two years on the Continent were spent trying to eke out a living, prepare his book, and raise funding for its publication.

²⁸ Joye's plaint prefigures that of John Bale: "To tell them freely of their wicked works by the scriptures, I have exiled myself for ever from mine own native country, kindred, friends, acquaintance, (which are the great delights of this life) ... to suffer poverty, penury, abjection, reproof, and all that shall come besides." 'The Image of Both Churches', in H. Christmas (ed.), *Select Works of John Bale*, p. 260.

The *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis* was by far the most popular medieval devotional handbook.²⁹ By the eve of the Reformation these books 'were being produced in multiple editions in thousands, in formats ranging from the sumptuous to the skimpy, and varying in price from pounds to a few pence.'³⁰ Characteristically, they contained the seven penitential psalms, the 15 gradual psalms, the litany, the office for the dead, and the Little Office of Our Lady. The Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a miniature of the Divine Office, or Canonical Hours. The office was divided into seven hours: matins and lauds, prime, tierce, sext, none, vespers, and compline, each of which had its own hymns, responses, antiphons, lectiones, and psalms. The services of the books (used both privately and in church) varied; in England the most common usage was of Salisbury, better known as Sarum. With the advent of printing, the spectrum of its appeal was far-ranging: 'By the early sixteenth century, in urban congregations at least, one was probably almost as likely to find a primer as a pair of beads in the hands of the worshippers in church.'³¹ As they were used for the education of children, alphabets were sometimes provided, as was instruction (in the vernacular) in some fundamentals of the Catholic faith: the Ten Commandments, the seven deadly sins, the Apostolic Creed, and excerpts from the books of proverbial wisdom.

English translations of the non-scriptural elements had begun to appear early in the fourteenth century, and by 1400 entire books were available in English. This paralleled similar developments in German, French and Dutch primers. The trend in England was suppressed in the wake of the Wycliffite heresy, which had made vernacular scripture suspect: 'From the first half of the fifteenth century onwards till the beginning of the sixteenth century there appear to be no translations of the *Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*.'³² However, the laity's desire to emulate the priest leading their prayers had not diminished by the sixteenth century, and, with the reprioritisation of vernacular prayer, Books of Hours containing English devotional pieces became common once more. In 1527, for example, *The Prymer of Salysbury Use* emerged

²⁹For an introduction to the *Horæ* see C. Butterworth, *The English Primers*, ch. 1.

³⁰E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 209.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 213.

³²J.M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, p. 3.

from a Paris printing house (the great sources of *Horæ* were Paris and Rouen). Publishers cashed in on the popularity of the primers, as is evident from the 28 different English editions printed between 1534 and 1547.³³ Joye's, however, was the first to be printed wholly in English.

Regrettably, Joye's first primer is not extant. The nature and contents of the book have to be pieced together from references made to it, and from its successor. The title alone of the *Ortulus Anime* provides important information: *Ortulus anime. The garden of the soule: or the englisshe primers the which a certaine printer lately corrupted, and made false to the grete sclaunder of thauthor & greter desayte of as many as boughte and red them newe corrected and augmented.* As the *Ortulus* was printed by Martin de Keyser, we may presume that he was not the incompetent publisher of the *Primer*. Also, Joye was later employed by the press of Van Endhoven, apparently amicably. The *Primer* could have emerged from any of the presses willing to work with a known reformer: those of Johannes Hoochstraten and Simon Cock offer possibilities, but this is at best conjecture.

An accurate dating of the work is also impossible, since no copies survive. The *Primer* first gained mention in February 1530, when Sir Thomas Hitton appeared before Archbishop Warham and Bishop Fisher. Hitton, a priest, had been arrested in Kent in January or early February for preaching heretical opinions.³⁴ During his interrogation he admitted to smuggling Tyndale's New Testament and Joye's primer into the country. It is not known when Hitton reached England, therefore a vague estimate for the publication of the *Primer* must suffice - sometime in the latter half of 1529. An example was made of Thomas Hitton: he was sentenced to burn, and the punishment was carried out at Maidstone in late February. The death of England's first reformer martyr made a deep impression on both Tyndale and Joye, presumably because (through their writings) both were implicated in his death.

The publication of the *Primer* was a momentous event. Not only was Joye's the first primer in English to be readily available to the laity at

³³See A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, p. 37.

³⁴Thomas More described Hitton as "a preste/ and fallynge to Luthers secte, and after that to the secte of frere Huskyn [i.e. Tyndale], and zwynglius". 'Confutation of Tyndale', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 14 .

large, but this most popular of lay handbooks was found to be steeped in reforming doctrine, 'being designed to present under the guise of the long popular and familiar Book of Hours a devotional work in harmony with the views of the more zealous reformers.'³⁵ The complaints of the royal commission gathered in May 1530 reveal the extent of the radicalism of the book. The 'Publick and Authenticke Instrument' prepared by the bishops set forth Joye's errors: 'he leveh owt the hole latanye/ by which apperith his erronyous opynyon agenst praying to saints. He hath left owt all the ympnes and anthomys of our lady by whiche apperith his erronyous opynyon agenst praying to our lady'.³⁶ The exclusion of the litany of saints and the traditional marian prayers and lyrics derived from the positioning of Jesus Christ as the sole mediator between God and human; appealing to any other personage detracted from the status of the Son of God, and was furthermore simply futile. Also absent was the dirige, another signifier of papistry. In Bale's *King Johan*, for example, Sedicyon tests Noblyte in the faith of the Roman Church:

Sedicyon Ye can saye yowre crede? And yowre Laten *Ave* Mary?

Noblyte Yea, and dyrge also, with sevyn psalmes and letteny.

(Act 2, ll. 1160-1)

A third error discovered was that 'Dauidis good entente and Nathans in buylding the temple/ were nought'. King David had wanted to build a permanent structure in which to house the ark of the covenant, and initially had the backing of Nathan, his adviser. The support was withdrawn after Nathan had a vision of the Lord, ordering him to abandon the project. David and Nathan's intended action was without scriptural foundation; it followed no commandment of the Lord. The faithful were to love and worship God 'with no nother rites nor by nonother wais then himself had prescribed and taught them'; behind the story lies a general fear of the religious innovation.³⁷ Paralleled with the presumptuous, 'unnecessary' rites and ceremonies of the Roman Church, Joye's denial of the worth of David's intentions seems fitting.

³⁵L.A. Sheppard, 'The *Hortulus Anime* in English, 1530', *The Library*, ser. 5, vol. 6 (1951), p. 109.

³⁶For the faults see Archbishop Warham's Register, fol. 184v.

³⁷*Unite and Scisme*, A2r.

The final problem was that 'Owt of the kalender of the prymour/ God toke Enoche away (that is to say) he departed owt of this worlde like other men...' The Enoch mentioned was not the eldest son of Cain, but the son of Jared, and father of Methuselah. He 'walked with God' during his lifetime of 365 years, after which he 'was no more seen, for God took him away.'³⁸ Joye's error may have derived from William Tyndale's *Pentateuch*. At the end of *Genesis* an explanation of Enoch's life was provided: 'To walk with God is to live godly, and to walk in his commandments. Enos walked with God, and was no more seen: that is, he lived godly and died, God took him away: that is, God hid his body, as he did Moses' and Aaron's: lest haply they should have made an idol of him, for he was a great preacher and a holy man.'³⁹ This demystification of the disappearance of Enoch may come from the reading of Hebrews 11, in which Enoch appears in a litany of those who 'died in faith'. In a reformist context, the example of Enoch became concerned with the issue of idolatry; the death of his mortal body is presumed. Since the offending text is not extant, it is impossible to pinpoint the exact fault, but in any case, Joye's *Primer* was duly banned along with the other books, as dangerous to the spiritual welfare of the laity.

Interestingly, the fact that the *Primer* was the first to present all of the prayers and scriptural extracts in the vernacular was not singled out for opprobation by the commission in the summer of 1530. Translations from the Bible had not lost their taint of Lollardy, whose proponents had queried: 'who art thou yat forbiddest the people to have gods lawe in ther mother tounge? we saye that thou art Antichrist himself.'⁴⁰ Still, when in the right hands, the vernacular scriptures were deemed necessary for the edification of the people. John Fisher demonstrated this in his sermons on the Penitential Psalms, which set forth the Latin psalms one line at a time, then provided the English translation and an explanation and commentary. Fisher himself referred to 'the fruytfull & noble translacions compyled & translated in tyme paste by many famous & excellent doctours', therefore it was not the very fact of translation, but

³⁸Excerpts from *Tyndale's Old Testament*, D. Daniell (ed.), Genesis 5, p. 20.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 83. The Matthew Bible of 1537 follows this interpretation, and provides a marginal gloss: "to walke wyth God, is to do hys will & leade a lyfe accordynge to hys words."

⁴⁰'A compendious olde treatyse', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 174.

the individual translator that problematised the issue.⁴¹ In Fisher's work the orthodox Latin text appears in a larger typeface than the humble English rendition: the hierarchy of language is made clear in visual terms.

The lack of awareness of the nature of Joye's primer has resulted in its achievements being underestimated. For example, Eamon Duffy writes of Marshall's Primer of 1534: 'In a dramatic and eloquent break with all earlier primers, Marshall's book ... omitted the Litany of the Saints and the "dirige", and contained no other prayers for the dead'.⁴² In fact George Joye's work had set the standard for this reformed lay handbook five years previously. Considering the status of the primer as the first text a child came into contact with, and the central place of the book within the household, the ramifications of Joye's publication become clear.⁴³ The reformers had limited audiences, and although some (like Thomas Bilney) succeeded in appealing to communities at large, none managed to reach any substantial percentage of the laity. The voice of the new learning, while strident, emanated from only a tiny percentage of the populace. The *Primer* marks the beginning of an attempt to bring the basic tenets of the English reformers to the lay person, to infiltrate the religious values of the family home.

On completion of the landmark text, Joye immediately undertook another translation. His first book would have contained the first psalms to be printed in the English language; his second was the first printed English Psalter, which went to press 16 January 1530:

The Psalter of Dauid in Englishe purely and faithfully translated aftir the texte of Feline: euery Psalme hauynge his argument before / declarynge brefly thentente & substance of the wholl Psalme Emprinted at Argentine in the yeare of oure lorde 1530 .the. 16. daye of January by me Francis foxe.

⁴¹J. Fisher, *Thys treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the kynge & prophete in the seuen penyencyall psalmes*, aalv.

⁴²E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 382. Duffy (*ibid.*) goes on to say that Marshall's second edition "was as comprehensive an onslaught on the time-honoured forms of Catholic piety as had yet appeared in England".

⁴³See E. Birchenough, 'The Prymer in English', *The Library*, ser. 4, vol. 18 (1938), p. 180. Having mentioned the children whose only text book was the prymer, he says: "Their parents also wrote in the books, for before the Reformation the Prymer occupied the place of the family Bible, and births, deaths and marriages were duly recorded in the calendar."

The assignation of both place and printer are false; the book was published in Antwerp by Martin de Keyser. The appropriateness of Joye's chosen project lies in the nature of the Psalter, both as an important element of the literature of lay devotion, a useful text for catechising, and as the progenitor of the Book of Hours.⁴⁴ The 'texte of Feline' refers to a new Latin psalter published in Strasbourg by 'Aretius Felinus' in September 1529.⁴⁵ The mentioning of the source text provides a valuable indication of the tremendous speed at which Joye worked - he probably had just three months to translate the entire book.

The Psalter of Dauid is prefaced with an address by its author: 'Johan Aleph greteth the Englishe nacion'. It is significant that not only de Keyser but Joye himself used a pseudonym, perhaps still hoping to be able to return home, even though his fellowship at Peterhouse had been granted to another.⁴⁶ The brief prolegomenon introduces the English Psalter, which God 'of his merciable goodnes hath sent'.(A1v) The influence of Martin Bucer is obvious: his inclusive collations encompassed both Hebrew scholars and the Church Fathers, and these impressed upon his translator the importance of the original, most 'pure' form of the psalms. The fact that Joye had little or no Hebrew did not prevent him from asserting its primacy of place among bible languages. He insists that the psalms may not be judged 'after the comen texte. For the trouth of the Psalmes muste be fetched more nygh the Hebrue verite, in the which tonge Dauid with the other singers of the Psalmes first songe them. Let the gostly lerned in the holy tonge be iuges'.(A1v) This preface marks the dawn of Joye's awareness of the hierarchy of translations. Within a few years he came to realise fully the unresolvable

⁴⁴See J.M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, p. 2: "The origin of the *primer* must be found in the psalter. From the eighth to the thirteenth century all the devotional elements of the *primer* ... took shape as additions to the psalter." These elements then progressed towards independent existence, and "from the thirteenth century to the age of printing the *Primer* is found both in the Psalter, and as a separate book." E. Hoskins, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis or Primers*, Intro., xi.

⁴⁵The name provided no great cover: 'Aretius' is Latin for 'Martin'; 'Felinus' is Greek for 'Bucer'.

⁴⁶Despite the pseudonym, Joye's authorship is not in question. It can be argued from various standpoints, the simplest being: the argument preceding Ps. 89 mentions that "these two wordes/ mercy and faythfulnes/ are comenly ioyned togyther in the Psalmes".(K5v) In *Ashwell* Joye repeats the observation: "these two words, marcy and truth or faithfulness together especially in the Psalms as I noted in the argument of the .89. Psalm..."(B3r) Joye's fellowship was given to Nicholas Stere, who was admitted fellow of Peterhouse on 3 June 1529.

problematics involved in rendering a 'faithful' translation. Before that, however, his unconsidered opinions were paid for dearly.

Of the Old Testament books, that Joye set aside his obvious predilection for Isaiah and Jeremiah and instead chose to translate the Psalter is significant. The extreme popularity of the psalms is evident from lay devotional handbooks, and had led to their translation by the hermit of Hampole Richard Rolle (d. 1349). This meant that Joye could be reasonably sure of the work being in demand. The publication of the Psalter would ensure a rapid dissemination of an important piece of vernacular scripture, and would hopefully guarantee a profit for Joye himself. In his choice of the Psalter, Joye's scholarship may be seen as complementing that of William Tyndale. Tyndale's attempt to have his *Pentateuch* published in Hamburg met with disaster when he was shipwrecked along the coast of Holland; he was forced to begin again, and returned to Antwerp late in the year. There, he was helped by Miles Coverdale, and the book was finally printed (by Johannes Hoochstraten) on 17 January 1530. It seems fitting that the previous day, Joye's collection of psalms, described as 'the fullest expression of God's revelation in the Old Testament' went to press.⁴⁷ In his preface to *David's Harp*, the reformer Thomas Becon writes:

Certes, the Psalmody of David may well be called the treasure-house of the holy scripture. For it containeth whatsoever is necessary for a christian man to know. There is nothing in the law, nothing in the prophets, nothing in the preaching of Christ and of his apostles, that this noble minstrel, king, and prophet, doth not decantate and sing with most goodly and manifest words.⁴⁸

Therefore taking into account this common interpretation of the psalms (as being 'not a marginal gloss on the Old Testament text, but on the contrary its culminating point'), the complementary nature of the two publications, by men thought to represent the two most dangerous threats to the integrity of the church in England, is apparent.⁴⁹ This pattern may be expanded to a larger scale, for while Tyndale concentrated on the Pentateuch, the historical books, and the book of Jonah, Joye saw the prophetic and poetic books of the Old Testament through the press.

⁴⁷D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 79.

⁴⁸Preface to 'David's Harp', J. Ayre (ed.), *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, p. 266.

⁴⁹P. Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning*, p. 4.

In comparison to the smooth-flowing poetic language of the KJB of 1611, Joye's psalms appear somewhat rough. As both the *Ortulus* and the Psalters demonstrated, a plain style was preferred by Joye. During this period there was much consideration given to the ideology of style, for the Englishing of the Word of God was tied up in semantic issues, as is evident from the preface to the KJB: 'But we desire that the Scripture may speak like itself, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.'⁵⁰ Although the reformers shared this goal, their simple renderings also derived from the fact that they 'had no prestigious language available to them and so could not attempt a fine-language translation ... [they] used the common language because they had no alternative.'⁵¹ With the translations of Joye and Tyndale, we have the Word in the language of parochial, learned men. In the 1534 Psalter Psalm 23:2 is rendered: 'He settith me in a goodly lusty pasture: and retcheth me forthe unto swete still runninge waters.'^(D7v) Verse 4 reads: 'For albe it I shulde go unto the valye of the dedely shadewe/ yet fere I none euyll/ for thou art with me: ye thy staffe and shepe-hoke ar my counforte.' In *The Practice of Prelates* William Tyndale complained that the popes of Rome 'gave themselves only to poetry, and shut up the Scripture'; therefore poetic or Latinate language was to be associated with Antichrist.⁵² Joye's style differentiated his language from that of Sir Thomas More, which was more formal, Latinate, and still strikes some scholars today as 'rather artificially holy'.⁵³

As with so much of Reformation debate, the same arguments are presented by both sides: to the conservatives the reformers worked 'under a certayne pretence, & glitteringe color of pietie and godlines.'⁵⁴ The gap in language pointed to a theological gulf. The unelevated style of Joye's Psalms denoted the truthfulness of their words and the honesty of their intentions: 'It is a mark of divine truth and teaching that they

⁵⁰*The Holy Bible: The Authorized or King James Version of 1611*, xxvi.

⁵¹D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 65.

⁵²Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵³A phrase of D. Daniell's, *William Tyndale*, p. 139.

⁵⁴J. Bullingham, *A notable Oration*, C1v.

[the Scriptures] persuade without using the human art of rhetoric.⁵⁵ As Paul himself had written:

And I brethren when I came to you, came not in gloriousness of words or of wisdom, showing unto you the testimony of God. ... And my words and my preaching were not with enticing words of man's wisdom: but in showing of the spirit and of power, that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.⁵⁶

Although banned soon after it reached England, *Psalter of Daudid* proved popular enough for London printer Thomas Godfray to risk a reprint c. 1534. In the same year Joye translated a second Psalter which was printed in August by 'Martyne Emperowr' (Martin de Keyser): *Dauids Psalter/ diligently and faithfully translated by George Joye/ with brief arguments before euery Psalme/ declaunge the effecte thereof*. While retaining echoes of the *Psalter of Daudid*, Martin Bucer was replaced by Huldrych Zwingli as the basic source. Working from the Latin and the original Greek texts, Zwingli had prepared his Latin psalter *Enchiridion Psalmorum* (published posthumously in 1532). Some of the renderings are considerably smoother; take for example Psalm 55:

Oh god/ lysten unto my prayer/ & hy
de nat thy selfe fro my depe desyre.
Gyue hede and answeere me/ I lament in
my prayer/ and I crye full loude.

(Godfray's *Psalter of Daudid*, F6v)

Oh god here my prayer
and turne not away
my desier.

Attende unto me and
here me beginninge and kryinge
with grete noyse.

(*Dauid's Psalter*, K8r)

Dauids Psalter is structured similarly to the 1530 edition, with short arguments provided before each psalm. However, towards the end of the book (presumably pressed for time), Joye opts for increasingly short arguments, and occasionally they are omitted altogether.

The work of Charles Butterworth on the lineage of the King James Bible has considerably increased Joye's standing as a contributor. Firstly,

⁵⁵D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 18. See ch. 2 (pp. 16-29) for his illuminating study of the opposition and reconciliation of the Greek culture and the Biblical style.

⁵⁶D. Daniell (ed.), *Tyndale's New Testament*, I Cor. 2:1-5.

Butterworth points out the peculiarities of Joye's style which Coverdale took over, calling attention to such phrases as 'potsherd' (Ps. 22), 'shepehoke' (Ps. 23), 'fie, fie' (Ps. 40), and 'bugges' (Ps. 91). He goes on to say that 'bugges' is the most famous of the borrowings, 'and gave rise to a whole series of so-called "Bug" Bibles.'⁵⁷ But Joye's contribution does not lie solely in quirks of language: his Psalter was the first to use 'ungodly' instead of 'wicked' in Psalm 1; his Psalm 23 associates the concepts of goodness and mercy, which Coverdale omitted, and which the King James revisers returned to; and the phrase 'three score years and ten' (Ps. 90) derives from Joye's 1534 psalter, which reads 'The dayes of owre yeares are thre score and tenne' (both Wycliffite texts had read 'seventy years'). Coverdale rearranged the wording slightly to produce: 'The dayes of oure age are iii. score yeares & ten'.⁵⁸

However, their influence is even greater than Butterworth suggests. Despite the haste with which it was carried out, the effect of Joye's pioneering work on the psalms is discernible to this day. Their popularity is attested to by the reprints and by their incorporation into later translations.⁵⁹ When Miles Coverdale began work on his Bible in 1535, among his significant sources were Joye's two psalters, which he appears to have used as a basic template. Take for example, the following selections from Psalms 22 and 27:

My God/ my god: wherfore hast thou forsaken me? the wordes of my oute cryinge are ful farre from helthe. (*Dauid's Psalter*, 29r)

My God, my God: why hast thou forsaken me? the wordes of my complaynte are farre fro my health. (1535 Coverdale)

The Lorde is my light & my helthe: whome then shal I feare? (*Dauid's Psalter*, 36r)

The LORDE is my light and my health: whom then shuld I feare? (1535 Coverdale)

⁵⁷George Joye, p. 59.

⁵⁸For studies of the influence of Joye's psalters see C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, ch. 5, and C. Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation*, ch. 4.

⁵⁹Apart from Thomas Godfray's reprint, c. 1541 Edward Whitchurch issued an edition of the Zwinglian psalter of 1534.

At times both of Joye's Psalters influenced Coverdale's work: for Psalm 126 Coverdale took the format from the 1530 Bucerian psalter, and the vocabulary from the 1534 Zwinglian:

Thei that sue with teares: shall reape with gladnes. (*The Psalter of Dauid*, DD2r)

They that had sowen with teres haue reped with ioye. (*Dauid's Psalter*, 200r)

They that sowe in teeres, shal reape in ioye. (1535 Coverdale)

Inevitably, Joye's psalms of 1530 and of 1534 resound through those of the Matthew Bible and the KJB, although his contribution has been sorely underestimated. Even Joye's commentary on the psalms was lifted almost verbatim by Coverdale for the Matthew Bible. The ancestry of the Psalter is generally traced as far back as Coverdale: 'the Psalms as they were reprinted in the Book of Common Prayer and as they are still in use in the services of the Church of England are Coverdale's Psalms.'⁶⁰ Much of Joye's contribution has been erased: for example David Norton points out that for 'memorable phrases such as 'babes and sucklings' one has to turn to Coverdale'.⁶¹ This is indeed true; in taking over Tyndale's use of the Hebrew construct of 'noun + of + noun' Miles Coverdale set the pattern for generations to follow.⁶² However, Joye contributed to the distinctive vocabulary: his psalter of 1530 mentions 'the mouthes of the lytel souklinges'(B3r) and that of 1534 'the mouthes of soukinge infantis'.(9v) For another example see *De Profundis*, Psalm 130:7-8:

'Let Israel waite for the lorde: for with the lorde is there mercy & plentuous redempcion. And it is he that shall redeme Israhel; from all his wykedneses.'
(1530 Psalter)

'let Israel trust in the Lorde, for with the Lorde there is mercy and plenteous redempcion. And he shal redeme Israel from al his synnes.' (1535 Coverdale)

'Let Israel hope in the LORD: for with the LORD there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption.

And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.' (KJB)

⁶⁰P. Levi, *The English Bible 1534-1859*, p. 22.

⁶¹D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 181.

⁶²See G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 51.

The crucial words - mercy, plenteous redemption, redeem - are all straight from Joye, and this sets the pattern for the entire psalter. In another of the Penitential Psalms, Psalm 95:6-8, the same significant elements are taken over from Joye:

Come therefore and let us worshype: and fall downe uppon ower knees before the lorde owre maker.

For he is oure god and we are the people of his pasture / and the flocke whom he dryveth:

(yf we thys daye geue hede and beleve his worde) Se that ye harden not yowre hartes, as they dyde in the deserte of Meribah in the tyme of temptacion.⁶³

Joye's psalters permeated. When Nicholas Ridley wrote *A Farewell to all his Friends* while awaiting death in 1559, he quoted Psalm 79: 'O Lord God, the gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage, they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones.'⁶⁴ The resemblance to Joye's translation of 1530 is marked: 'The haithen (oh god) are come into thyn heretage: thei have polluted thi holy temple/ and have broughte Hierusalem into an heape of stones.'^(R2v) Joye's translations were among the sources for the first sonnet sequence in the English language, based on Psalm 51. Anne Lock's *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* (1560) shows traces of Joye's two psalters and his *Ortulus*.⁶⁵ Despite the predominance of Pietro Aretino's *I Sette Salmi de la Penitentia di David* (1534) as the primary source, the metrical psalms of Thomas Wyatt also reveal borrowings from Joye. Although the scholarship to date traces few direct echoes, more important is his reforming spirit, with which Wyatt sought to infuse the orthodox template. The following extracts from John Milton's Psalm VIII (1653) read as a poeticised version of Joye's in *Dauid's Psalter*:

⁶³Taken from the 1530 Psalter. Compare to the KJB:

"O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the LORD our maker. For he is our God; and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. To day if ye will hear not his voice, Harden not your heart, as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness."

⁶⁴*The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 38.

⁶⁵As brilliantly examined by Susan Felch in 'A Reformation Poet: Anne Lock and the Vulgate', a paper given at the conference 'The Bible as Book: The Reformation', held at Hampton Court, Herefordshire 28-31 May 1997. I would like to thank Susan for bringing this important subject to light.

When I consyder the heuens the worke of thy fingers: the mone and starris whyche thou haste made:	When I behold the heavens, thy fingers' art, The moon and stars, which thou so bright hast set
Then thinke I/ oh what a creature is man that thou thus rememberest him? ...	In the pure firmament, then saith my heart, O what is man that thou rememb'rest yet ...
Thou hast made him but lytel inferiour unto god: thou hast crowned him with glory and honour.	Scarce to be less than gods thou mad'st his lot; With honour and with state thou hast him crowned.
Thou hast made him lorde ouer the workes of thy handis: and subdewed a l thinges unto his fete.	O'er the works of thy hand thou mad'st him lord; Thou hast put all under his lordly feet,

Writing in a time when 'the Bible in English' has a stable identity, it is difficult to comprehend fully the implications of Joye's psalms. It is all too easy to work backwards, to compare Joye's versions with those that followed, and use the KJB as the final yardstick with which to measure his skill and his influence. The extent to which Miles Coverdale used (or did not use) Joye's works must not be the deciding factor in evaluating the value of the translations. Apart from the fact that Coverdale at times deviates from Joye only to render the verse more awkward and stilted, there is a fundamental flaw in a system of worth which is dependant on the extent to which Miles Coverdale or a seventeenth-century theologian approved of Joye's translations. It completely neglects the extensive sphere of Joye's influence, the people who read and prayed with and took comfort in his works. The value of his biblical translations derives not only from their certain influence on the English Bible, but from their resonating presence in the religious lives of the English laity of the sixteenth century. When he raced through his biblical translations, George Joye was not thinking of posterity. He was responding to the widespread desire of the laity to read for themselves the Word of God. As the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible asserts: 'for though couetouse clerkis ...dispisen and stoppen holi writ, as myche as thei moun, yit the lewid puple crieth aftir holi writ, to kunne it, and kepe it, with greet cost and peril of here lif.'⁶⁶ Therefore of itself, his work - had it never been

⁶⁶J. Forshall & F. Madden (eds.), *The Holy Bible*, vol. 1, p. 57.

used as a source by translators and compilers - has its own inherent value and is its own achievement.

III

Later in 1530 Martin de Keyser published what remains for us the first extant printed English primer - *Ortulus Anime*. As with the Psalter, the book was ostensibly issued by Francis Foxe at 'Argentine' (i.e. the printers' quarter in Strasbourg). The new name suggests an even more orthodox devotional manual. Charles Butterworth explains that 'the traditional Hortulus was a compilation or anthology of miscellaneous prayers, strongly imbued with Catholic dogma. It was current especially in Germany, where the followers of Luther repudiated it as superstitious.'⁶⁷ What better way for reforming sentiment to reach the catholic laity than under the guise of a traditional, orthodox prayer-book, dismissed by the reformers themselves? Following the basic structure of a Sarum primer, the *Ortulus* indicates the probable format of the 1529 primer, because it details the changes made for the new edition. The 'newe kalendarie' addressed the faults alleged by the commission of divines in May, and contains no mention of David, Nathan or Enoch. Joye was presumably informed of the findings, perhaps by Hugh Latimer, John Thixtel, or possibly even Stephen Gardiner. The calendar also marks 23 February as the day when 'Seinte' Thomas Hitton was martyred, not quite the revision Cuthbert Tunstall was hoping for. In his *Confutation*, Thomas More reiterates the conclusion reached by the council, and voices his own new complaints of the *Ortulus*,

wherein the seuen psalmes be set in wythout the lateny, leste folke shold pray to sayntes. And the Dirige is left out clene/ leste a man myght happe to pray thereon for hys fathers soule. In theyr calendar byfore theyr deuout prayers, they haue sette vs a new saynt/ syr Thomas Hitton the heretyke ... be the name of saynt Thomas the martyr ... in the vighly of the blessed apostle saynte Mathye, the xxiii daye of February/ and haue putte out for hym the holy doctour and gloryouse martyr saynte Polycarpus...⁶⁸

⁶⁷C. Butterworth, *The English Primers*, p. 20.

⁶⁸'Confutation of Tyndale', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 8, pt. 1, pp. 11-3.

The most significant detail concerning the calendar is found in a letter written by Tunstall (as bishop of Durham) to Thomas Cromwell. Tunstall had been brought the *Ortulus Anime* by 'some folkes of the Newcastle, & as I am informed, there be very many lately brought into the Realm, chiefly into London, & into other Haven-Townes':

Which Books, if they may be suffered to go abroad, be like to do great harme among the people. For there is in them a manifest Declaration against the effect of the Act of Parliament lately made, for the establishment of the Kings Highnes Succession, as ye shal perceive more plainly in the Kalendar of the said Book about the end of the month of August, upon the day of the Decollation of S. John Baptist, to shew the cause why he was beheaded. When ye find this day, read the gloss, that is set in the midst among the Dominical Letters at the side, as far as he speaketh of that matter: And your Mastership shal forthwith perceive what harm it may do, if the Book may be suffered to go abroad.⁶⁹

This letter raises many questions and answers none. What Joye wrote to inflame the Bishop of Durham is not known. In the first place, although dated 7 July, no year is given. Tunstall was elected from the see of London to that of Durham in February 1530; the *Ortulus* is dated 1530, but no month is mentioned. The reference to John the Baptist is significant; he had been cited often in the course of the divorce debate. John had told Herod Antipas that it was wrong for him to have married his brother Philip's wife. Theoretically, it could have been used to support Henry's case, but it was instead interpreted as defending the sanctity of his existing marriage: John Fisher, at the legantine court in summer 1529, proclaimed his readiness to lay down his life like John the Baptist for the cause of the matrimony. The inference that Henry was occupying the place of Herod made a mine-field of any mention of the biblical tale.

There is also the question of the legislation Joye was allegedly condemning. An official bill of Succession was ratified only in March 1534. This reduced Katherine to the status of princess dowager, as widow of Prince Arthur. Why Joye, who at one point looked to Anne Boleyn for patronage, should publicly support the orthodox Katherine, is a mystery. Although the lack of explanation for the date and content remains, we may assume that the subversive threat perceived was considerable, for it

⁶⁹J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, p. 185.

appears that Cromwell took Bishop Tunstall's advice. In the calendar of the only extant copy of the *Ortulus Anime*, the entry for 29 August reads: 'Theadyng of Joan bapt. Mat.14 The cause wherfore Johan baptiste was presoned and headid foloweth/ he monyshed hero-'. The following page (fol. B3) has been torn out. The next entry in the calendar is for 3 September, therefore the entry on John the Baptist must have been lengthy.⁷⁰ Unless an intact copy of the *Ortulus* comes to light, what the calendar contained may never be known.

Following the mutilated calendar is 'The Passion of our saviowre Christe', which is a harmonised account conflated from the evangelists, and based on the work of Martin Bucer.⁷¹ Joye adds explanatory detail to the scriptural texts, providing motivation for the actions and humanising the figure of Jesus Christ. This is in keeping with the tradition of the primer as a basic educational manual, and was clearly a primary aim of this book. In addition to providing a 'generall confession fore every synner', Joye prepared 'A frutefull & a very Christene Instruccion fore childrene'. Presenting itself as a guide for the young, it directes them in their daily prayers, including (in English) the Creed, *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, graces and bed-time prayers. Some of the fundamentals of the Christian faith are touched upon in 'A Dialoge wheryn the Childe asked certayne questions/ answerth to the same'. The child defines baptism and the workings of faith, and methodically explains the Ten Commandments.

The repetition of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* (further on in the Lessons) reinforces the authorial intent to provide the laity with the fundamentals required to partake in Mass. The importance of lay participation in the mass had long been a live issue; texts such as the thirteenth-century *The Lay Folks Mass Book* aimed at educating and

⁷⁰There is a disordering of several pages of the *Ortulus*, possibly from its most recent binding. After the missing folio is the final page of the calendar (i.e. late December), after which the calendar resumes from September. C. Butterworth & A.G. Chester appear to have been unaware of the controversy. See *George Joye*, p. 63: "At one point - the "decollation" (or beheading) of John the Baptist, celebrated on August 29 - Joye uses the occasion to launch into a long digression ... [which] lasts him all through the rest of the calendar".

⁷¹In 'The Story of the Passion and Resurrection in the English Primer', *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser., vol. 2 (1951), p. 70, C. Hope mentions that Joye's account is based on *Historia Resurrestionis & apparitionum Domini*, and *Historia Sopplicii Domini Iesu*, both of which appeared in Bucer's *Enarratio in Evangelion Iohannis* (1528).

enhancing the common person's experience of the liturgy. The reasons for the actions of the priest were clearly set forth, and the theology behind them explained (often in verse, both to engage the attention of the reader and to aid memory). Through these manuals it becomes clear that the concerns of the laity in the early sixteenth century had something of a history: a common fear rumoured that the efficacy of the sacraments would be hindered by the sinful state of the celebrant, and there was further anxiety concerning the ramifications of not understanding the language in which the priest prayed. *The Lay Folks Mass Book* instructs its readers to pray along with the priest as though they understood what he was saying. The importance of the vernacular was stressed, but although English renderings of the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and Apostles' Creed were common, they never managed to shake off their suspect association with the notorious heresy of the Lollards. Despite this, the church did attempt to educate its members in the rudiments of its faith in the vernacular, and simple prayers remained the staple devotional element of many worshippers, who were taught to stand or kneel at the focal points of the mass, and otherwise to repeat *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias* until it ended. The first authorised primer (published 14 years after the *Ortulus*) demonstrated a similar concern, explaining that the basic prayers were provided in English, so that people might 'pray intelligently'.⁷² Considering these efforts to enhance religious experience, Joye's account of the Passion would have been of immense importance to a practising lay person, as the Mass was so closely intertwined with the story of the trials and crucifixion of Jesus. The text in the *Ortulus*, with its stress on the humanity of Christ, and its delineation of motivating factors, supplied a user-friendly guide to the Passion, upon which the lay person would have meditated during Mass.⁷³ In *The Stripping of the Altars* Eamon Duffy comments on Richard Whitford, whose manual *A Werke for Householders* was published in 1530: 'Above all, his emphasis ... on the responsibility of householders and parents for basic Christian teaching, his sense of the necessary difference between lay religion and monastic or clerical religion, anticipates much that would be developed more fully by

⁷²L&P, vol. 20, pt. 1 [661].

⁷³For the centrality of the Passion to the lay person in mass, see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 119-20, pp. 234-8.

reformed writers like Thomas Becon.⁷⁴ The same focus is implicit in Joye's primer, and is overtly stressed in several of his later works.

Several items in the *Ortulus* go unmentioned in the contents: prayers from Isaiah 68-9 and Daniel 9; and the pieces of psalmody of Hannah (1 Kings 2) and of Jonah in the belly of the whale. All concentrate on the exhortation of the faithful, praying for deliverance from their troubled state. Isaiah's 'effectuous prayer very nedefull in theis laste and perellous dayes'(18v) begins by urging the Lord to rain down his vengeance on the evildoers, and to return to earth for the sake of his loyal followers. Hannah's song of thanksgiving prophesies the inversion to come, when the Lord will raise on high those that are now brought low. All four point towards the glorious day when the holy church is restored, whether directly (in the case of Daniel and Hannah), or indirectly, through explanation of the expected behaviour of the loyal servants of God in times of distress (as in Isaiah and Jonah). Joye had begun his Old Testament work with (what is often regarded as) its core text, the psalter, which 'originated as an integral part of the history of redemption.'⁷⁵ The dominant themes of the Book of Psalms: deliverance, sin, the value of suffering, and the human race's covenant with God, are all infused within this group of prayers, and are drawn together in the short tract which follows: 'Prayer peaseth Goddis wrathe', which centres around Exodus 32:11-13.

Joye's *Ortulus* is without many of the traditional elements. There are no pardon rubrics, none of the popular prayers on the Joys or Sorrows of Mary or on the name or wounds of Jesus.⁷⁶ Despite this, it retains the basic structure of a Sarum primer. The remainder of the *Ortulus* contains a selection of psalms and hymns, the Lessons and the (heavily revised) Hours. Whether the 'newly corrected' psalms of the *Ortulus* differ significantly from those of the first primer is not known. A comparison with the 1530 Psalter distinguishes a few complete revisions, but in general the variations are merely of spelling. Traditional elements such as the *Te deum* and the *Magnificat* are included in the *Ortulus*, but substituted for the *Salve Regina* is the *Salve Rex*. The usual antiphons,

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁷⁵P. Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning*, p. 2.

⁷⁶For an account of these elements, see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, ch. 8: 'Charms, pardons, and promises: Lay piety and "superstition" in the primers', pp. 266-98.

collects and responses centring on Mary are not present, replaced instead with scriptural quotations. The hymns are somewhat stilted and awkward, and focus not on the Blessed Virgin Mary but on God in His various forms:

Prayse ye the lorde omnipotent.
 Which thorow his benignite.
 His moste deare sonne hath to us sent.
 To dye for ower iniquite.
 We were his cruey ennemyes
 Abiecte for ower transgression.
 How be it in Christe fixe we ower eyes
 Whiche is ower satisfaccion. (N1v-N2r)

The rusticity of the style is paralleled on the physical page: one of the most striking features of Joye's *Ortulus* is its plainness and simplicity. Unlike Tyndale's *Pentateuch*, which is filled with attractive woodcuts, the *Ortulus* is completely without the appeal of such illustration. Whether intentional or not, this works against what Eamon Duffy refers to as the sacrilization of the primers, which at that time were 'functioning in part as sacred objects'.⁷⁷ It may well have been a simple lack of funds which prevented Joye from decorating his lay handbook, but whatever the motives behind its appearance, the plainness of the *Ortulus* stands in stark contrast to the traditional Books of Hours, filled as they were with artistic embellishments. The stripping away of both the visual and the textual embellishments (or dross, as Joye saw it) highlights the reforming spirit instilled in the book - only the Word was to be prioritised. As the ubiquitous pardons and indulgenced prayers were omitted, so were the artistic touches. The message - that any and all extra-scriptural elements were mere distractions - worked on multiple levels, and was infused throughout the primer.

The crucial position of the *Ortulus* in primer history may be elucidated in part through its known sources and subsequent influence. The various sources for Joye's second primer reveal his keen involvement in the literature of the continental reformers. Recent works of Martin Bucer, Otto Brunfels and Martin Luther all provided

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 231.

foundations upon which Joye built.⁷⁸ The influence of William Tyndale is also evident: the ten commandments explained in 'A Dialoge wheryn the Childe asked certayne questions/ answerth to the same' derive from his *Pentateuch* of 1530. Joye's *Ortulus* and its predecessor highlighted the status of the primer as 'an ideal instrument for the reformers or indeed for those interested in maintaining the status quo'; their 'influence was direct and profound.'⁷⁹

As with Joye's psalms, so with his primers: the texts were reprinted or absorbed into the works which followed. William Marshall's *A Prymer in Englyshe, with certeyn prayers & godly meditations* which was published in London in 1534, was in fact a reprint of the *Ortulus*, with a new preface overtly denouncing what its predecessor had condemned by implication. Although the ensuing furore led to a second, more orthodox version in 1535, 'clear confirmation that Marshall's primer was favourably regarded by Cromwell and Cranmer and enjoyed quasi-official status was to come two years later with the incorporation of whole paragraphs and many phrases and sentences from it into the *Bishops' Book*.'⁸⁰ In reality, it was Joye's work that Cromwell and Cranmer supported, and as they supervised the printing of reformed primers, the publication of traditional Catholic Books of Hours became a feature of the orthodox backlash which ensued. Bryan Spinks comments that 'too much admiration for the beauty of the English in the Prayer books has wrongly been lavished on Cranmer. Cranmer's contribution was to refrain from altering some of the phrases he found in contemporary English Primers, particularly George Joye's *Hortulus Animae* of 1530, and *The King's Primer* of 1545.'⁸¹ It was within the pages of the primers that the battles for the maintenance of Marian devotion, the cult of saints, and the right to pray for the dead were fought. Joye's lost primer and his *Ortulus* established the lay religious handbook as one of the primary sites for this monumental struggle for popular observances.

⁷⁸For further details see C. Butterworth, *The English Primers*, ch. 3, and L.A. Sheppard, 'The *Hortulus Animæ* in English, 1530', *The Library*, ser. 5, vol. 6 (1951), pp. 109-115.

⁷⁹J.M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, p. 3.

⁸⁰E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 383.

⁸¹B. Spinks, 'Treasures Old and New: A Look at Some of Thomas Cranmer's Methods of Liturgical Compilation.', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, p. 178.

The importance of Joye's biblical translations for the Reformation movement is implicit in the clergy's attempts to suppress his continental exports. Even if (as in the case of the 1530 Psalter) the translation itself escaped condemnation, heresy was soon espied in the preface or glosses.⁸² During this time the perceived influence of Joye's work was equal to that of Tyndale, as the inquisitions and proclamations attest. When More interrogated George Constantine in 1529, he was trying to trace the funds provided for those 'beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you.'⁸³ When John Frith fled England, joining the 'fathers' of the reforming movement, he was 'in company with Will. Tyndale and Geo. Joye and other heretykes'.⁸⁴ Joye therefore represented a similar threat to that of Tyndale, and his works were considered automatically to declare their owners heretics. The concern of the clergy was well-founded: the primers and psalters were proving popular, and the fact that they emanated from Joye was becoming common knowledge. Two arrests late in 1531 show the keen interest with which the works had been received by the brethren, and the dangerous status accorded them by the orthodox authorities. The reformers James Bainham and Richard Bayfield both appeared before Stokesley to answer charges of heresy. From the interrogatories put to Bainham (who had married the widow of Simon Fish), it is known that among the suspect books in his possession was 'the Epistle of George Gee alias Clerk'.⁸⁵ Bayfield's hearing took place on 20 November, revealing his possession of Joye's second primer and Psalter. On 3 December 1531, Bishop Stokesley preached at Paul's Cross, and issued a proclamation against the buying, selling, or reading of 30 heretical books. Among the denounced texts were: *Ortulus Animæ*, in English; The Primer, in English; The Psalter, in English.⁸⁶ The following day Richard Bayfield was burned at Smithfield; Bainham went to the stake the following year. That the books were smuggled into England without detection is not surprising, even considering the increased pressure on the contraband trade. Both the *Ortulus* and the 1530 Psalter measure at under four inches, and David Norton's comment on the

⁸²For example, in May 1530 the bishops "after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated: and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy..." *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 696.

⁸³*Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 671.

⁸⁴*L&P*, vol. 7, [1606]. The letter was written by Stephen Gardiner's nephew Germain Gardiner, who had tried to steer Frith away from his heretical opinions.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 5, [583]. The hearing took place on 15 December 1531.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 5, [App. 18].

Geneva Psalter of 1557 surely applies also to Joye's publications: 'Here if ever was a book for the pocket of everyman.'⁸⁷

The motivation which lay behind the biblical translations of Joye was similar to that stated by Tyndale, in his preface to Genesis:

Which thinge onely moved me to translate the new testament. Because I had perceaved by experyence, how that it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth, excepte the scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge, that they might se the processe, ordre and meaninge of the texte...
(A2v)

Between 1529 and 1530 George Joye produced three texts, which did not seek to boldly set forth the controversial tenets of the 'new learning', but instead strove to make available to any lay person the fundamentals of the Christian faith. Certainly, these fundamentals were presented within a framework which was infused with the reforming spirit, and traditional elements were excluded. However, when it came to the heretical nature of the translation itself, the commission was forced to resort to the minutiae, to quibble about asides referring to Enoch. George Joye had produced inexpensive, landmark texts, intended for the daily lay use. The *Ortulus* could not but have occupied a central place in the religious life of a reformist lay person. The Psalter shared the same focus, and 'stamped its verbiage on the minds and souls of Protestants who prayed by these books'.⁸⁸ In addition its prayers commented on a desperate situation, viewed as analogous to that of the reformers under the tyranny of the Romish Church. In the *Ortulus* Joye commented: 'Consideringe therefore prayer to be of sich efficacy & vertue, & that Christe him selve commanded us praie also in theis perellous daies: me thinketh it necessary that the laye people shulde have the prayers moste conuenient for this tyme ... & that in Englishe'.(K8v) The psalms were these most necessary prayers, and before he took the time to respond to the charges laid against him in 1527 by Prior Ashwell, Joye embarked on this project. Matthew Parker held a similar view when he came to prepare his psalter: 'God grant these Psalms: might edify, /that is the

⁸⁷D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 178.

⁸⁸W.A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 211.

chiefest thing'.⁸⁹ Small, easily smuggled, popular lay devotional handbooks such as these were 'closer to the heart of popular knowledge of the Bible from the mid-sixteenth century than the complete Bibles.'⁹⁰ William Clebsch comments: 'Joye compiled the first English primer with such skill that it set the standard for these books for at least a decade and a half, and its influence continued throughout the first Reformation generation.'⁹¹ He goes on to remark of the brethren in England: 'While their religious opinions were formed by the publications of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, their religious practice fell most profoundly under the influence of George Joye.' Apart from the fact that Joye's polemical writings did affect the formation of religious opinion, his theology was inextricable from his translations, which profoundly influenced on both liturgical and theological levels.

Between the translations of Tyndale and Joye, the concept of a printed English Bible was moving closer to a reality. The first reformist lay religious handbooks put into practice the preachings of the English reformers; they also furnished the brethren caught up in the theological abstractions of the movement with the Words necessary to educate themselves, and to begin construction on their own liturgy.

⁸⁹B3v. His psalter dates from c. 1567. Quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 183.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹¹W.A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 205.

Chapter 4

Hold yowre peace, I say, ye are a lytyll to fatte,
 In a whyle, I hope, ye shall be lener sumwhatte.

King Johan to Clergye.¹

The work of parliament between 1531 and 1534 represented an unprecedented attempt of the English state to free itself from the constriction of Romish binds. By the close of its sixth session, the Reformation Parliament had succeeded in severing the ties that bound the English king, church and people to the dictates of Rome. In the course of this disentanglement, the state managed to usurp the released power hitherto annexed to the papacy. When the dust settled the laity found the same money was being exacted, merely its destination had changed. The motivating factors behind the legislation enacted were diverse; the parliamentary debate testifies to the conflicting factions of both lay and spiritual men, spurred by political and religious considerations. The achievements of the parliament gave three things to Henry: more power, more money, and his long-sought for divorce; all resulted from the heterogeneous motives of the legislators. George Joye's works within this period comment, both overtly and through inference, on the monumental events occurring in England. They also document the cementing of his theology, which resounded throughout his later works. The continuation of his biblical translation, and his polemic regarding the core issues of the day, mark these years as crucial for his career.

I

In 1529 Henry had implemented the penalty for *praemunire* in confiscating Wolsey's vast assets; he now turned his attention to the rest of the clergy. Before the second session of the Reformation Parliament convened, 15 clerics were called to the King's Bench on *praemunire* charges, on the grounds that by acknowledging Wolsey's jurisdiction as papal legate they had implicated themselves in his guilt. Among the accused were several of Queen Katherine's closest friends, including

¹J. Bale, *King Johan*, Act 1, ll. 373-4.

Bishop John Fisher. The allegations were soon expanded to encompass the entire English clergy, who were likewise charged with having illegally exercised the jurisdiction of the Courts Christian within the realm. Henry requested from the clergy of Canterbury a 'contribution' of 100,044 l. 8s. 8d. towards expenses incurred in the divorce proceedings. On 24 January 1531 Southern Convocation agreed to the payment, and formally submitted to Henry. They received an official pardon later in the year, and a similar Act of 1532 excused the clergy of York (for the sum of £18,840). Realising that they had technically shared in the guilt of the clergy, the Lower House sought an official pardon for the laity of England. This extraordinary absolution of an entire people was passed concurrently with that of Southern Convocation: Henry granted 'to all his singular and temporal lay subjects ...his most gracious, general, and free pardon'.² Ironically, in this case it was the clergy who paid the costly fee for a pardon; the same was offered *gratis* to the laity of England.

The Reformation Parliament in these early years gave hope to the reformers, who continued in their evangelical work from the continent. The merchant adventurer Stephen Vaughan was in Antwerp on business in the summer of 1531. On 19 June he wrote to Thomas Cromwell, informing him that 'The Prophetts Esay and Jonas are put forthe in th'Englishe tongue, and [it] passethe any mannes poore to stopp them from comyng forthe.'³ The 'Esay' referred to was *The Prophete Isaye/ translated into englysshe/ by George Joye*, which went to press on 10 May 1531. Ostensibly printed in Strasbourg by 'Balthassar Beckenth', *Isaye* was in fact printed in Antwerp by Martin de Keyser. 'Jonas' was William Tyndale's translation of Jonah, also printed by de Keyser, and (according to David Daniell) 'clearly a twin volume to Joye's Isaiah, even to the parallel theme'.⁴

By the time he prepared an English translation of *Isaye*, Joye's awareness of semantic issues had been heightened. The mechanics of constructing meaning had been recently examined by the biblical humanists. Medieval scripturalism had focused heavily on moral abstraction and allegory; Erasmus, on the other hand, had prioritised the narratives of the Bible, stressing the motivation and explaining the

²J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 17.

³H. Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 3rd ser., vol. 2, p. 208.

⁴D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 207.

reasons for the actions taken (Joye takes a similar approach in his account of the Passion from the 1530 *Ortulus*). Richard Waswo comments: 'The medieval tradition found scriptural meaning in the "things" that the words of the story could be said to "represent"; Erasmus found it in the story that the words told.'⁵ The underlying presumption of the humanists was that the language was (to use John Fisher's terminology) but 'the veray hull of the scriptures'; the 'pithe and substance of the seed' was something else entirely.⁶ As with the unwrapping of allegories or fables, the medium of the Word could be set aside to reveal the message contained within. Theoretically, if the pith could be contained in any hull, then there was nothing intrinsically wrong with non-Vulgate scripture, whether in Latin or in the vernacular. The fact that Joye Englished the scriptures was not condemned in itself by the commission of divines, and John Fisher and Thomas More themselves helped revise the second edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament. Language, as the mere 'accidents' of God's Word, bore no relevance to the meaning of the Bible. Whether read in Hebrew or English, the scriptures could only be understood through the grace of the Holy Spirit: 'The scripture and word of God is truly to every christian man of like worthiness and authority, in what language soever the Holy Ghost speaketh it.'⁷ This unproblematic approach was taken over wholeheartedly by the reformers, and it was not long before the deficiencies of a mimetic theory of language became manifest. The theological arguments of the following decades document the crisis with which both conservatives and reformers were forced to contend: the formation and rendering of meaning.

Unlike William Tyndale, who had always employed glosses, Joye initially shunned marginalia. In the preface to Isaiah he exhorts his readers to 'Gather grete frute without any grete glose'(A2v). In Jeremiah a distinctly Lollard influence is evident: Joye argues that to the pure of heart, the scriptures will become clear, leading directly to Christ, 'the parfait some & ful conclusion of al the lawe & Prophets.' He who reads by directing 'his inwarde eye to beholde & knowe our heuenly father ... beleuinge perfityly to be iustified and saued by the grace of God the father through the merits only of Cristis dethe very God and man/ he readeth a

⁵R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 225.

⁶J. Fisher, *A sermon had at Paulis*, F3r.

⁷Dedication to 1538 New Testament, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 26.

right with grete fruite'.(A2r) A similar belief was argued well over one century earlier by the author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*:

It mot ben a man of also mek an herte,
 That myghte with his good lijf that Holly Gost fongen;
 And thanne nedeth him nought neuer for to studyen,
 He mighte no maistre [ben] kald, for Crist it defended,
 Ne puten [no] pylion on his piled pate;
 But prechen in parfite lijf and no pride usen. (ll. 830-5)

In his belief in 'open' scripture, Joye's concern with the religious life and edification of the laity is evident. As Tyndale asserted that he would help every ploughman to know the Word, Joye likewise felt that everyone, be they 'neuer so simple & rude maye se & understand it clerly.'⁸ Problems of comprehension are therefore attributed to the reader: 'in the Prophetis sermons there is no siche hardnes & difficultye as some men complayneth of/ except the sloughisse & sleapy reder nothinge excercysing himselfe in readinge diligently & reuerently the holy scriptures bringe it with him/ and so himselfe be the very cause why he bringeth away so lytel frute in reding them.'⁹ Waswo comments that 'the principal doctrinal differences that divided the Protestant movement from the beginning reflected the clash between traditional semantic assumptions and those generated by all the new forms of attention - structural, cognitive, and emotional - to language as a sociohistorical product.'¹⁰ The biblical scholarship of the early reformers brings this conflict into focus. In Joye's case, although the onus is laid firmly upon the reader, as transmitter of the text Joye does attempt to increase the harvest of 'grete fruit'. In *Isaye*, he includes 'A note for the clearer understandinge of the Prophete'. Detailing the kings who ruled in Isaiah's time, it divides up much of the book according to each reign, commenting on the worthiness of each monarch. Joye then explains that the remainder cannot be dated to any specific king. The importance accorded to the historical perspective in *Isaye* may be paralleled with Joye's account of the Passion in the *Ortulus*, in the course of which the

⁸Jeremy, A7r.

⁹*Ibid.*, A6v. Similarly in his *Disputation on Holy Scripture* James Whitaker argued: "If we do not understand, the reason is because we have not the Spirit, by whom our hearts should be enlightened." Quoted in P.E. Hume, *The Theology of the English Reformers*, pp. 26-7.

¹⁰R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 243.

narrative is abruptly halted to accommodate a detailed explanation of the Hebrew system of hours. The immutable Word was being contextualised.

The attempt to further understand texts through their political and cultural contexts functioned concurrently with the doctrine of *sola scriptura*: both deemed unnecessary the elaborate, artificial abstractions 'forced' by medieval scholasticism upon semantic meaning. The experience of the reformers, so many of whose arguments revolved around issues of how words (as signs) mean, provides a rich history of the problematics of semantic theory. Semiotic concepts such as 'signifier-signified' and 'referential meaning', primarily associated with twentieth-century theoreticians, were in fact encountered by the polemicists of the Reformation, who struggled to reconcile them to their fundamental belief in the undying Word.

Joye's choice of text is understandable; the book of Isaiah had much to offer. Firstly, there was the high status accorded the prophet in the Bible. In his preface, Joye relates the importance of Isaiah to the apostles, who were as lights sent by God out of the prophet's school. Jesus and Paul both knew the teachings of Isaiah, and John the Baptist's fearless rebuking of sinful living (no matter how 'exalted' the sinner) announced him as heir to Isaiah, whose evangelism appealed to the reformer. Joye considers Isaye to be 'chefist of al prophets/ as concerninge the office of ouerseinge/ preaching/ & diligent watchinge ouer the congregacion of god: whiche office is nolesse perelouse then laboriouse.'(A2r) Perhaps most significant is Joye's belief in the contemporary relevance of the Old Testament book. The vernacular *Isaye* is heaven-sent: 'God of his infinite goodnes hath restored us his prophete Isaye speakinge playne englysshe'(A2v). The notion of 'restoration' binds Joye to the tradition of the Lollards, whose work, once suppressed, is now being reinstated. As with the Psalms, the language is idiomatic and unelevated, dotted with native alliteration: Isaiah 53:7 reads: 'he shalbe led lyke a lambe to be offred up, & shalbe as styl as a shepe under hyr clyppers handes & shal not ons opene his lippes'.(N4r) Like the translation of Jeremiah, *Isaye* is to function 'as a brason wall & piller of yerne to preche in englissh agenst this heuy monster of Rome & al his drasse.'¹¹ The biblical world of Isaiah

¹¹Jeremy, A5r.

is strikingly paralleled with that of Joye. The desperate state of the English people derived from their genealogy. As the spiritual heirs of Abraham, they had fallen into sinfulness, and were cut off from their prophet-saviour, forsaken for their unbelief: 'This prophete was in lyke troublouse tyme & sinful worlde as we ar now: when destruccion & captiuite was at hande, & men wer fled bakwarde from the true worshype of god to the worshippinge of stockes & stones...' (A2r) The tone of urgency, denoting Joye's belief in imminent retribution, never disappeared from his work.

In condemning 'the worshippinge of stockes & stones', Joye was caught up in one of the most volatile contemporary issues. The momentum of this debate had been maintained from the fourteenth century by underground Lollard circles, before being further fuelled by reformist doctrine. The conflict was visible in the opening session of the Reformation Parliament: the issues addressed were symptomatic of the widespread anxiety concerning the disruption of religious observances. Both official doctrine and popular traditions of the Roman church came under attack. Some (such as the excessive number of feast days) had always faced strong objections, and in the 1530s, as in the previous decade, the church authorities sought to take action to reform practices which had proven obstructive to daily working life. Other complaints were given a louder voice than before, and conservative apologists were forced to provide an adequate defence for previously unquestioned beliefs. Outbreaks of iconoclasm were no longer uncommon, and ceremonies practised time out of mind now faced derision.

Behind the reformers' condemnation lay the belief that all practices derived from extra-scriptural sources were either mere *adiaphora*, or the work of Antichrist. When pressured to provide an authority for the legitimacy of beliefs without scriptural foundation (such as the perpetual virginity of Mary, or the efficacy of pilgrimage), the most common authority cited by the Church was the Church. Christ had promised that both he himself and his Holy Spirit would remain with the Church. Therefore, guided by Jesus through the centuries, the Church could not err. It not only 'in thynges nedely requysyte to saluacyon hath the ryght vnderstandyng of holy scrypture', in addition the Holy Spirit had led it into all truth, revealing to it 'the word of God unwryten [which] is of as grete authoryte, as certayne, and as sure, as is hys words wryten in the

scripture'.¹² Any accusation that the Church was mistaken implied that Jesus had lied, and was therefore blasphemous.

This line of defence, which held that the Bible was not whole, was anathema to the reformers: as one asked 150 years later: 'for what did *Christ* his Word provide,/ If still his church must want a living guide?'¹³ Joye's *Subversion of Moris false foundations* (1534) reveals an overwhelming concern with the issue. All things necessary to spiritual well-being were contained in the Word; it needed only to be read with a lively faith and the gift of grace. In his *Institutes* John Calvin addresses the subject, affirming that 'in holding Scripture, we hold unassailable truth. We are not like unhappy creatures whose minds are enslaved by superstition, but we feel a divine energy living and breathing in it which encourages and inspires us to obey it willingly and with understanding ... it is a conviction which divine revelation alone can produce.'¹⁴ George Joye asserts that Thomas More realised that the vernacular Scriptures could bring down the kingdom of Antichrist, and so began defending the 'unwritten verities' of the Roman Church, claiming that they were passed down orally from the apostles to their successors, 'and euen at laste unto the holy mayde of kent Moris miracle maker/ which now hauinge the holy goste (as More saith) assistent/ cannot erre.'(A2v) The mention of Elizabeth Barton would have touched a raw nerve with More. The celebrated prophetess had sealed her fate through preaching 'that in case the king proceeded in the said divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour.'¹⁵ After being charged and found guilty of heresy, she was then declared treasonous and executed in April 1534. The conviction was a cause of extreme embarrassment for her eminent patrons, among whom

¹²'A Dialogue Concerning Heresies', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pt. 1, p. 122; 'Confutation of Tyndale', *ibid.*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 226. R. Pecock's *Repressor* (p. 111) contains the similar belief that "thou maist not seie and holde ech gouernaunce and deede of Goddis lawe and seruice to be expressid in Holi Scripture". Ironically, in order to support his belief in God's unwritten Word, Thomas More added to God's written Word (specifically I Cor. 11), as David Daniell points out: "More writes, from the Vulgate, 'Ego enim accepi a domino quod et tradidi vobis'. He then translates it 'For I have received that thing of our Lord by tradition without writing, the which I have also delivered unto you'. The crucial words there are 'without writing'. They do not appear in Paul in Latin, nor Greek ... nor in any other language. More has inserted them. So much for saintly accuracy." *William Tyndale*, p. 275.

¹³J. Dryden, 'The Hind and the Panther', pt. 2, ll. 299-300.

¹⁴J. Calvin, *Institutes*, (bk. 1, ch. 7) T. Lane, & H. Osborne (eds.), p. 44.

¹⁵*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 65.

were included John Fisher, Katherine of Aragon, and Thomas More himself, who reacted by cutting off all contact with her. In the course of his *Subuersion* Joye makes several jibes at More's unfortunate fraternisation, not only with Barton, but also with the maid of Ipswicke, and 'the mayden ... of Curtham st now known for a false seducer'.(G7v)

That these false women had been supported by the Roman Church was proof enough that it was fallible. Much of *Subuersion* is devoted to exposing the fraudulent 'unwritten verities' of Rome: 'Chryste therefore sayde/ the holy goste shal testifye of me: of me and not of my mothers assumpcion &c. of me & not of lenten faste/ of me & not of halowinge of chalices vestments & creping to crosses.'(B3r) According to Joye, the Roman Church divides up the glory of Jesus between mediating saints, papal pardons, and pilgrimages. God is not the giver of all graces, and the Testaments are incomplete. The ultimate sacrifice of Christ becomes insufficient, and the Church makes him 'but halfe a deseruer, halfe a satisfier, and but a partly patched saiouour'; their abused sacrament of the Altar transmutes 'hym wyth a fewe wordis, into a syngynge lofe'.¹⁶ The reformers held that Christ's sacrifice could not be extended to include the merit of any other, because 'at the oblacion of his body/ all other sacrifices & offerances for syn thorowt all the worlde ceased: for his oblacion alone was sufficient.'(fol. A5) To Joye, More's beliefs represent a devilish scheme to destroy faith in the complete and sufficient scriptures, which contain all requisite knowledge. Notions such as Mary's virginity and assumption are not truths necessary for our salvation, since they cannot be scripturally defended. Instead the lives of the apostles should be focused upon; men who 'were in wrytinge and prechinge earnestly occupyed aboute thingis of more certaynte/ verite/ more nyere and necessary for the glory of god and our saluacion then be Moris unwryten verities and balde ceremonies.'(E7r) Joye shares his belief in an immediate, visceral power of Scripture with Calvin, who writes: 'We have much more reason to detest these trifling sophists, who are content to talk about the Gospel, when it ought to reach and affect the inner longings of the heart. It should take possession of the soul and influence the whole personality a hundred times more than the sterile discussions

¹⁶*Refutation*, B8v; *Supper*, A5v.

of philosophers!¹⁷ Salvation lies in the Word - both written and made flesh:

But crysten reder be thou assuered & certified by the ferme & euerlasting wryten worde of god/ that by thy faith onely in crystis blode & thorow his deth onely thou art saued. And that there is no saluacion nor parte of saluacion in any other thinge then in him onely. For there is no nother name or power under the cope of heuen geuen emonge men wheryn we might be saued. (A3v)

Joye's commitment to the doctrine of *sola scriptura*, and his earnest belief that faith in the Roman Church meant damnation, are communicated clearly in the closing prayer of *Subversion*: 'God geue us grace only to rede/ to understande/ to beleue/ to cleue to/ and to holde it up before us as the very lighte unto our fete/ that we stomble not at Moris unwryten lyes and fall into his dampnable doctryne. Amen.'(H7v) He looks forward to the day when the church is restored to its original state, and its members acknowledge God's righteousness and realise the worthlessness of human works and 'stocks and stones': 'Then shal man returne unto his maker and his eyes shall loke unto hym that maketh holye Israel: and shall not loke unto altars the worke of theyr handes nether shal he beholde these things whiche his owne fyngers made/ nether wodes/ nor ymages.'¹⁸

That Joye easily draws parallels between the 1530s and the 'troublouse tyme & sinful worlde' of Isaiah is hardly surprising. Isaiah had set forth the suffering of the people under Babylonia's domination: in England the schism occurring within Church and state was sending shock waves of instability through the kingdom. Sin, in both cases, was seen to affect the environment: the ravaged land of Isaiah prefigured the diseased realm of England, whose disobedience was visible in its plague-ridden towns. The 'minor epidemic' of iconoclasm was only part of the escalation of the religious strife.¹⁹ Despite the political upheavals and formal complaints facing the English clergy, their concentration on heresy did not waver, and the suppression intensified. The more vehement, violent tone of their polemic mirrored real-life events: the

¹⁷J. Calvin, *Institutes*, (bk. 3, ch. 6) T. Lane & H. Osborne (eds.), pp. 161-2.

¹⁸*Isaye*, E4v-5r.

¹⁹As described by E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 381.

iconoclasts' desecration of churches, the burning of heretics, and their torturous questionings.

In 1534 Joye writes that the 'cruel persecution of the pore men by the Synagogue of Satan has continued these x years, most subtyly during the two years of More's chancellorship.'(A1r) From a reformist perspective, the statement was accurate: with the appointment of Stokesley to the see of London in November 1530 another attempt had been launched to quell the expanding heresy. There followed a wave of arrests and inquisitions, which focused on the radical preachers. In March 1531, Stokesley had brought before Convocation Hugh Latimer, Edward Crome, and Thomas Bilney (who had resumed his 'paryllous prechyng').²⁰ Latimer was excused, Crome recanted, but his appearance before Convocation marked the beginning of the end for Bilney, who persisted in his evangelising in Norwich. He was subsequently arrested, sentenced, and burnt in the Lollard's Pit on 19 August 1531. Hugh Latimer was recalled the following year to answer further charges of heresy. Convocation went so far as to excommunicate Latimer on 11 March 1532, but the reformer later achieved exoneration through submission. Inquisitions of men such as George Constantine and Jerome Barlowe produced high yields, and the campaign of detection went from strength to strength, marked by the martyrdom of Bayfield, Bainham, and Thomas Dugate. The intensity of this drive was maintained: between 1527 and 1532 Tunstall and Stokesley caused at least 218 heretics to abjure.²¹

The strife was, however, expected by the reformers: Jesus himself had declared: 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.'(Matt. 10:34) Miles Coverdale offered reassurance with the words of John 16: 'you ought not to think it any strange thing if misery, trouble, adversity, persecution, and displeasure come upon you. For how can it otherwise be, but that trouble and persecution must come upon you? Can the world love you, which are none of his?'²² Joye compared the religious climate with the time of the captivity of Babylon, when God saved Esdras, 'which was nolesse myracle

²⁰'A Dialogue Concerning Heresies', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pt. 1, p. 124.

²¹A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*, p. 8.

²²'An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 233.

than is shewed this daye/ to se the Emprowr Pope and so many Kynges lordis cardinallis bisshopes and the Deuyll to al agenste it/ and yet magry their tethes all/ God by a fewe vanessed pore sowlis thruste it into their realmes and sprede it into euery korner of them.'²³ Returning to *Isaye*, Joye, like the prophet, affirms his commitment to the welfare of the souls of his people. He was impressed by 'howe faithfully Isaye watched & wayted on his flok/ with what constancy he warned/ howe sharpely he corrected & rebuked & at laste confortd tham agene.'(A2r) The choice of biblical text reveals Joye's keen awareness of its contemporary relevance: the book attests that 'euery man is but grasse',(K2v) emphasises the need for faith, condemns idolatry, and provides warnings for the wicked and assurances of forgiveness for the penitent believers. As a comment on the modern-day plight of the faithful, it was ideal.

The Prophete Isaye's influence was lasting. Based on that of Huldrych Zwingli, Joye's translation is immediate and direct: 'Heare heaven/ and listen erthe: for it is the Lorde that speaketh',(B1r) and much was transferred to the KJB with little alteration. For example: 'Thi syluer is turned into drosse/ Thy wyne is marred withe water'(Isaye, B2v) had after 80 years become 'Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water'.(KJB) The opening of chapter 13 in Joye reads: 'Howle ye therefore/ for ful nyghe is the daye of the lorde'(D6r); in the KJB the text begins: 'Howl ye; for the day of the lord is at hand'. Chapter 6:10 demonstrates that it was Joye's edition that laid the foundations for the format of Isaiah. Although the word order has undergone some modification, it has basically survived intact:

'Make grosse and fatte the hartes of this people/ make thicke their eares/ and kover their eyes/ leste thei see with their eyes/ or heare with their ears/ or understande with their hartes and so be conuerted and saued' (*Isaye*)

'Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be saved.' (KJB)

There are more significant and more famous renderings: *Isaye* 7:14 reads: 'The lorde therefore his owne selfe shall geue yow a token.

²³*Subuersion*, fol. G7.

Beholde/ a mayde shalbe with chylde and bringe forth a sonne and she shall call his name Immanuel.'(fol. C4) The KJB version reproduces the format exactly: 'Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.' Joye rendered 55:8-9: 'and yower wayes ar not lyke my wayes/ but as farre as the heauens ar aboue the erthe euen so farre excede my wayes yowr wayes/ and my thoughtes yowers'.(N6v) The KJB follows the bulk of the vocabulary, smoothing the rhythm: 'neither are your ways my ways, saith the LORD. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts then your thoughts.' In 58:1 several words were substituted, but the metre remains intact: 'lyft up thy voyce lyke a trompet/ and tel my people their synnes/ tel the house of Jacob theyr offences'(Isaye); 'lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.'(KJB) Finally, one of the most vivid, indelible images may be seen to derive from George Joye's work (63:3): 'The wyne press (I tel yow) haue I troden al alone/ and of al the people was there not one with me'(Isaye); 'I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me'.(KJB)

The similarities gain significance when placed within the context of sixteenth century bibles. The sheer amount of versions published between the translations of Tyndale and Joye, and the Authorised Version of 1611, testify to the captivating power of the English Word. Throughout Joye's lifetime were printed multiple editions of Coverdale's Bible (first published 1535), Matthew's Bible (1537), Taverner's Bible (a revision of Matthew's, 1539) and the Great Bible, which came out in 1539 and by 1541 had gone to six further editions. The next mile-stone was the Geneva New Testament and the Geneva Bible (both 1560), which were followed in 1568 by the Bishop's Bible. In 1571 an edition of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon was published, and 11 years later came the Catholic Rheims New Testament, translated from the Vulgate by Gregory Martin. The Geneva Bible and the Bishop's Bible were reprinted almost continuously in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the King James Bible of 1611 (one year after the Roman Catholic Douay-Rheims version), remains something of an artificial landmark. In its time it was severely criticised (by Hugh Broughton among others), and the circulation of other bibles continued. Between Joye and the KJB over 300 editions of the Bible were printed in English; Joye's presence in the

Authorised Version stands testament to the impact of his hurried translations.

For his next biblical translations, Joye chose Jeremiah and Lamentations. Published in a single volume in May 1534, these texts are infused with a similar spirit to *Isaye*. This may be attributed in part to their sources, which in all three cases was a Latin version by Huldrych Zwingli. As with *Isaye*, the preface of *Jeremy* parallels the biblical time with that of the present: Joye asserts that the people of Judah and Jerusalem were guilty of the same sins, and suffered the same plagues and afflictions as the people of England. Like *Isaye*, *Jeremy* was a faithful believer, 'but his chaunce (as be the chaunces of all trwe prechers before the worlde) was moste miserable and hard'.(A5v) The analogy between the tribulations of the reformers and those of the Old Testament prophets was commonly drawn, but the figure of Jeremiah seems to hold special significance for George Joye. Some affinities spring immediately to mind: Jeremiah's work is infused with personal feeling and biographical detail, and his 'ministry was carried on in a politically, socially, morally, and spiritually chaotic era.'²⁴ Jeremiah's evangelism dates from the instigation of Josiah's reforms, intended to purge the kingdom of idolatry. The king's measures were interpreted by Jeremiah as the beginning of a return to the Lord. Offering his two leaves of Genesis to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn (see below pp. 117-8), Joye must have hoped for a similar reformation.

The most considerable area of intersection between the two writers is in the region of style. Both were seen as being distinctly 'rustic' compared to their peers. The straightforward quality of their writing is often assumed to be a negative characteristic, and has (in the case of the prophet at least) been challenged: 'The fact that Jeremiah may not attain the heights of elegance, majesty, or sublimity of Isaiah is no valid basis for disparaging or patronizing Jeremiah's style.'²⁵ David Norton further considers the Hebrew style: 'Of course 'primitive' is only the proper word to describe this style if we rid it of its pejorative connotations and take it to mean something like uncomplicated and direct. Indeed it is possible to go beyond that, and to see Hebrew narrative syntax, and its imitation in

²⁴*EBC*, vol. 6, p. 359.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 367.

the English versions, as a source of elegance and subtlety.²⁶ The colloquial diction and use of everyday similes exemplified in Jeremiah was followed by many biblical humanists and reformers. John Fisher's sermons put into practice 'his own desire that preaching should be in language understood by the ordinary people.'²⁷ In Fisher's Psalms, as with Joye's 'there are no elaborate rhetorical devices, nor is the meaning forced into strange shapes.'²⁸ For example, compare Fisher's 'The herte of a synfull persone is lyke vnto the troublouse see whiche neuer hathe reste', to Joye's 'The ungodly men are lyke a fearse swellinge see, whiche cannot reste.'²⁹

The sermons of humanists like John Fisher made an impression on men such as Joye and Tyndale at a crucial stage of their development. Fisher's uncomplicated translations of the Bible rang through Cambridge: 'Aske and ye shall haue/ seke and ye shall fynde/ knocke and the gate shall be opened to you'; 'This is my welbeloued sone in whome I haue moche plesure...'³⁰ Jeremiah's common similes all derive from everyday life, likewise in Fisher's works the 'similitudes are not far-fetched but call to mind familiar things - millstones, sore eyes, mending a clock, or the snaring of birds.'³¹ Jeremiah's simple, unelevated style expressed his commitment to 'the priority of the spiritual over everything else', and helped to make Jeremiah 'a wonderful handbook for learning the art of having fellowship with God. Here is personal faith at its highest in the Old Testament, a veritable gateway to understanding the deeper meaning of the priesthood'.³² In his preface to his translation of Lamentations, the Biblical scholar Hugh Broughton (1549-1612) demonstrated his respect both for Jeremiah's language and character: 'Jeremy's Lamentation I have set over into our tongue with care to set forth, so near as our speech could, the oratorious bravery of his words.'³³ George Joye's similar admiration for the prophet, whose example presumably inspired and reassured the exiled man, is apparent:

²⁶G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 26.

²⁷E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, p. 23.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁹J. Fisher, *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd*, A3r; *Ortulus*, O6r.

³⁰J. Fisher, *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd*, nn4r.

³¹E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, pp. 20-1.

³²EBC, vol. 6, p. 369, p. 370.

³³Quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 141.

For he [Jeremiah] exhorted them swetely and louingly/ he rebuked sharply and earnestly/ & preched euermore as faithfully & constantly. So that if we beholde his faithfullness/ he is fervent. If we consyder his erudicion and doctrine/ he shyneth. If we loke upon his prudence/ it is right sauourye & well ceasoned. If we beholde his godlynes/ he excedeth. And as for his constancye/ it is iniuncible & beareth a waye all the victory.' (A6r)

In a time of crisis, the value of writing which 'is direct, vivid, unornamented, incisive, and clear' needs no explanation.³⁴

Following *Jeremy* is the short book of Lamentations, concerned with the suffering of a nation, due to their disobedience to the Lord. The book is saturated with an apocalyptic foreboding (manifest in the majority of Joye's writings). In setting forth the plight of exiles, who are calling upon God to act, Lamentations addresses the nature of God, his justice, and his covenant. The delineation of the chasm between God and Man (joined only later through the divine humanity of Christ) would have appealed to the reforming sentiment: 'Ultimately there are depths in God's actions that finite man cannot grasp ...there is always a residue of human experience that demands our bowing to a wisdom too high for our understanding.'³⁵ In his translation of Lamentations, as with the Psalms, Joye presented the text with verse divisions. As David Norton has pointed out, the Geneva New Testament of 1557 was the first English Bible to have such divisions. The editors of that work explained the new formatting: 'Which thing as it is moste profitable for memorie: so doeth it agre with the best translations'.(iiiiv) Joye's texts acts as precursors for this and all subsequent bibles, for although his editions were without verse numbering, his divisions 'often correspond to the later verse divisions.'³⁶

As with Isaiah, Joye's *Jeremy* commands a strong presence in the subsequent translations. Its format is visible, and its vocabulary, though modified by transposition, is not lost: see 50:1 and 1:5:

³⁴EBC, vol. 6, p. 367.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 699.

³⁶D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 169 (footnote).

Babylon shalbe taken. Beel shalbe confounded with shame. Merodach shalbe taken/ hir grauen images shalbe shamefully confounded/ and their Idolis shalbe taken. (*Jeremy*)

Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken into pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken into pieces. (KJB)

Before I fasshioned the in thy mothers wombe/ I knew the: and before thow wer borne/ I sanctified the: and ordained the to be a Prophete for the peple. (*Jeremy*)

Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations. (KJB)

Certain of Joye's more colloquial renderings were not transmitted: 'And Moab in his vommyte shalbe clapped out with handis/ And shal be a laughing stocke to'.(48:26, M6r) The KJB attempts a more dignified translation: 'Moab also shall wallow in his vomit, and he also shall be in derision.' Similarly with Lamentations 1:20: 'Beholde Lorde/ for I am sore scourged/ my bely rombleth/ my herte wambleth in me'(O7r); 'Behold, O LORD; for I am in distress: my bowels are troubled; mine heart is turned within me'.(KJB)

Joye concludes his text with the Song of Moses, which has been appended 'to magnifye our Lorde for the fall of our Pharao/ the Bisshop of Rome.'(A1r) The 'fall' referred of course to the tumultuous events of parliament, which had in 1532 taken over the role of Convocation in 'determining national ecclesiastical policy.'³⁷ Although the Roman Church had once ruled, 'now God's worde hath broken her head,/ And she hath gotten a fall.'³⁸ On 18 March 1532 the Commons presented to Henry their *Supplication Against the Ordinaries*. The document marks definitively the entrance of England into the no-man's-land of religious doctrine where the country was to remain for decades to come. The conflicting agendas of orthodox and radical are present: the final draft targeted the widespread corruption of the clergy as a primary factor motivating the conflict and debate seen to rage within the realm. Although the *Supplication* is often cited as proof of the anticlericalism

³⁷S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation Parliament*, p. 213.

³⁸'Let Go the Whore of Babilon', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 586.

rife among the laity, another theory suggests that it 'may have been a lawyer's tactic' or 'a desperate tactical ploy by Cromwell, designed to turn the Commons against the bishops'.³⁹ Christopher Haigh goes on to comment: 'Certainly, the 'Supplication' was of no more than temporary significance ... the specific charges it made were largely untrue'.⁴⁰ The charges concerned the ecclesiastical judicial system and the temporality of the English clergy, both of which came under heavy attack. The third factor was the 'erroneous opinions, grown by occasion of frantic, seditious, and overthwarty framed books ... contrary and against the very true Catholic and Christian faith' which had been translated into English.⁴¹ Thomas Cromwell's correction of the final draft bore his mark: it was reform of the clerical abuses, as opposed to the delinquent texts, which was stressed. Convocation responded in April with a lament of their mistreatment, and an exhortation for Henry to 'enact some statute in favor of faith in the present Parliament, and against heretics and suspicious books.'⁴² This was passed on to parliament on 30 April, annexed with Henry's caustic remark that the argument seemed to him 'very slender'. In 1528 Simon Fish had bitterly complained that the clergy did 'nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace! Nothing but translate all rule, power, lordship. authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them!'⁴³ His sentiments were echoed four years later in a speech of the king's:

Well-beloved subjects, we thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly; but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects - yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the Pope clear contrary to the oath they make to us, so that they seem his subjects and not ours.⁴⁴

After days of debate and anxious strategising, the upper house of Southern Convocation formally surrendered on 15 May. They would henceforth only assemble or legislate with royal assent; all existing

³⁹C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, pp. 64-5.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴¹J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 21.

⁴²*L&P*, vol. 5, [1017].

⁴³*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 660.

⁴⁴The king was speaking before twelve members of Commons, whom he had summoned on 11 May. J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 22.

canons would be examined for approval by a royal commission. The following day Thomas More resigned the chancellorship, and Stephen Gardiner retired to Winchester. The Imperial ambassador, Chapuys, observed: 'Churchmen will be of less account than shoemakers, who have the power of assembling and making their own statutes.'⁴⁵ The clergy now derived their legitimacy from neither God nor Rome, but from Henry. They were crippled.

As with the power previously accorded to Rome, so with the funds. Following in the footsteps of King John, Henry VIII had decided 'that no Italian priest/ Shall tithe or toll in our dominions'.⁴⁶ The legislating of the cessation of payments to the See of Rome began with the *Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates* of 1532, which cut off the papacy's most important source of income from England. Within two years the payments of annates, Peter's Pence and Firstfruits and Tenths were dissolved or redirected to Henry's coffers. The state presented these measures as a detoxification of the religious body of England; only the purest religion would remain. This movement culminated in the *Act of Supremacy*. Before Henry would grant his pardon in 1531, he had forced from Southern Convocation an acknowledgement that he stood as 'their singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head.'⁴⁷ His begrudged-title of Supreme Head was now further legitimised by Parliament, this time without the qualifier 'as far as the law of Christ allows', and the campaign to enforce its acceptance began.⁴⁸ Each religious institution had to formally recognise Henry's status: the prior of Newnham Abbey John Ashwell signed the acknowledgement of the royal supremacy in this year, for himself and on behalf of his 14 canons and two lay brothers. Henry had made it clear that he did not intend 'to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom.'⁴⁹ What precisely constituted those articles of faith was a separate matter entirely. A.F. Pollard neatly sums up: 'Henry was now Pope in England with powers no Pope had possessed.'⁵⁰ The papal

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁶W. Shakespeare, *King John*, Act 3, sc. 1, ll. 153-4.

⁴⁷J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 17.

⁴⁸See *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 68: 'During this particular time, every Sunday preached at Paul's cross a bishop, who declared the pope not to be head of the church.'

⁴⁹J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, p. 32.

⁵⁰A.F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, p. 261.

supremacy was abjured by both Convocations, and a new Treason act, which made denial of Henry's title of Supreme Head punishable by death, was legislated. England was out on her own.

II

Although safer than England, the Continent could not guarantee sanctuary for the 'vanessed pore sowlis' of the reformed faith. Tyndale's New Testament had been banned in the Low Countries since 1529, and the law sought to put discovered heretics to death: men by the sword; women by being buried alive; the relapsed by fire. William Tyndale, in a letter to John Frith, in 1533 lamented the worsening situation for the reformers: 'Two have suffered in Antwerp, 'In die sanctae crucis,' unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Risele in Flanders, and at Lucca hath there one at the least suffered; and all the same day.'⁵¹ The same letter, dated 9 May, makes reference to an attempt by Joye to gain royal sponsorship of a vernacular Bible:

George Joye at Candlemas, being at Barrois,⁵² printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that if the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that should print.⁵³

It is more probable that the recent intensification in the search for texts was due to the presence of two friars who had fled to Antwerp to print tracts in support of Queen Katherine. The 'new queen' was of course Anne Boleyn, who, when her patronage was sought in February, was supposedly merely Henry's mistress. That Joye looked to Anne for support less than ten days after she had secretly married the king is most likely coincidence. It seems impossible that news could have travelled to Antwerp so quickly, but there may have been rumours of an impending marriage brought by sympathetic ambassadors such as Stephen Vaughan, encouraging the reformers to seize the opportunity.

⁵¹A&M, vol. 5, p. 132.

⁵²The French for Bergen-op-Zoom, a town 24 miles from Antwerp (English 'Barrow').

⁵³A&M, vol. 5, p. 132. These leaves of Genesis have not survived.

It was the matter of the king's divorce which had taken Stephen Vaughan to Antwerp in 1531. Henry VIII was eager to bring to an end the self-imposed exile of the reformers, and to add their names to his list of supporters in his 'great matter'. The operation was overseen by Thomas Cromwell, but the main duty fell to Vaughan, who was to win the obedience and ensure the return of William Tyndale. Tyndale was offered a royally-approved safe passage to England in January 1531; he refused. In May Vaughan received instructions to concentrate his efforts upon John Frith, as Tyndale was considered beyond rehabilitation. Like Tyndale, Frith turned down the 'guaranteed' safe passage. It was only in November that Vaughan finally met with success. Robert Barnes, concerned with mediating a peace between Henry and Martin Luther, accepted the opportunity offered to him. During the summer Henry had solicited the favour of the German Protestants, lauding their efforts 'to heal the diseases in the body politic.'⁵⁴ Luther's judgement of the legitimacy of the consummated marriage was final. His decision was reinforced later in the year, when Lutheran doctors were canvassed to write favourably on the divorce.⁵⁵ With the exception of Andreas Osiander (whose niece was married to Archbishop Cranmer), all found against Henry. The king's case did gain considerable strength with the favourable judgements of Oecolampadius, Zwingli and Calvin. These intimidating measures were ignored by the pope, and having tried and exhausted the threat of advocating Lutheranism, Henry's hope of gaining a papal-sanctioned divorce was further diminished. His last chance of success now lay in the hands of the English state.

With the parliament (heavily 'encouraged' by the king) espousing English independence and religious self-sufficiency, and his mistress pregnant (possibly with a son and heir), the urgent matter of Henry's divorce was brought to a swift conclusion. The loss of Thomas More and William Warham (who had died in August 1532) enabled the fourth session to proceed without any great impediment. The *Act in Restraint of Appeals* of 1533, 'doubtless the most important single piece of legislation to be enacted by the Reformation Parliament', ensured that Katherine was denied recourse to Rome.⁵⁶ The adherents of the Roman

⁵⁴*L&P*, vol. 5, [Appendix 7].

⁵⁵According to Chapuys, *ibid.*, [1531].

⁵⁶S.E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament*, p. 175.

Church were cut off from their source: their final appeal in ecclesiastical cases was to the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that of Thomas Cranmer.⁵⁷ Cranmer opened his Court at Dunstable on 10 May 1533. His judgement of 23 May was in accordance with Convocation's decision that the pope could not by dispensation sanction a marriage with a brother's widow. The marriage of Henry and Katherine was pronounced invalid; five days later that of Henry and Anne Boleyn (which had taken place on 25 January) was declared legitimate.⁵⁸ Cranmer went on to crown Anne queen in Westminster Abbey on 1 June, and was named godfather to the child born three months later: Elizabeth.

Joye's bid for royal patronage points to the shift in religious power: in the summer of 1523 Tyndale had looked to the bishop of London for approval of vernacular translation; now royal sanction was sought. Anne Boleyn might not only have the religious inclination, but the funds required to finance the work in biblical translation. The rough quality of much of Joye's texts derives in part from pressures of money, and therefore of time. Despite his prodigious output, the books did not gain any great profit for Joye, and the financial constraints he remained under may have obliged him to accept any work offered.⁵⁹ The process of compiling an accurate, complete bibliography of George Joye, already hampered by his frequent use of pseudonyms, is further impeded by the presence of anonymous texts, which do not gain mention in any of his known works. At least in the case of reformist polemic, his possible reasons for undertaking the work need not be questioned, but what of orthodox publications? How desperate was his situation?

Joye's name has been linked to a small collection of scriptural passages published in 1533 by Martin de Keyser, entitled *The mystik sweet rosary of the faithful soule*. This book consisted of a series of woodcuts and biblical excerpts, many of which relate to the life of Christ. After comparing selections to *Isaye* and the *Ortulus*, Butterworth & Chester

⁵⁷Following the death of Archbishop Warham in August 1532, Cranmer was named as his successor to the see of Canterbury (after a five month period where the post was left vacant).

⁵⁸The papacy did not decide until 23 March 1534, when a decree was issued asserting the validity of the Henry-Katherine marriage.

⁵⁹Joye's works are dotted with references to his "great povertye and care" (*Ashwell*, A3v). His insistence (most noticeable in the 1540s) on the necessity of allowing true preachers a proper living may well derive from his first-hand experience of the life as an impoverished clergyman.

ascribed the authorship of this anonymous book to Joye.⁶⁰ Admitting that the majority of the translations are from Tyndale's New Testament, they argue that the divergence of the wording points towards Joye, echoing his *Ortulus* and *Isaye*. While appearing orthodox, *Mystik* betrayed its affinity with Joye's reformist sentiments.

Certainly, there are elements of *Mystik* compatible with Joye's theology as manifest in his other works. While there are at times strong echoes of Joye, they are perhaps not as strong as has been suggested. For example, the prayer of Jonah in the belly of the whale is not lifted directly from the *Ortulus* (as asserted by Butterworth), but appears as an amalgam of the *Ortulus* and the *Pentateuch* versions. Joye's idiosyncratic style proves useful; a prayer to be said at the sacrament of thanksgiving asks: 'Swete Jesu kyndle my herte to honger for this sacrament/ that thorow it I may be certified as with an earnest peny of thy fauour'.(D3r) Another phrase 'as styll as a shepe under the clippers handis'(F1r) immediately points back to *Isaye*: 'as styl as a shepe under hyr clyppers handes'.(A4r) However, apart from this striking comparison, the remainder of the verse from Isaiah 53 is not especially reminiscent of the earlier version. Similarly, the other portions from Isaiah, while not differing significantly, are not exact reproductions of Joye's work; at times the verse runs more smoothly, at times it is more stilted.⁶¹ Joye either revised his own translation as he compiled *Mystik*, or else another editor collected the prayers, merging the work of both Tyndale and Joye.

If George Joye is indeed the author, one feature of the book proves disturbing. In her article on English printing in the Low Countries, M.E. Kronenberg remarks on the tremendous variety of de Keyser's publications, mentioning his many reformation tracts, 'innocuous grammatical tracts of Colet and Wolsey, and even a devotional Roman Catholic book *The mystik sweet rosary of the faythful soule*.'⁶² *Mystik*,

⁶⁰See *George Joye*, pp. 106-8.

⁶¹For example, compare: "It was he that was wounded of our transgressions and thus smyten for our ungodlynes", *Mystik* (E8v-F1r) with "It is he that shal abyde the anguysshe and be scourged", *Isaye* (N3v-N4r); and "It was I that trode the wyne presse all alone/ and of all the folke was ther not one man to helpe me", *Mystik* (E2v) with "The wyne press (I tel yow) haue I troden al alone/ and of al the people was there not one with me", *Isaye* (P2r).

⁶²M.E. Kronenberg, 'Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries', *The Library*, ser. 4, vol. 9 (1928), p. 160. Paul Valkema Blouw has greatly furthered Kronenberg's work, and has proven that de Keyser was responsible for a tremendous amount of early protestant

structured around key prayers to the five wounds of Christ, complies with this description. From 'hayle holy wounde of the left fote' to 'Hayle right hande of Chryst/ Peersed so greuously', these elements of the book (which escape mention in Butterworth) appear to eliminate Joye as primary editor. After all, it was exactly these types of traditional prayers which he so diligently eradicated from his *Ortulus*. The cult of the Wounds, 'one of the most important and far-reaching in late medieval England'⁶³ was part and parcel of the popular observances reviled and mocked by the reformers. Eamon Duffy comments that it 'is hardly surprising ... that the symbol of the Five Wounds should have been chosen by the Pilgrims of Grace as the emblem of their loyalty to the whole medieval Catholic system.'⁶⁴ In *Mystik* it is connected (as was common) with the final judgement of Christ: the closing prayer reads: 'O Lorde Jesu Chryste/ I worship the which arte to come the iuge to gyue euery man aftir his dedis/ other paine or plesure.'(G8r) The stress on human works would also suggest an orthodox author. The inclusion of such a symbol with the translations of the reformers would have surely been anathema to Joye. If he was responsible for *Mystik*, he must have been in a desperate situation, to set aside the beliefs for which he had sacrificed family, friends and country. Considering the varied translations and the orthodox slant of the book, which lacks even a hint of reformist leaning, I see nothing to warrant the association of Joye with the actual production of the text. It seems more plausible that a Roman Catholic took advantage of the newly-available vernacular scripture, and prepared a traditional devotional handbook which lifted from the pioneering work of Joye and Tyndale, steeping it in the colourful practices of popular religion.

Another anonymous text attributed to Joye is *The praier and complaynte of the ploweman unto Christe*, published by de Keyser on 28 February 1531. The reformers often prepared new editions of Lollard tracts (such as *Wycliffe's Wicket*, *The Lantern of Lyght*, and *The ABC Against the Clergy*), so 'ye may knowe yat yt is only the inwards malyce

publications. See P.V. Blouw, 'Early protestant publications in Antwerp, 1526-30', *Quaerendo*, vol. 26/2 (1996), pp. 94-110.

⁶³E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 245.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 248.

whiche they haue euer had agynst the worde of God.'⁶⁵ The printer John Gough explained that he reissued Lollard texts

to the entent that we myght know & perceyue that paynes & labores men toke to preferre, and set forth the word of god in old tymes passed, to the destruction of the enormityes of the Romysh church which was then in his prosperite, euen as it hath bene now in our dayes, the which dampnable abuses were then abused amonge goddes people as they haue ben in our tyme in thys realme...⁶⁶

Such is the case here. *Ploweman* was printed to show 'playnly that it ys no new thinge, but an olde practyse of oure prelates ... to defame the doctrine of Christe with the name of new lerninge and the teachers thereof with the name of new masters.'(A3r) The work has been attributed to William Tyndale: John Bale's *Summarium* lists the text as his, and this may be further supported by the evidence that the preface to a later edition (printed by Thomas Godfray c. 1532) bears the initials 'w.T.'. However, in her Ph.D. thesis Anthea Hume denies the presence of the initials in the edition in question, and argues instead for Joye as editor.⁶⁷ David Daniell also considers the issue, and concludes: 'There is nothing sufficiently distinctive in the English to make the attribution certain. Nor is there in the long prologue anything that could not have been written by, for example, George Joye.'⁶⁸

The prolegomenon provides some support for the theory. As in the preface of *Isaye*, the Old Testament is here said to contain all the teachings of Christ, and there is the familiar parallel between the Bible and the present day. The bishops of England are the 'veray childerne of their fathers the phareses, Bischops and prestes, which so accused Christ and his Apostles of new lerninge ... they defame sclaunder and persecute the same word & preachers and followers of it, withe the self same names, callinge it new lerninge'(A2r) and 'take awaye the autorite and estimacion of gods worde and the credence of the preacher'(A2v): 'And so with these olde clokes of their fathers ... fyrst they persuade the people the

⁶⁵'A compendious old treatyse', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 171.

⁶⁶*The dore of holy scripture*, fol. A3.

⁶⁷A. Hume, *A Study of the Writings of the English Protestant Exiles 1525-1535 (excluding their biblical translations)*, p. 316.

⁶⁸D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 207.

worde of god to be heresy. And by that meanes they lyberally prison and persecute unto deeth all the professours of the same.'(A2v)

A figure prominent in Joye's consciousness gains mention in the preface. The author prays 'that all the rightuous bloude may fall on their heedes that hath ben shed from the bloude of Steuen the first martyr to the blode of that innocent man of God Thomas hitton whom willyam werham byschop of Canturbury and John fyscher byschop of Rochestur morthered at maydeston on kente the last yere for the same trouth.'(A2v) An expression of sentiment typical of Joye follows: 'I pray god that they may be ones turned unto the Lorde that he maye heale them, and forgeue them that synne of ignorancy. For as for these malicious tyrauntes that persecute against their awn conscience I praye not'.(A2v) However despite these indications, no definitive judgement is possible yet; further study of the various editions of *Ploweman* may well produce new evidence, enabling, if not a firm resolution, at least an informed speculation.

The book whose ascription to Joye caused most controversy is, of course, *The supper of the Lorde*, dating from 1533. The question of authorship has long been debated; suggested authors primarily consist of Tyndale, Robert Crowley, and Joye. There are at least three editions of *Supper*, and ignorance of the discrepancies between the various texts has presumably contributed to the conflicting reports of the 'Tyndalian' quality of the text. Crowley may be immediately eliminated: he in fact edited the book during the 1540s, adding a preface which in one edition bears his name. This preface 'To all the studious readers of Goddes worde and verite'(A1v) supplies a brief history of the schemes of Satan to overthrow the true Church.⁶⁹ It addresses the concern of the people concerning the disagreement between Luther, Oecolampadius and Zwingli, and attempts to reassure and mediate their opinions, pledging to the reader 'to put thee out of doubt that these three men differed not in their iudgement upon thys thyng, but as it pleased the Lorde so to haue the veritie thorwly tryed, he suffered them not the one to understande the others meanyng.'(A4v)

⁶⁹In claiming that Satan's "greatest ouerthrow"(A2v) was in bringing about the abuse of the sacrament of the Altar, Crowley is extremely close to John Calvin, who wrote that in making the people believe "the Mass is a sacrifice and oblation for obtaining the remission of sins ... Satan never devised a more effective engine for attacking and vanquishing Christ's realm." *Institutes*, bk. 4, ch. 18. Quoted in F. Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, p. 102.

In recent years the belief that William Tyndale was the author has become less common. The possibility that *Supper* was the work of George Joye was first seriously addressed in the 1960s, but the arguments remained predominantly focused on why the *Supper* was not by Tyndale, as opposed to why it was by Joye.⁷⁰ The history of the debate highlights the bias against George Joye which was ingrained into academic scholarship from the sixteenth century. The majority of the arguments were carried out in a vacuum of sorts, with knowledge of only one of the candidate's writing (William Tyndale's). Ultimately, Joye lost in either case. If not the author, it was because 'the 'Supper' is too able a piece for Joye's pen ... He lacks the strong simplicity, learning and directness of Tyndale, whose very railings are deeper and more penetrating than Joye's.⁷¹ Indeed, the 'whole style and wording of the tract' was declared to be 'highly Tyndalian'.⁷² If Joye was admitted as the author, *Supper* was transmuted into 'a flimsy little tract in comparison with the sacramental works of Frith and Tyndale.'⁷³ The book is either too good, or just bad enough to have been written by Joye.

I have demonstrated elsewhere that the style, language and sacramental theology discernible in *Supper* are characteristic specifically of George Joye.⁷⁴ Textual echoes of *Supper* crop up throughout Joye's works. Many of these are distinctive: in *Subuersion* for example Joye comments on Thomas More's role as apologist for the Roman Church, More is described as 'beinge a ful fet kouer for siche a cuppe to furnessh it with subtyle falsehed/ & to mayntayn their gloriouse ungodlynes with his autorite'.(A2r) *Supper* remarks (B1v) 'God hath sent your chyrche a met kouer for siche a cuppe, euen siche a defender as ye take upon your

⁷⁰For the main elements of the debate see: 'H.W.', 'The Supper of the Lorde', *N&Q*, vol. 1 (1850), pp. 362-3; J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'', *N&Q*, vol. 183 (1942), pp. 305-6; J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'', *N&Q*, vol. 185 (1943), p. 87; W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, 'Who wrote 'The Supper of the Lord'?', *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 53 (1960), pp. 77-91; W. Clebsch, 'More evidence that George Joye wrote the Souper of the Lorde', *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 55 (1962), pp. 63-6; A. Hume, *A Study of the Writings of the English Protestant Exiles 1525-1535 (excluding their biblical translations)*; and O. O'Sullivan, 'The Authorship of *The Supper of the Lord*', *Reformation*, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 207-32.

⁷¹J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'', *N&Q*, 183 (1942), p. 306.

⁷²J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's 'Supper of the Lord'', *N&Q*, 185 (1943), p. 87.

⁷³'Answer to a Poisoned Book', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 11, xxxvi.

⁷⁴O. O'Sullivan, 'The Authorship of *The Supper of the Lord*', *Reformation*, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 207-32.

selfe to be'. The theology expounded in *Supper* is repeated - in the same language - in Joye's later tracts. The description of baptism in *Frutefull* (1541) is an expanded version of that found in *Supper*:

Also as by Baptyme we be iniciated/ we professe/ and be conseigned unto the worship of one God/ into the faith of one & the same Christen religion/ euen so by the same faithe and loue expressed at the lordis souper/ we declare our selues to perseuer in our profession/ now incorporated into Christ as the very members of that mystik bodye whereof Christ is onely the head. (*Frutefull*,A4v-A5r)

So that by Baptisme we be iniciated & conseigned unto the worship of one god in one faith: And by the same faithe and loue at the lordis souper. we shewe our selues to continew in our possession, to be incorporated and to be the very members of Crystis bodye. (*Supper*, C1v)

Likewise the dual nature of the sacrament, incorporating both inward and outward processes, is also described using the same terminology. *Supper* explains:

...so that whyle euery man beholde with his corporall eye those sensible sacramentis: the inwarde eye of his faithe maye se and beleue stedfastlye Cryste offred and dyinge upon the crosse for his synnes, how his bodye was broken & his blood shed for us, and hath geuen himselfe wholl for us... (D7r)

Once more, *Frutefull* provides us with a similar experience:

Agene/ we see with our exterior eyes the brede & wyne geuen to us/ but with the eye of our faith we se as presently his body crucified & his blode shede & geuen us. (C1r)

In addition, Joye's *Refutation* (1546) contains the same understanding of the sacrament:

And in the holy souper of the Lorde, dewly ministred, I remember and see with the eyes of my faith, in the breakinge and geuinge of the holy bread his bodi broken crucified & geuen me unto the remission of my sinnes... (X8v)

One of the most memorable echoes occurs in *Our sauour Jesus Christ* (1543), which warns:

For if any men (saith he) tell you. Lo here is Christ/ or there is he/ beleue him not for ther shall aryse false anoynted ... Take heed (sayth Christe) for I haue told it you before. If therfor they tel you/ lo he is in the deserte & solitary places of religion/ go not once forth/ or say/ see he is in the secrete places as in the preuy pixe and secrete ciborye/ beleue it not. (A7v)

A condensed form of the same biblical quotation ends *Supper*:

If any man tell ye, lo here is Cryste, or ther is he beleue hym not, For ther shal aryse false crystes false anoynted geuyng grete miracles. Take hede, I haue tolde ye before, yf thei therefore tel ye: lo, he is in the deserte, go not forth: lo he is in the preuye pixe, beleue it not. (D8v)

Of course Matthew 24 makes no reference to any 'preuy pixe', but the recurrence of the same addition tightly binds the text to George Joye, who was eager to debate the subject of the Real Presence, and simultaneously distances it from William Tyndale, who considered the issue to be *adiaphora*.⁷⁵

What remains to be carried out is an in-depth examination of the text itself, whose worth has been problematised by the conflicting scholarship of the last four centuries. This polemical tract was situated in the centre of one of the most inflammatory issues of the day, that of transubstantiation: 'although there be many heresies that bring eternall dampnation, yet there is none more wycked and detestable, than is the opinion of many in the blessed Sacrament of the Aultare.'⁷⁶ The opposing parties were not merely Catholic-Protestant: conflicts between the Continental reformers (such as Luther and Zwingli) had been common knowledge for years. It was inevitable that the English brethren

⁷⁵In *A Brieve declaration of the sacraments* Tyndale comments: "No more dothe yt hurte to saye, that the bodye and bloude are not in the sacrament. Nether doth it helpe to say they be there." (E7v-E8r). See also Tyndale's letter to John Frith: "If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within in the heart, in spirit and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved), hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel." *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 133. For further details of the argument for Joye as author see O. O'Sullivan, 'The Authorship of *The Supper of the Lord*,' *Reformation*, vol. 2 (1997). pp. 207-32.

⁷⁶J. Bullingham, *A Notable Oration*, (preface) A5v.

would address such a crucial issue as the 'miracle' of the Altar. Unfortunately, the sacramental beliefs of the reformers varied remarkably, ranging from Robert Barnes' Lutheran assertions of 'consubstantiation' to the orthodox position of Thomas Bilney, who never doubted the Real Presence. The debate on transubstantiation threatened not only the Church, but the integrity of the brethren, revealing the cracks in their unified front.

III

In 1532 John Frith denied the Real Presence in *A Christian Sentence*, written at the request of a 'friend' who claimed to be confused about the true nature of the sacrament. There was much sacramental debate among the laity already: the sacrament of the Altar was being 'deuelyshely rayled at' 'in euery ale house of chatterynge huswiues, & ydle gosseppes.'⁷⁷ Frith's private pamphlet (not published until 1545) was immediately delivered into the hands of Thomas More, who naturally took it upon himself to defend this most Roman Catholic of doctrines, publishing his condemnatory *Letter Impugning the Erroneous Writing of John Frith*, later that year. At this point William Tyndale attempted to smother the inflammatory argument. He wrote to Frith shortly after Christmas 1532, admonishing him to be silent on the matter: 'Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us'. Setting aside the theological issues involved, any sign of dissension among the reformers was all too easily used against them by the Roman Church. In this Tyndale had learned from the experiences of the Continental reformers. Luther and Zwingli had openly debated consubstantiation, and Oecolampadius in 1525 published a short piece on Eucharistic theology, which detailed the division of opinions among the reformers. John Fisher had highlighted this weakness, comparing it to the strife ensuing from the Tower of Babel: 'The same punishment has befallen these factious followers of Luther ... he has brought it about that those who seemed leaders amongst them understand not each other's voice. They strive with one another,

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, C5r.

and no one deigns to listen to his neighbour.⁷⁸ The social unrest on the Continent was blamed on such theological division:

And euerye man rashly entreth into hys owne waye, folowing that thinge, whiche in his owne fantastickall brayne semeth good. Hereby it cometh to passe, that all thinges are foule disordred, nothing quiete & peasable ... [and nothing is found] but the madde rage and furie of Rebellion in all places of the worlde: hereby the faith of many dothe wauer, and is unstable...⁷⁹

The same argument was used by the reformers against the Roman Church, which was painted as fundamentally fractured:

Yt was never well syns the clargy wrowght by practyse
And left the scriptur for menns ymagymacyons,
Dyvydyng them selvys in so many congrygacyons
Of monkes, chanons and fryers of dyvers colors and facyons.⁸⁰

Both sides launched the same accusations, and both sought to appear 'christianly' unified. To avoid such a weakening of position, William Tyndale ordered John Frith to let the debate drop. He had already delivered similar instructions to George Joye, who 'would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose.'⁸¹ Apparently Joye managed to scrape together the money, and - in blatant opposition to Tyndale's instructions - on 5 April 1533 *The supper of the Lorde* went to press.

Joye's *Supper*, termed 'the most important and influential discursive writing of his career', incorporates a defence of John Frith against More, a Eucharistic tract by Zwingli, and a detailed proposal for a reformed communion service.⁸² The title suggests that the defence of Frith and the letter to the faithful in Christ were annexed onto the original tract:

⁷⁸From J. Fisher's *De veritate corporis*, quoted in E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, pp. 110-1.

⁷⁹J. Bullingham, *A Notable Oration*, C2r.

⁸⁰J. Bale, *King Johan*, Act 1, ll. 334-7.

⁸¹A&M, vol. 5, p. 133.

⁸²W. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 213.

The supper of the Lorde. After the true meanyng of the fyrst Epystle to the Corinthians, wherunto is added an Epystle to the reader And incidently in the exposicion of the supper: is confuted the letter of master More agaynst Jhon Fryth.

Joye's understanding of the Sacrament, as set forth in *Supper, Our sauour Jesus Christ* (1543) and *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper* (1541), is fundamentally Zwinglian. The sacrament is essentially a memorial, which Jesus 'left with us to be a perpetuall memorye of that his most victorious conquest', (A2v) and through which our faith is stirred and our belief confirmed. The exterior elements of the sacrament 'serue our senses to moue/ monishe/ and to counforte us inwardly', so 'that the thingis promised by the wordes might the more presently and deeplyer be conuayed into our hertes and myndes.'⁸³ This confirmation of God's promise is only necessary because of our sinful nature; if we were 'clogged nomore with this carnall burden of our corruptible & foryetfull flesshe/ then nedeth it not/ us any more to be thus fed/ with sicke sensible/ elements/ symbols/ rytes or Sacraments.'⁸⁴ However, the sacrament is being poisoned with 'pestiferous venoume': 'The fyrst institution therof: was to be a remembraunce of Christes passion ...But nowe it is become the selfe same body that dyed on the crosse'.(A2v) In Joye's view, the clergy 'crucifye Crist a fresshe in themselues & let forthe the blode of the couenant for a laughing stok'.⁸⁵ Through the 'vayne rytes and ungodly tradicions' of the clergy, the Supper has been violated, so that 'there is nothyng/ not somuche as the name/ or very litle left...'⁸⁶ This attitude is similar to the Lollard belief that the mass was a false god 'whom his faders knewen not'.⁸⁷ The result of this abuse is no less than damnation:

⁸³*A frutefull treatis*, fol. A2.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, A3r.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, D6v. See also Robert Crowley's advice to the unlearned priest:

"For Christe was once offered for all,/ To satisfie for all oure synne,
And hath made fre that erst were thral,/ The faythful flocke of Iacobs kynne./

To offer sacrifice therfor,/ Thou arte not called, I tell the playne;/

For Christe lieueth for euermore,/ And can no more for vs be slayn." R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 70.

⁸⁶*A frutefull treatis*, D4r.

⁸⁷From *A&M*, vol. 4, pp. 215-6. See Andrew Hope, 'The Lady and the Bailiff: Lollardy Among the Gentry in Yorkist and Early Tudor England', in M. Aston & C. Richmond (eds.), *Lollardy and the Gentry in the later Middle Ages*, p. 261.

By this are we falne from the hope in Christe and his satisfaction on the crosse to our owne meanes inuented and buylded upon this transubstanciacion ... by this of spirituall we are become all carnal, of reasonable all brutyshe and beastly, of faythfull all desperate, of true folowers of Christe all Heathenyshe and Idol worshippers. (fol. A3)

Richard Waswo has commented: 'The argument over how the body and blood of Christ are present in the bread and wine are arguments about how language means and how we apprehend that meaning.'⁸⁸ Such is the case with the argument of *Supper*, which revolves around semantic issues. According to Joye, Thomas More's 'pernicious peruertyng of gods holy worde' was boundless: 'this poet maye make a man to signifye an asse...' (B2r) A similar argument was used against the reformers by the conservative Cuthbert Tunstall, who argued that the brethren only clung to the Word so 'that yf a man shulde tell them, that they erre from the right waye, they maye ronne by and by to the meaninge of Christes wordes that they haue imagined of their owne Brayne'.⁸⁹ The central site of controversy were Jesus' words 'This is my body'. Joye argues that as with 'I am the true vine' (John 15:1), the words were to be interpreted figuratively: 'as though he shoulde saye. Though this be but breade, yet it signifieth unto the, me bodye.'⁹⁰ Miles Coverdale agrees, arguing that the words 'were figuratively done and spoken ...it is most common in scripture to give unto signs the names of the things which they signify'.⁹¹ Yet the denial of the Real Presence did not lessen the import of the ceremony: Joye asserts that this 'most glorious and highest sacrament' is worthy of respect, due to its symbolic value, 'for by the eating of this bread he ment the belefe of this his gospel'. (A6r)⁹² As a bride's ring ('an earnest penny' of her husband's love) is esteemed above

⁸⁸R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 243.

⁸⁹From preface to Bishop Tunstall's *De veritate corporis & sanguinis Domine in Eucharistia*, quoted in J. Bullingham's *A Notable Oration*, B1v.

⁹⁰*Supper*, G1r. See 'Letter to Matthew Alber Concerning the Lord's Supper', D.Y. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 2, p. 138: "I think the hinge of the matter is to be found in a very short syllable, namely, in the word "is", the meaning of which is not always given by "is" but sometimes by "signifies"."

⁹¹'An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 252, p. 253. For a similarly uncomplicated, straightforward view of the theological matter see *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede*, (ll. 823-7): "For Crist seyde it is so, so mot it nede worthe;/ Therefore studye thou nought theron, ne stere thi wittes,/ It is his blissed body, so bad he vs beleuen./ These maystres of dyvinitie many, als y trowe,/ Folwen nought fully the feith as fele of the lewede."

⁹²See also *A frutefull treatis* (C1v): "our soules thus eating hym by faith/ haue Crist present/ and he is in us by grace gouerning us with his holy goste."

all other jewels, so the bread and wine 'ought hyghly with all reuerence to be eaten and treated',⁹³ 'not for the holynes of the thyng, but for the loue of him that left it with us.'(A4v) The body and blood of Jesus are ingested by faith, therefore the bread and wine 'is none other wyse the body of Chryst, but as it is the copulacion or byndinge together of the faythfull membres of Chryst'.(A4r)⁹⁴ Therefore the traditional 'sense that the Host was the source simultaneously of individual and of corporate renewal and unity'⁹⁵ remains intact within the theological framework worked out by Joye:

...we bynde our selues/ into one loue and beleif in the promyse there rehersed that he gaue us his bodye to be broken for us ... and euer to perseuer in our religion and faith and in a louing Christen concorde/ that we all there persent mought euer more be made one brede/ one cuppe/ one bodye ioyntly cowpled together as members unto Criste our onely supreme heade spirituall.⁹⁶

Supper's greatest achievement lies in its delineation of a reformed liturgy: Joye details the format of the sacrament 'restored unto the pure use',(D6v) much of which recurs in *Frutefull's* explanation of 'What it is/ worthely or unworthely to receyue the sacrament.'(C4v) The true congregation of Christ gather for the ceremony, which is to be held once or twice a week, 'aftyr their discrecion'.(D6v) The curate begins with a reading from 1 Corinthians 11, and explains the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus through which the sins of the world have been purged. Then follows a period of meditation upon Jesus' death, examination of conscience, admission of one's own sins, and forgiveness of others'. This time of personal reflection stirs the 'humble diligence' of each participant, exciting

euerye man unto the knowledge of hymselfe and his synnes: and to beleue and truste to the forgyuenes in Chrystes bloude : and for thys incomparable benefyt of oure redempcyon (which were solde bondemen to synne) to geue thankes unto God

⁹³*Ibid.*, C1r. This analogy of the wedding ring derives ultimately from Cornelius Hoen, whose sacramentarian position was taken over by Zwingli.

⁹⁴See 'Letter to Matthew Alber Concerning the Lord's Supper', D.Y. Hadidian (gen. ed.), *Selected Writings of Huldrych Zwingli*, vol. 2, p. 142: "Hence we, too, who are his body, are called bread, for by this bread we show to our brethren that we are members of the body of Christ."

⁹⁵E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 92.

⁹⁶A *frutefull treatis*, B3v-B4r.

the father for so mercyfull a delyueraunce thorowe the deathe of Jesu Christ, euery one, some signing [singing], and some sayinge deuoutely, one or other Psalmes or prayer of thankes giuyng in the mother tongue. (D6v-D7r)

The curate then explains the signification of the bread and wine, which 'be no prophane comen signes' but represent unto us 'the verye bodye and bloude of Christ, so that whyle euery man beholdeth with his corporal eye those sensible Sacramentes: the inwarde eye of hys fayeth may se and beleue stedfastly Christ offered and dyinge upon the Crosse for his sinnes...' (D7r) The people are called to draw near the table, both physically and spiritually, and to forgive each other, so that 'hys flocke maye come togyther, and be ioyned in to one body, one spirite, and one people.' (D7v) With the people and the other ministers gathered around the table, the curate encourages each member to pray for the grace, faith and love signified by the sacrament. John 6 and 1 Cor. 11 are read (in English) to explain 'the mysterye of thys Christes supper, and wherfore he dyd instytute it.' (D7v) The profession of the Articles of Faith (in English) and a private confession to God are followed by a final exhortation to meditate upon 'the signification and substaunce' (D8r) of the sacrament, lest in eating and drinking they condemn themselves. The bread had proved poisonous for Judas, because 'he himself being euill/ wykedly used so grete and holy a sacrament.'⁹⁷ Unlike William Tyndale, who believed that the question of belief in the Real Presence was *adiaphora*, the author of *Supper* (drawing in I Corinthians 11:29) held that 'he that eateth and drinketh unworthely, eateth & drinketh his owne dampnacion'. (D1r)⁹⁸ The congregation were to drop to their knees, and pray the Our Father in English; the preacher then taking the bread and wine and 'wyth godly grauite' repeating 'the wordes of the lordes supper in theyr mother tongue'. (D8r) As the curate reads 'the comunicacion that Christ had with hys disciples after hys souper. Io. 13. begynnyng at the wasshyng of their fete', (D8v) the ministers distribute the bread and wine among the congregation, each person taking their share and passing it on to their 'next neyghboure and member of the mistike body of Christ'. (D8r) The celebration ends with the people kneeling to give

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, D6v.

⁹⁸Frith appears to have leaned towards the position of Joye: despite stating that "the matter of this [sacrament] is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation", he also asserts that people "in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, are not thereby saved, but receive it to their damnation." *A&M*, vol. 5, pp. 6-7.

thanks to God 'for thys benyfyt & dethe of hys sone, wherby nowe be faithe euery man is assuered of remysson of hys synnes, as this blessed sacrament had put them in mynde & preched it them in this utwarde accion & souper.'(D8v)

The confident ascription of *Supper* to George Joye carries with it significant ramifications for the author. It is George Joye, and not William Tyndale, who is responsible for the first detailed description of a reformed communion service; it is his work that so influenced the reformist theologians working under Henry VIII and Edward VI. At a time when the matter was wholly concerned with the various warring theologies, Joye transferred his sacramental belief into the realm of practicality. William Clebsch writes:

Such of his elements as the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in the vernacular became standard for Church of England eucharistic liturgy, as did also the drawing near to the Lords table by the communicants ... Joye's recommendation influenced specific liturgical reforms under Edward VI, and its stress upon recollection of the last Supper remained in all official English prayer books.⁹⁹

As with his other early works, the popularity of *Supper* is attested to by the number of extant editions and the response from Sir Thomas More. *Supper* was of profound significance to the development of a reformed, 'pure' liturgy. Joye's Zwinglian tenets were taken over by men such as Thomas Cranmer and Nicholas Ridley. The latter's writings on the Supper reveal many affinities: the sacrament of the Altar was instituted by Jesus 'to be a perpetual remembrance ... of his body given for us, and of his blood shed for the remission of sins.'¹⁰⁰ Rome's ceremony is defined as 'a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord: or rather I may call it a crafty juggling'.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, in receiving the bread and wine, the communicant receives 'either death or life': 'Oh! how necessary then is it, if we love life and would eschew death, to try and examine ourselves before we eat of this bread and drink of this cup; for else assuredly, he that eateth and drinketh thereof unworthily, eateth and

⁹⁹W.A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 218.

¹⁰⁰'A Brief Treatise upon the Lord's Supper', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 179.

¹⁰¹'A Farewell to all his Friends', *ibid.*, p. 38.

drinketh his own damnation...'¹⁰² Archbishop Cranmer followed Joye's guidelines when he came to compile the *Book of Common Prayer*. Cranmer's definition of the sacrament as having been instituted by Jesus, and left 'as a pledge of his loue, & a continuall remembraunce of thesame his owne blessed body, & precious bloud' is lifted straight from *Supper*. Similarly, evident in the *Book of Common Prayer* is Joye's emphasis on exhorting 'all persones diligently to trie & examine themselues, before they presume to eate of that breade', because 'yf we receyue the same unworthely ... we become gyltie of the body and bloud of Christ our sauior, we eate and drinke our owne damnacion...'¹⁰³ Written after the Edwardian era, Ridley's reminiscences concern the 'true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper' which had been instituted of late,

wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread was in remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken; and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed was distributed; and both communicated unto all, that were present, and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church.¹⁰⁴

If it achieved nothing else, the debate surrounding the sacrament of the Altar conclusively proved that neither religious faction was monolithic. The heterogeneous stances of the English and the Continental reformers have already received mention, yet there are also affinities between staunch conservative and reformist commentaries. John Fisher's exegesis on the Supper has much in common with Joye's. Like Joye, Fisher also presents the sacrament as one which stimulates faith: the 'spirituall brede the Worde of god maketh the soule to be full of Juse/ full of the lycour of good deuocyon'. Significantly, the sacrament can also be received without recourse to the physical signs of the sacrament: 'many there be that receyue this spirituall brede the Worde of

¹⁰²A Brief Treatise upon the Lord's Supper', *ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰³*The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the Sacramentes*, fol. 102.

¹⁰⁴A Farewell to all his Friends', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, pp. 36-7.

god by herynge it spoken of the precher'.¹⁰⁵ The influence of the Christian humanists upon the reformers was tremendous. Bishop John Alcock's *Exhortacyon made to Relygyouse Systers in the tyme of theyr consecracyon* (c. 1497) sought to explain the meaning of the Latin vows and the signification of the light and the oil - the 'sensible signs' of the ceremony. In a sense, George Joye is his heir, demonstrating the same concern for the education of the sacrament's recipients.

However, despite any amount of 'factual' information, one still required the active power of the Holy Spirit. Joye's account of the sacrament of the Altar merges prioritisation of the scriptures with the necessity of belief. In his *Institutes* Calvin asserts that 'it is preposterous to attempt by discussion to bring about full faith in Scripture ... the testimony of the Spirit is superior to reason. As God alone can truly bear witness to his own words, so these words will not be given complete acknowledgement in the hearts of men, until they are sealed by the inner witness of the Spirit.'¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in 1647 Ralph Cudworth preached: 'Inke and Paper can never make us Christians, can never beget a new nature, a living principle in us; can never form Christ, or any true notions of spirituall things in our hearts. The Gospel ... is not merely a *Letter* without us, but a *quickning Spirit* within us.'¹⁰⁷ The reformers' self-image as those who enjoyed a vital faith and active zeal was denied by Bishop Tunstall, who painted them as logicians and word-players: 'By reason they measure al Goddes workes, & rather then they wyll graunt, that Christ hath done anye thing aboue their capacitie, they wrest al thynges to troapes and figures.'¹⁰⁸ Again, the same arguments are used by opposing sides. Tunstall's argument would of course have been utterly rejected by George Joye. In his mind, the superiority of Christ and of God's works was unbroachable: above all else is set the doctrine of *sola deo gloria*. Joye concludes: 'I wolde haue herto put mi name, good reder, but I know wel that thou regardest not who wryteth, but what is wryten thou estemest the word of the veryte, & not of the autor.'(D8v) A final warning not to follow 'Christes false anointed'(D8v) ends one of the most controversial and influential tracts of the early Reformation.

¹⁰⁵J. Fisher, *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd*, 002r.

¹⁰⁶J. Calvin, *Institutes*, (bk. 1, ch. 7) T. Lane & H. Osborne (eds.), pp. 42-3.

¹⁰⁷J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, pp. 438-9.

¹⁰⁸From preface to Bishop Tunstall's *De veritate corporis & sanguinis Domine in Eucharistia*, quoted in J. Bullingham's *A Notable Oration*, B4v-5r.

Despite the obvious popularity of heretical texts such as *Supper* and the reformist sympathies of Cranmer, Cromwell, and Boleyn, the suppression of heresy continued. This was in large part due to the untiring commitment of Thomas More. As Lord Chancellor, he had maintained intense pressure on the reformers, even in the face of Henry's leniency. The scepticism of Tyndale and Frith in refusing Stephen Vaughan's offer was well-founded: six weeks into his 'safe passage', Barnes fled the country. More's efforts were daring: in his attempt to incarcerate Robert Barnes in January 1532, he was ignoring (or at least, deliberately misinterpreting) the direct order of the king. John Frith braved a trip home in July 1532; by October he had been arrested and imprisoned. Frith remained in the Tower for five months, although no official action was taken against him, and he was reasonably well treated (thanks to Cromwell). It was from here that he wrote his inflammatory tract on the Sacrament of the Altar, and to here that Tyndale and Joye addressed their correspondence.

Resigning the 'laborouse and layserlesse' office of chancellor on 16 May 1532 enabled More, among other things, to 'more quyety wryte agenste heretykes'.¹⁰⁹ By this time the debate between England and Antwerp had become personal. In June 1529 More published his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, to which Tyndale finally responded in January 1531 with *An Answere unto Sir Thomas Mores dialogue*. On receiving Tyndale's defence Thomas More embarked on his immense *Confutation of Tyndale*. Although ostensibly a damning indictment of Tyndale, *Confutation* also reserved condemnation for Joye's *Ashwell*:

Then haue we from George Iaye otherwyse called clerke, a goodly godly pystle/ wherein he teacheth dyuerse other heresyas, but specyally that mennys vowes and promyses made of chastyte, be not lawfull nor can bynde no man in conscyence, but he may wedd when he wyll.¹¹⁰

John Frith joined in the argumentation with *The Disputation of Purgatory*, a response to John Rastell's book on the subject (RSTC 20719) and to the case built against him by John Fisher and Thomas More. Like

¹⁰⁹*Subuersion*, E2r.

¹¹⁰'A Confutation of Tyndale', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 7.

Frith, both Barnes and Joye also published personal defences in this year: Robert Barnes replied to accusations levied at him in 1526, and Joye responded to the charges alleged by Prior John Ashwell in 1527. By producing subjective *apologiæ*, the reformers sought to refute their opponents, but presumably also hoped that their tracts might be brought to the attention of Henry, who could clear their names and welcome them home. The king, however, was loyal only to his own agenda, and guaranteed no safety for any reformer, no matter how popular. After months of incarceration without formal charges, Frith was summoned before Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Gardiner. In mid-June he was turned over to Stokesley, and was sent to the fire on 4 July.

There is no mention of Frith's martyrdom nor of More's latest work *An Answer to a poisoned book* in George Joye's *The Subuersion of Moris false foundacion*, which points to a dating early in 1534. The book opens in his characteristically blunt manner: 'More is become a vayn lyer in his owne resoning and arguments: and his folyssh harte is blynded. Where he beleued to haue done moste wysely/ there hath he shewed him selfe a starke foole. Rom.i. Moros in Greke is stultus in Latyn/ a fool in Englysshe.'(A1r) Joye goes on to provide a defence against the charges detailed in More's *Confutation of Tyndale*, which concerned Joye's supposed involvement in the whoredom of two nuns and the heresy of a young boy.

To start with, Joye repeats Thomas More's allegation 'that two nonnis were brought into my howse at Anwerpe' - a rare biographical detail, implying that Joye had a stable base at this time, unlike his later years on the run. The spiritual women had supposedly been stolen out of their cloyster by Johan Birte, who wanted 'to make [them] harlots.'(fol. G3) Joye denies that the nuns stayed at his house, explaining that the women fled 'leste they shulde haue bene made harletts in the cloister by a vyciouse Prieste called Syr Iohan Larke their stwerde'.(G3v) Also repeated was the charge that Joye taught 'pursers sonne attendinge upon me at London .viij. or .ix. dayes / my ungracious heresyeyes agensst the sacrament of the auter.'(G3r) Joye admits that he taught Dick Purser (who went on to find employment in the household of Thomas More) 'to saye by herte his Pater Noster/ Aue. And Credo yn Englysshe/ withe the two Prayers folowyng in the Ortulus Anime',(G3v) but denies discussing the Supper with the child. Indeed, he claims that he could not have taught him

anything of the Sacrament of the Altar, considering his age, 'but this lowde lye/ his M. More so liked owt of the boyes botockis to fede his ungracious affectis when he whipped him naked tayd unto the tree of his trowthe.'(G4r)

The throwaway reference to Joye's brief stay in London is something of an enigma. Oddly, in trying to work out the period of service referred to, Butterworth & Chester suggest that the period referred to is the time in November 1527 before Joye fled, and go on to say that 'It is, of course, possible that he is recalling some sojourn which he made there while still a fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge.'¹¹¹ Apart from the fact that Joye only remained in London for four or five days before emigrating, the reference to the *Ortulus Anime* as the instruction book would surely point to a date after 1530. One possibility is that Joye (like the other leaders of the reformers) was at some point offered a safe return by Stephen Vaughan.

Joye's personal defence is ancillary to the main body of *Subuersion*, which sets out to defend the abused and neglected scriptures, a priority of Joye's since *Isaye*, where he pleaded: 'Burne nomore goddis worde: but mende it where it is not truly translated.'(A7v) *Subuersion* continues in this vein, attempting to explain the nature of the scriptures, in order that people will put an end to the abuse. The semantic awareness visible in Joye's earlier works is also manifest here. As a corollary to the attack on More's 'unwritten verities', the written word is prioritised over the spoken. Because the Devil was trying to prevent God's word from the outset, 'The heuenly prouidence of God did committe it at laste unto letters to abyde unto the worldis ende that it might standforth agenste all stormey contradiccion of the Deuell and his childerne'.(G5v) Similarly, the apostles knew 'that the sowne of their wordis were but slyper voyces'; the Word had to be 'offred to mennis eyes the most suereste sense of al ... Thei saw their wrytingis (what contencion or scisme so euer fel) shulde abyde for euer to decyde & determen that trowth/ & that letters were the most faithful & suerest keepers of theyr wordis & voyces'.(H5r) However, 'the assuered certaynte of the wryten worde' (H6r) still required contextualisation. Joye explains in one instance that 'prophecy' does not mean prophecy, but 'thexpowninge and preching of the scriptures.'(F2v)

¹¹¹George Joye, p. 113.

The 'faith of Christ', when used by Thomas More, actually means 'his owne unwryten articles conteyned in the Popis Creed.'(E8r) The word 'ieiunium' means 'fast' in English, but must be interpreted according to the use of the scripture:

This worde Ieiunium/ in Englisshe signifieth not the forberinge of one kynde of meatis/ and to eate thy belly full of other meatis... The pore ploughe man fastethe better withe a pese of salt smoked baken and a barley loffe with a draffe of smal drynke/ than the monke of the charterhouse with his bely full of good stourgen/ pyke/ perche/ carpe/ with his good whyte brede and mighty stronge ale or wyne. (fol F5)

In a true fast, food is abstained from because of heaviness of heart. The ashes, the weeping, praying, and the bowing of the head, are all outward signs of inner sorrowful affliction. The abstention is the 'accident' of the fast, the 'substance' is the affliction, heaviness and mourning. But even 'true' fasts do not obtain remission of sin; if they did so, then the sacrifice of Jesus Christ would not have been whole and propitiatory, and he would have therefore died in vain.

By 1534 Canterbury Convocation was petitioning for an English Bible. John Fisher and Thomas More, refusing to take the oath recognising Henry's supremacy, were sent to the Tower. The attempt of the new pope Paul III to rankle Henry by making John Fisher a cardinal on 20 May backfired dreadfully. Henry's response was immediate, he demanded Fisher and More's acknowledgement of the royal supremacy. Fisher denied it, and More refused to answer (but was later trapped into an denial of sorts). They were tried by jury and sentenced to death: Fisher went to the scaffold on 22 June, More followed on 6 July.¹¹² The visitations of the monasteries would begin in the autumn.

¹¹²In 'Bishop John Fisher 1469-1535: the man and his work' B. Bradshaw argues that the issue involved "was not the sovereignty claimed by parliament. It was rather the sovereignty claimed by the imperial monarch." Fisher "was a victim not to the onward march of parliament, but to the onward march of imperial monarchy." In B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, p. 15.

Thou therfore/ whosoeuer thou arte/ beinge a verye trwe preacher/ se that thou kryest with opene mouthe/ & beware thou ceasest not: lyft up thy voyce lyke a trompet/ and tel my people their synnes/ tel the house of Jacob their offences.¹¹³

The governing thread uniting *Thomas More's* *Dialogue* and *George Joye's* is wholly undeniable; the counter thread uniting them is that the re-chartered ball word. The scope of the Bible translation was, however, not limited to members of the Catholic party. The 1525 boys enjoyed the unique position of being the last to be converted and advanced this. From the 1520s, the effect of a new perspective, a ball-of-the-same-string of the same material, was that at this time desperate to prove themselves as a purification, supportive group of men, tirelessly working together for the Word. Joye's earlier was somewhat different.

There is no evidence that William Tyndale and George Joye had ever been close, and a few years of shared exile sufficiently proved that Antwerp was simply not big enough for the two of them. That Tyndale held Joye responsible for the increased pressure upon the reformers in Spring 1532 has already been mentioned. Added to this is Tyndale's public statement in 1534 regarding the his working with the translators of *Geneva*. Furthermore, Joye vehemently criticised Tyndale's 'request' to visit the *Geneva* of the 1530s, which had resulted in public celebrations for the Jubilee of the birth of Thomas More. The friction between the two men increased when the issue of the sale of departed souls. The majority of the effort was directed to their rejection of purgatory, but whether the work kept with *Geneva* or *Geneva* with *Geneva*, was a matter open to debate. The agreed ecclesiastical council were, however, with a strong view of the *Geneva* work, were to give more English authority, but a view of the *Geneva* work, was of high 1534 by the 1530s. *Geneva* work, was, however, the 1530s.

¹¹³Isaye, O2r.

Chapter 5

But and if it had bene myne enemye that thus
reuyled and uexed me/ I coud haue borne it ...
But it was thou oh my nowne felowe/ my companion ... ¹

The governing reason motivating Thomas More's dislike of George Joye is wholly understandable; the reformer mocked and denigrated much that the ex-chancellor held sacred. The enemies of the bible translator were, however, not limited to adherents of the Catholic party. By 1535 Joye enjoyed the unique position of being reviled by both conservatives and reformers alike. From this standpoint, he offers us a rare perspective, a behind-the-scenes glimpse of the exiled brethren, who were at this time desperate to project themselves as a harmonious, supportive group of men, tirelessly working together for the Word. Joye's reality was somewhat different.

I

There is no evidence that William Tyndale and George Joye had ever been close, and a few years of shared exile sufficiently proved that Antwerp was simply not big enough for the two of them. That Tyndale held Joye responsible for the increased pressure upon the reformers in Spring 1533 has already been mentioned. Added to this is Tyndale's possible resentment at Joye infringing on his territory with the translation of Genesis. Furthermore, Joye blatantly disobeyed Tyndale's 'request' to avoid the subject of the Supper, which had resulted in public condemnation for the brethren at the hands of Thomas More. The friction between the two men increased with the issue of the state of departed souls. The majority of the reformers concurred in their rejection of purgatory, but whether the souls slept until doomsday, or lived with God, was a matter open to debate. The earliest recorded discord stems from 1533, when a young man of the 'new learning' wrote to Joye from England, querying him about his two different translations of Isaiah 63-4 in the 1530 *Ortulus* (derived from Brunfels) and the Zwinglian *Isaye* of 1531. Neither portion of scripture contains any

¹*Dauids Psalter*, L1r.

reference to the resurrection, but when Joye answered he included his belief 'that the sowles departyd slepe not nor lye ydle tyll domes daye as Martin luther and the Anabaptystes saye and as me thinkythe ffrythe and William tyndall wold'. He also 'incidently [showed] by the diuersitie of translacions what profytt may come therof'.² John Frith learned of the letter and wrote to William Tyndale, apparently anxious that Joye's opinions would breed dissension among the brethren. Presumably Tyndale attempted to silence Joye, who then sought a deciding verdict from Hugh Latimer (whose judgement is unfortunately not known). Joye claims to have 'reasoned' with Tyndale several times on the subject of the afterlife, 'and proued him the contrary be the Scriptures: mouyng him to reuoke his errour'.(A4r) The matter resulted in the escalation of the antipathy between them, which Joye recounts:

... in good faith I shall tel the trwth/ we neuer reasoned the mater but thorow his impacience our disputacion euer ended with chyding and brawling in somiche that affirwarde in hys exposicion upon John he stretched forth his penne agenst me as farre as he dirst/ but yet spared my name/ at the whiche chalenge I winked/ yet taking yt not as ment of me because I loued quyetnes not wylling that any man shuld know what hatred he did euer beare me since I came ouer. (D8r)

Tyndale's hatred did not remain hidden. The argument exploded into the public sphere with the infamous publication in August 1534 of an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, corrected by George Joye. The successful Worms edition of 1525 had been twice reprinted by the Van Endhoven press, in 1526 and in 1530, the textual corruptions multiplying with each successive edition. After the 1530 publication sold out, Catharine Van Endhoven asked William Tyndale if he would correct his translation; he refused. Joye had also been asked, but declined, saying that Tyndale would probably edit it more perfectly, rendering their edition redundant. And so a third edition was published, and although more corrupt than ever, it soon sold out its two thousand copies. When Van Endhoven, seeing that no other printer was preparing the text, came to issue a fourth printing, she asked Joye to do the entire volume.³ After some deliberation, Joye accepted the work. Corrupted scripture

²L&P, vol. 6, [402].

³Catharine had in fact hired another man to edit the text, whose work was presumably slipshod. Having printed his first corrected leaf, she then dispensed with his services and turned to Joye.

endangered the souls of its readers, and 'I perceyued well & was suer/ that whether I had correcked theyr cotype or not/ thei had gone forth with their worke & had geuen us .ii. m. mo boks falselyer printed then ever we had before.'(C5r) In addition, Joye had no idea if Tyndale ever intended to correct the text himself, 'he maketh me nothing of his counsel'.(C5v) According to Joye, it appeared that 'All this longe while T. slept/ for nothing came from him'(C5r). A price was agreed upon, and in August 1534 *The new Testament as it was written/ and caused to be written/ by them which herde yt went to press.*

Although the printing process was developing greatly in the early sixteenth century, there was little protective legislation to protect the 'owners' of texts, whether authors or printing houses. It was not until the 1550s that 'the Worshipful Company of Stationers of London' began to grant patents on specific books. These patents, with the Company's licences (which granted exclusive rights to a printer to print a certain book) represent the beginnings of copyright law, which began to gather momentum from the 1560s, and finally culminated in the Copyright Act of 1710.⁴ In the 1520s and 1530s however, men such as Erasmus, Tyndale and Joye were in effect powerless against those who wished to issue reprints and new editions of their works. If the author opposed the pirated text, he could either produce his own legitimate new edition, or write a condemnation against those involved. The situation was most grave when the pirated text was the Bible itself, upon which so many souls depended. Tyndale's attack and Joye's defence agree on one point: that this was the all-important Word of God. For Joye, the Van Endhoven version of the Word had become corrupted, and faithful souls were suffering. For Tyndale, Joye had dared to change the immutable meaning of the Bible. The doctrine of *sola scriptura* frames both arguments, and is used to support contradictory positions.

J.F. Mozley (in his biography of William Tyndale), appears singularly unimpressed with Joye's work as corrector and proof-reader:

⁴See J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, pp. 33-41. As examples Feather cites John Day, who had a patent on the *Catechism* in English (granted 1553), the Psalms and the schoolbook *ABC* (both granted 1567). Seres held the patent for primers, and Tottel for law books.

He seems to have done very little more than amend misspellings and misprints, introducing, however, the while some careless errors of his own. When he does aspire to play a more active part, he confines himself mostly to trifling changes ... Occasionally, however, as if to justify his existence as a reviser, he bursts out into something of greater moment: but these corrections are rarely an improvement, and many of them are downright wrong.⁵

Although obviously unworthy in Mozley's opinion, Joye was employed essentially to amend misspellings and misprints. He did not set out to produce a new translation, merely to correct the latest edition. The corrections made 'to justify his existence as a reviser' may not have come from Joye at all; there is simply no way of knowing which 'downright wrong' errors stemmed from Joye and which derived from the earlier corrupted texts. Certainly, one would expect errors, considering the customary haste with which Joye worked, and the appalling state of the text. In *George Joye* Butterworth & Chester defend Joye's work, pointing out that it is in fact impossible to gauge the extent of the work, since the uncorrected Van Endhoven editions from 1530 and Spring 1534 are not extant. The very fact that Joye's and the first 'pirate' edition are so alike point towards Joye's competence as a textual corrector.

However, Joye's editing extended beyond mere typographical errors, and it was from this that the serious problems arose. Joye appended certain biblical excerpts to the main text, among which was included the Song of Solomon, which appears to have been of particular influence to the revisers working on the KJB. In 2:1 Tyndale's text reads: 'I am the floure of the felde'; Joye renders this 'I am the flower of Saron' which led to the 1611 Bible: 'I am the rose of Sharon'. Similarly in verse 4, Tyndale's reads: 'his behauer to mewarde was louely'; Joye translates 'spred the baner of his loue ouer me', which was taken over in the KJB: 'his banner over me was love.' As mentioned, in his *Subuersion* Joye had explained that at times 'prophecy' meant 'thexpowninge and preching of the scriptures', (F2v) and in keeping with this he changed 'prophecy' to 'preaching' at times. On occasion, he undid Tyndale's efforts, for example, in changing 'congregation' back to 'church'.⁶ He also included certain clauses which had been missed by Tyndale and were left

⁵J.F. Mozley, *Tyndale*, p. 277.

⁶For further details see *George Joye*, ch. 8.

out of his translation, such as in Romans 12:13 ('giuen to hospitalitie'). But the most heinous transgression of all (as Joye recounts in his *Apology*) was that 'my conscience compelled of the truthe of goddis worde caused me to englysshe thys word Resurrectio the life aftir this'.(A4r) His belief was that the souls of the dead lived; the purpose of the general resurrection was to rejoin the souls to their newly risen bodies. William Tyndale, on the other hand, believed that on doomsday both flesh and soul were to be given new life, and that before that the souls of the dead slept. Joye left the word 'resurrectio' untouched when it referred to the general resurrection, but otherwise he rendered it 'the life of them that be dead' or 'the life after this'. As Tyndale saw it, Joye had taken his text and implanted in it a mistaken belief in the active state of souls after death. Joye would not be forgiven.

Tyndale's revised edition, promised for eight years, appeared within three months of Joye's. *The Newe Testament/ dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale* incorporated the majority of the purely textual corrections made by Joye. Ironically, on occasion Tyndale revised according to the discrepancies pointed out by Joye in his condemned edition:

Joye observed, that in this the first Edition the marginal Gloss upon I John iii. was, Love is the first precept and cause of all other: and on the other side, Fayth is the first commandment, and Love the seconde. The staring contradiction was now in this Edition thus prudently avoided: Faith and Love is the fyrste commandement and all commaundementes, and he that hath them is in God, and hath his sprete.⁷

Tyndale also followed Joye's alteration to Matt. 1:18. The 1526 New Testament read 'Mary was married to Joseph'; Joye used the word 'betrothed' instead, and it is this word that we find in Tyndale's revised New Testament, which also bears a scathing preface against George Joye: 'Willyam Tindale, yet once more to the christen Reader'. Tyndale, addressing his 'moost dere reader',(**4r) explains that when he had almost finished his corrections of the New Testament, 'George Joye secretly toke in hand to correct it also by what occasyon his conscyence

⁷J. Lewis (ed.), *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated out of the Latin Vulgat by John Wiclif*, p. 21.

knowth: & preuented me/ in so moche/ that his correccyon was prynted in great nombre/ yer myne begane/.'(**4r) Although some of the brethren held 'that George Joye had not used the offyce of an honest man', Tyndale 'as one that haue moare experyence of the nature & dysposicion of the mannes complexion', magnanimously 'supposed that a lytle spyse of couetousnes & vayne glorie (two blynde gydes) had bene the onely cause that moued him so to do'.⁸(**4r) When later shown the various renderings of 'resurrectio', Tyndale revealed that 'George Joye hath had of a longe tyme marvelous ymaginacions aboute this worde resurreccion ... & hath also (though he hath been reasoned with therof & desyred to cease) yet sowen his doctryne by secret lettres on that syde the see/ & caused great division amonge the brethren.'(**5r) He concludes with an earnest exhortation for all to translate the scripture for themselves, from the original languages. This was presumably a cutting jibe at Joye's lack of Hebrew, a language which Tyndale had knowledge of.⁹ Joye mentions the disdainful attitude taken by Tyndale to him, 'but a fole and unlerned as he both reputeth me and telleth yt me to my face.'(F4r)

Joye continues the narrative in his *Apology*, which is unfortunately the only account available to us. Of its very nature, it is biased in favour of Joye. It paints a picture of a distinctly uncooperative William Tyndale reneging on an agreement made with an open-minded George Joye in front of the Brethren. Neither Tyndale nor his supporters ever wrote to contradict Joye's version of events; we are therefore limited to the accused's telling of the story. 'After that w. Tyndale had putforth in prynt and thrusted his uncharitable pystle into many mennis handis',(A2r) and knowing that Joye was prepared to publish a defence to clear his name, their mutual friends in Antwerp 'called us together to move us to a concorde & peace'.(A2r) Joye 'shewed them my grete greif &

^{8**4r.} Tyndale here draws on Phillippians 2:3.

⁹The extent of Tyndale's learning is still in question: in *The Making of the English Bible* (p. 17) G. Hammond comments that Tyndale's Hebrew and Greek "was, if not rudimentary, certainly limited." D.M. Karpman writes that "there is no doubt that Tyndale knew some Hebrew ... But that he was fluent in it is questionable." Quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 99 (footnote). For an opposing view see D. Daniell, who writes that "Tyndale had more than adequate Greek" and that "he knew Hebrew well, and not only well but exceptionally", *William Tyndale*, p. 115, p. 291. See pp. 111-9 for Daniell's examination of Tyndale's skill as a translator. M. Weitzman also argues for Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew: see 'On Translating the Old Testament: The achievement of William Tyndale', *Reformation*, vol. 1 (1996), pp. 165-80 (especially pp. 166-8).

sorowe', denying the charges laid against him. An agreement was reached: Joye would submit his translation 'unto the iugement of the lerned in christis chirche', (A2v) supplying them with his reasoning; Tyndale would recall his preface against Joye, and correct it to remove the libellous statements. Before the brethren, Tyndale appeared generous, reasonable, and eager for reconciliation. It was he who suggested that the two men should 'in his next testament then in printing in the stede of this uncharitable pistle wherwith I was offended/ salute the reders with one comon salutacion to testifye our concorde: of these condicions we departed louyngly.' (A2v)¹⁰

Presumably without Tyndale's permission, Joye then went ahead and oversaw a second printing of his edition of the New Testament, which was finally printed on 9 January 1535. A tract appended to the volume entitled 'Unto the Reader' addresses the public conflict between the two men.¹¹ Joye relates the details of the settlement reached, including his deferral to the brethren on the matter of the resurrection, 'Which thyng/ verely I do not onely gladly consent there to/ upon the condicion on his parte/ but desyer them all to iuge/ expende and trye all that euer I haue or shall wryte/ by the scriptures.' (C7r) While remaining adamant in his belief in the living state of souls, Joye respects Tyndale's fear of dissension among the brethren, and offers reassurance:

Let yt not therefore in the mean ceason offende the ... nor yet auerte thy mynde nether from W. Tindale nor fro me: nor yet from redyng our bokis ... because yt thus chaunceth us to varye and contende for the trewe englisshing of this one worde Resurrectio in certayne places of the Newe Testament. For I doubt not but that God hathe so prouyded yt/ that our stryfe and dyssent shal be unto hys chirche the cause of a perfayter concorde & consent in thys mater ... Also to stryue for the knowlege of the trowth with a meke and godly contencion hathe hapened unto farre perfayter men then we bothe/ Nether haue there bene ouer any felowship so fewe and smal/ but some tyme syche breache and imperfeccion fath hapened

¹⁰Joye's version of events is in sharp contrast to other accounts: for example, D. Daniell writes: "It was Joye who quarrelled ... He visited Tyndale, suggesting that they should jointly publish their views." *William Tyndale*, p. 325.

¹¹J.F. Mozley considers Joye to have broken the treaty. He sees this epistle as a response to Tyndale's second revision, ignoring its conciliatory attitude and reassuring tone. The tract makes it apparent that Joye genuinely believed a reconciliation was imminent, therefore I would suggest that it was finished before Joye realised that Tyndale had changed his mind.

emonge them for a lytle ceason (as I trust in God this shal not continew longe betwene us two)... (C7v-8r)

Joye was mistaken. Five or six days after the agreement had been reached 'I came to Tin. to se the correccion and reformation of hys pistle/ & he sayd he neuer thought of it sence...'(A2v) When Joye returned after a few more days, Tyndale claimed his handwriting was illegible, '& I sayd I was wel acquainted with his hande & shulde reade it wel ynough: but he woulde not let me se it.'(A2v-3r) A third attempt proved more ominous: Tyndale announced that he would first read and write against Joye's defence before allowing Joye to see his revocation. (At this point the matter was still in the hands of the brethren, both men having agreed to abide by their decision). During the final visit Tyndale informed Joye that he would write against him and *then* leave the matter to Robert Barnes and the others. His only concession was his agreement to retract his allegation that Joye had denied the resurrection. Joye wrote to the brethren 'But in conclusion I perceyued that T. was half ashamed to reuoke according to his promyse al that he coude not iustifye by me/ and with whiche I was so offended.'(A3v) Tyndale's second revised New Testament appeared without either retraction or joint declaration; it merely omitted the libellous epistle against Joye. At this point Joye began another personal defence, but whereas before his *apologia* was directed at Prior Ashwell and the Roman Church, this time it refuted the opinions of William Tyndale, self-styled leader of the English brethren.

The chronology of the argument is significant. Joye's clash with Tyndale is commonly used to characterise him as a jealous, weak-minded, ignoble man (a necessary step in order to preserve Tyndale's unspotted reputation); from there his life works are devalued, and generally dismissed. The issue is repeatedly judged in terms of character: for example Butterworth & Chester remark: 'It is certain that Tyndale and Joye first met shortly after Joye arrived on the Continent. Joye was conceited, Tyndale was uncompromising, and the two men irritated each other from the beginning.'¹² One limitation is that of knowledge: the only information extant on the order of events and the original terms of the treaty comes from George Joye. Despite that, the details of his statement of defence have often been misread or ignored altogether. For

¹²George Joye, p. 50.

example, one scholar comments: 'Tyndale probably agreed to modify his epistle which had upset Joye, but Joye misconstrued this, thinking Tyndale would retract everything.' In this retelling of the story, Tyndale keeps his side of the bargain, and 'Joye shows himself small-minded, mean and rather hypocritical.'¹³ (Note the echo of Mozley, who in 1942 called Joye 'vain, foolish, [and] touchy').¹⁴ One biographer, having read Joye's account, comments: "If this was the agreement, it was forthwith broken by Joye".¹⁵ It is presumed that Tyndale would not have 'lowered' himself to squabble in public. Joye's defence is weighed against the 'majestic silence' of William Tyndale, and found wanting.¹⁶

On 27 February 1535, *An Apology made by George Joye to satisfy (if it may be) w.Tindale* was issued. In it Joye sets forth his reasons for accepting the editing job and for the printing of a public defence, now necessary since Tyndale had reneged on the agreement. Included in the defence is Tyndale's condemnatory preface from the New Testament of November 1534, which painted Joye as a vainglorious, covetous thief. The allegation of greed was countered with the financial details of the arrangement, which provides a rare glimpse of the earnings of the reformers. The printer had offered Joye two and a half stuuers 'for euery sheet which folden containeth sixteen leaves' and an additional three stuuers for agreeing to take on the job, so in all he was paid 14 shillings flemish. Joye considered the pitiful amount proof enough of his good intentions:

Which labour/ had not the goodnes of the deede & comon profyte & helpe to the readers compelled me more then the money/ I wolde not haue done it for .v. tymes so miche/ the copie was so corrupt & especially the table: & yet saith T. I did it of couetousnes: If this be couetousnes/ then was Tindal moche more couetouse/ for he (as I herde saye) toke .x. ponde for his correccion. (C5v-6r)

Denials of the other charges continue in the same vein: Tyndale's claim that John Frith had intended to write against Joye was nothing else 'but a continuall shamelesse lye & a perpetual spightful sclaunder'(D7v); and

¹³G.E. Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, Introduction xxix.

¹⁴J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's "Supper of the Lord"', *N&Q*, vol. 183 (1942), p. 306.

¹⁵J.F. Mozley, *Tyndale*, p. 278.

¹⁶A phrase of D. Daniell's, *William Tyndale*, p. 325.

the allegation of vaingloriousness must be dismissed, since Joye did not even put his name to the text.

The counter-arguments incidentally contain loaded asides: for example, according to Joye one of Tyndale's disciples remarked that in agreeing to correct the New Testament for the Dutch one was effectively tying one's own noose (a remark whose verity was proven by Tyndale's violent reaction). The gentle pleas of the Cologne fragment, exhorting the brethren in their duty to amend the translation 'if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning of the scripture, or have not given the right English word,'¹⁷ had been replaced by a warning not to steal his translations 'as the foxe when he hath pyssed in the grayes [badger's] hole chalengeth it for his awne'.(**7v)¹⁸ Yet it is apparent that Tyndale incorporated many of Joye's revisions in his revised New Testament, without acknowledging Joye's contribution.¹⁹ George Joye claims that Tyndale would have still lambasted him even if he had merely corrected the spelling, and not altered a single word.²⁰ In danger of losing the support of the brethren, the desperation of the accused is apparent: 'Here may ye smel out of what stynkyng breste and poysoned virulent throte thys peivisshe Pistle spyrethe and breathed forthe'.(C8v) In *Apologye*, as in *Ashwell*, Joye is conscious of his inflamed reaction, and pleads extenuating circumstances: 'Blame me not (I beseche the christen reader) though I seme in this place unpacient'. Joye explains that his ire is due to the injustice of the situation, that there is one thing impossible for Tyndale: 'he cannot restore me my name agene.'(E3r)

¹⁷J.F. Mozley, *Tyndale*. p. 62.

¹⁸Again, the same allegations are charged by all sides: in his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* Thomas More accuses Tyndale of corrupting the New Testament, making it 'clene a contrary thyng' from the original 'good and holsom doctryne of Cryste'. 'A Dialogue Concerning Heresies', T. More, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, p. 285. He also remarks that Tyndale's 'bookys be nothyng ellys in effecte but the worst heresyys pycked out of Luthers workes and Luthers worst wordys translated by Tyndall and put forth in Tyndals own name...' (*ibid.*, p. 303).

¹⁹For an examination of these see C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, ch. 5 (pp. 56-70).

²⁰Roye may well have been avoiding such condemnation in the prologue to his 1529 translation of Luther on I Cor. 7 (C2r). There he "defends his use of a different word from that in 'our English text'. He notes that he does not want to appear to be setting up rivalry, as 'our Pharisees' will be quick to suggest..." D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 143.

Notwithstanding the obvious resentment, Joye's desire for concord is clear. He cites the example of the Church Fathers to support his own advocacy of tolerating differing views. Among the Fathers there were conflicting eschatological beliefs, yet these men had their own reasons for their translations, and remain deserving of respect. Joye asks 'Dyd all the olde doctours translate/ allege/ & rede the scriptures a lyke? Did they stonde do highly in their own consaight that any one dysdayned to be corrected of a nother?'(D5v) As did Isaiah, so the New Testament also demonstrated 'what profit & goodness cometh of the diversite of translacions'.(D5v) Miles Coverdale openly supported this view, and later that year wrote: 'Whereas some men think now that many translations make division in the faith and in the people of God, that is not so: for it was never better with the congregation of God, than when every church almost had the Bible of a sundry translation.'²¹ He goes on to attest that 'there cometh more knowledge and understanding of the scripture by their sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors.'²² This approach, which did not dictate uniformity, but believed in a vibrant dialectic of growth, may be seen in *Apologye*, which is infused with an implicit humility: whether the translation is right or wrong 'let better lerned then we bothe be iuges',(D3v) 'I doute not but there be/ & shal come aftir us/ that canne & shall correcke our workes and translacions in many places & make them miche more perfayt & better for the reader to understande...'(D5v)

In the end, the argument was embedded in semantics, and with questions of translation. The question dogging translators throughout history is whether to translate word for word or sense for sense. According to one eighteenth-century editor, the first Wycliffite Bible had been rendered 'into English almost word for word, that ...*they that knew not the Latin might by the English come to many Latin Words*. On this Account the Translation is rather too Verbal and not always good English.'²³ By 1731 there had come into existence a notion of what was meant by 'good English', in large part as a result of the bible translators of the Reformation. Interestingly, one editor of the Lollard Bible was familiar with the conflict between Joye and Tyndale, and appears to have

²¹G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, pp. 12-3.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 19.

²³J. Lewis (ed.), *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated out of the Latin Vulgat by John Wiclif*, Dedication, ii.

sided with Joye, saying that 'he took the Liberty to correct the Translation, as well as the Errors of the Press, and to give many Words their pure and native Signification in their Places, which he thought they had not before. Among these was the Word *Resurrectio.*, which Joye translated *the Life after this.*'²⁴ Mentioning Tyndale's preface against Joye, John Lewis remarks: 'In this he expresses a great deal too much passion and resentment against *Joye*, particularly for the manner of his translating the Word *resurrectio* ... For *Joye* declared, that he *wolde the scripture were so puerly and plyantly translated, that it needed neither note, glose nor scholia, so that the reder might once swimme without a corke.*'²⁵ Joye attempts to defend himself through calling his accuser's translating practice into question. Tyndale had 'played bo pepe' with his tenses, 'So fayne wolde he wrest the words from their natyue sense to serue for hys error.'(A8v) In fact, Tyndale himself uses a variety of renderings for the word 'resurrectio'. The word occurs twice in Hebrews 11:35: in the first instance Tyndale translates it as 'the beter resurrection', its second instance is rendered 'The women received their dead to life again'. Joye, with Thomas More and John Fisher, attested that Tyndale 'runneth ryot of his own wit'.(B5r) However Joye did not defend merely through attacking, but sought to explain his own philosophy of translation.

The biblical aesthetic, as defined by David Norton, 'depends not on the intrinsic quality of the words, but on the theological truth they lead to and on the spiritual value they invoke. It is an applied aesthetic that tends to separate content or purpose from form'.²⁶ Joye shies away from 'stencil translation', and freely admits to translating according to what the word means in its context, according to the sense of the scripture and the meaning intended by the Holy Spirit. His versions tend to be 'explanatory rather than imitative', one result of which is that he often uses two or three words to render one in the original.²⁷ Therefore in Psalm 23 the lord is not merely 'my shepherd' but 'my pastore and feder'. For Joye, words acquired meaning through association with and dissociation from other words: 'Many words in dyuerse places of the scripture haue diuerse/ ye some contrari significacions: which thyng if it be not diligently obserued of the translatur translatinge one for a

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 20-1. The quote from Joye is taken from *Apologye*, C7r.

²⁶D. Norton, *The History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 14-5.

²⁷G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 30.

nother/ he may sone err & corrupt the text unto the grete perel of the reder.'(B3r) For Joye, 'what a word 'signifies' - its referent as object or concept - depends on its meaning, which is determined not *as* that object or concept but as a function of the relations the word has with other words. Meaning is thereby not placed outside and independent of words, but is coextensive with their operation.'²⁸ The prologue to the Wyclif Bible took a similar stance, asserting that 'the best translating is, out of Latin into English, to translate after the meaning and not only after the words.'²⁹ Theoretically, once spurred on by the Spirit, the resulting translation would be theologically sound, even if not semantically exact, as Miles Coverdale argued: 'And though I seem to be all too scrupulous, calling it in one place *penance* that in another I call *repentance*, and *gelded*, that another calleth *chaste*; this methink ought not to offend thee, seeing that the Holy Ghost, I trust, is the author of both our doing.'³⁰ The revisers of the Geneva Bible declared their intent to broach the fissure between word and meaning: 'Now as we haue chiefly obserued the sense, and laboured alwaies to restore it to all integritie: so haue we moste reuerently kept the proprietie of the wordes'.(iiiir)

In *Apologye* Joye gives his own 'rekening' of his translation. Exemplifying this shift from referential to relational semantics, Joye holds that 'Resurrectio hath mo significations then one'.(B2r) His semantic theory is typical of the biblical humanists and reformers, and was shared by William Tyndale himself, whose *Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* begins 'This word church hath divers significations'.³¹ When interpreted as referring to the general resurrection, Joye leaves the word untouched. However, in some cases 'resurrectio' 'is taken for the lyfe aftir this wheryn the soules now lyue tyl the resurreccion of their bodies'.(A8v) In these instances, Joye translates not according to the Latin signifier, but with the divine signified in mind: 'I englissh it as the very worde signifyeth to put the reder out of doubt & to make it clere lest he be seduced & erre with Tind. beleuyng that the soulis slepe out of heuen: when sleape in scripture is properly and onely understanden of the bodye

²⁸R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 11.

²⁹Prologue to the Wyclif Bible, Forshall & Madden (eds.), p. 68. Quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, p. 81.

³⁰Prologue to 1538 New Testament, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 29.

³¹Quoted in D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 270.

which shal be awaked and ryse agayne.'(B1r) It appears that John Fisher also distinguished between the life of the body and that of the soul:

Ego sum resurrectio & vita. That is. I am sayth he the veray cause of raysynge of the body. And I am also the veraye cause of lyfe vnto the soule. As who saye the rysynge of the body be delayed for a season/ the soule neuertheles shal for the meane tyme haue a pleasant & a swete lyfe. ... who that fully trusteth in cryst Jhesu/ albeit they be deed in theyr bodies/ they neuertheles shall lyue in theyr soules.³²

Miles Coverdale also shared Joye's eschatological belief: 'The scripture commonly calleth it the resurrection of the dead, to declare evidently, that the resurrection must not be referred to the soul nor to the spirit, but directly unto the body and to the flesh.'³³ And so in Joye's edition 'resurrectio' became 'life after this' for two reasons: in the first place, to differentiate it from the cases where 'resurrectio' meant the resurrection of the body; and secondly, to condemn the error of the Anabaptists. Preparing his Bible at the time of this controversy, Miles Coverdale defends his translation similarly: he has translated the word as 'repentance' in some instances, at other times as 'penance', so that 'the adversaries of the truth may see, how that we abhor not this word penance, as they untruly report of us'.³⁴ Like Joye, Coverdale's translation is affected by theological belief, and by an intention to avoid heresy - as Joye wished to distance himself from the Anabaptists, so Coverdale felt the need to clarify the matter, lest people should 'fall into the old blasphemy of Christ's blood, and believe that they themselves are able to make satisfaction unto God for their own sins'.³⁵ Similarly Martin Luther had rendered Romans 3:28 'that man is justified without the works of the law, through faith alone', with the final word having no place in the source text. Luther defended the radical insertion on the grounds that through it the sense of the text was conveyed.³⁶

³²J. Fisher, *This treatyse concernynge the fruytfull saynges of Dauyd*, B4r, B5v.

³³'The Hope of the Faithful', in G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 168. He goes on to say (p. 174): "Now is it manifest, that neither the souls, nor spirits, but the bodies are in the graves; and if other bodies should rise up for ours, what needed he alway to make mention of the graves, but to the intent that he immediately in the gospel might declare the evident, plain, and undoubted resurrection of our bodies?"

³⁴Prologue to 1535 Bible, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, pp. 19-20.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁶See J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 4, p. 200.

Throughout Joye's argument, prioritisation of the simple, pure Word is stressed, 'for the trowth knoweth no fucated polesshed and paynted oracion.'(C3r) The conclusion, during which Joye expresses his hope that both men will be given the grace to forgive one another, focuses once more on that which Joye has lost - his name: 'Let us not stonde to highly in our own opinion/ lest whyle we apere lerned/ we proue our self foles/ & while we seme to stond faste/ we lye groueling on the grownde gnawing the erthe/ eting & devowering our christen brothers name & fame...'(G4r) He ends with Psalm 55, whose narrator laments that he could have accepted injury if from his enemy, 'but it was my nowne felowe'.(G4r)

II

Whether Joye's defence could have restored his reputation and name ('whiche there is nothyng to me more dere & leif'(A2r)) will never be known; within a few months the facts of the matter were made redundant. The support and loyalty enjoyed by Tyndale increased exponentially when he was captured later that year. In the spring of 1535 Henry Phillips had arrived in Antwerp for the express purpose of betraying the three most important reformers. To this day, the mission remains clouded in secrecy. Phillips apparently left England in shame over squandering family money. He was certainly not acting for Henry VIII or Cromwell, since soon after he began his activities in Antwerp he was declared an enemy of the state. As the London tailor William Holt had feigned friendship with John Frith in order to gain a copy of the sacramental discourse (which was delivered into the hands of Sir Thomas More), and had later betrayed Andrew Hewet, so Harry Phillips assumed the role of an affable, zealous reformer.³⁷ Tyndale was completely taken in by Phillips' attempts at friendship; the men dined together often, and the reformer, who 'had a great confidence in him', revealed his work to this man 'worse than Judas'.³⁸ William Tyndale was betrayed by Phillips to Pierre Dufief, the Procurer-General of Brabant, who imprisoned him at Vilvorde on 21 May. Sixteen months later, in

³⁷For William Holt see *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 6, p. 16.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 122, p. 128.

early October 1536, he was strangled to death, and then thrown upon the flames.

The two other targeted men were Robert Barnes and George Joye. Barnes received warning in good time, and was safe in England by the summer.³⁹ Joye also fled Antwerp and evaded capture, which, although fortunate for him, left an indelible stain upon his character. The animosity between the two translators was public knowledge, and conspiracy theories abounded. Curiously, a complete exoneration of Joye was made possible by Tyndale's nemesis. A godson of Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Tebolde, was in Antwerp during the summer. In the course of his stay he met with Harry Phillips, 'with whom I had long and familiar communication, pretending that I was minded to study at Louvain.' Tebolde's account of the meeting reveals Joye's sorry status in the aftermath of Tyndale's capture: 'Told him [Phillips] that it was said both in England and Antwerp that Joye was of counsel with him in taking Tyndale, but he said he had never seen Joye to his knowledge. I write this because Joye is greatly blamed and a[bu]sed among merchants and others who were his friends, falsely and wrongfully.'⁴⁰ Not only had Joye alienated himself from the brethren in openly disagreeing with Tyndale, he now became labelled as his betrayer. Presumably the protection once offered by the English community in Antwerp was no longer forthcoming; Joye fled to Calais, from where he petitioned for permission to return home.

Joye had been working this angle for years, trying to prove his loyalty and obedience to the king at every opportunity. In the summer of 1533, he had aided Stephen Vaughan in his investigations into friars Peto and Elston, recently fled England. On 3 August Vaughan wrote to Cromwell with his information to date. It transpired that 'George Gee fled out of Englonde for the new lernyng (as they call it)' had supplied Vaughan with information concerning a publication condemning Henry's new marriage. The information, which Joye had gleaned from friar Peto and his cohorts (clergy who 'have blinded his Grace, and made him devour and put to death and trouble many an honest man'), implicated the bishop of Rochester. Vaughan describes Joye as 'a right

³⁹See *L&P*, vol. 8, [652] for an account of the Statholder of Barrow's endeavour to give Barnes fair warning.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, [1151].

honest and true subiect to the King', who had written a letter concerning the matter, but was afraid to post it, having 'beung somuche brought in the hatered of his prynce'. Vaughan's attempt to put in a good word for Joye was thwarted by Thomas Cromwell, who censored the letter, editing out all but one reference to Joye.⁴¹ Despite the hindrance of Cromwell, Joye's efforts to improve his standing at home eventually paid off two years later. Vaughan's letter ended: 'I have told George Gee to advertise you in my absence whatever he learns of Peto and his accomplices. Desires the post may be paid.' Joye's financial situation in 1533 was obviously no laughing matter.

It was Edward Foxe the king's almoner, and an old Cambridge friend of Joye's, who stood by Joye at this critical time in 1535.⁴² A letter written on 4 June to Thomas Cromwell concluded with a plea for Joye:

It may like you also futher to understande the George Joye ever sith his commyng to Calais hathe been lodged with me in my howse whom I have so enduced that I trust hereafter he woll never say any thing whiche may be contrary to any article of our faith or unto that faithe whiche is already receaved concerning the sacrament of the Altare. And surely sith to be playne with youe I fynde hym veray conformable in all poyntes whiche be in my opynion requisit for a christen man to beleve. Upon whiche his good conformyte I have promysed hym to be a meane for hym unto the Kinges highnes that it may please the same to be good and graciouse Lorde unto hym and not to cast hym away whiche I beseche youe to set forthe unto his highnes if youe shall thinke it so requisite.⁴³

The intercession of this well-respected diplomat could not have been better timed. Joye was back in England by the summer.

That George Joye was actually allowed to return home reflects the strong trend towards reform then current in England. His biblical translations had proven extremely influential, as printers cashed in on

⁴¹This perhaps explains the vague reference to 'an honest man' who gave Vaughan information on the return trip, *ibid.*, vol. 6, [934]. Original letter quoted in *George Joye*, pp. 102-3.

⁴²That Edward Foxe held Joye in some regard may be inferred from a letter of Germain Gardiner, dated 1 August 1533, in the course of which he mentions "Geo. Joye (at whose name I am sure ye sigh, seeing yourself to have been so deluded with the hope which once ye conceived of him)." *L&P*, vol. 7, [1606].

⁴³*Ibid.*, vol. 8, [823].

the increasing demand for vernacular scripture. With the surge in popularity of English primers and collections of prayers, Joye's works were heavily relied upon by London printers such as John Bydell and Robert Redman. Between the new editions of works such as the *Ortulus* and the psalters, and the obvious culling of passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah, Joye's works resonate throughout the vernacular religious publications of this period. The printer Thomas Godfray, who had brought out an edition of the 1530 psalter, and had also issued a thinly-disguised *Ortulus*, published the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes around this time. Although now existing in separate bindings, the books were originally intended to be of the same volume: *The Prouerbes of Solomon/ newly translated in Englyshe ... Here foloweth the boke of Solomon called Ecclesiastes (which is to say in Englishe/ a precher)*. As argued by Butterworth & Chester, it is likely that (as with Godfray's psalter and primer) the text derived from an earlier Antwerp printing, but it remains for us the first English printed edition of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.⁴⁴

Although the books are anonymous, John Bale lists both under Joye's works in his *Summarium*. Joye's distinctive vocabulary is visible, with words like 'bakslyders', (A6v) and 'ydle slougherde'. (B2r) Furthermore, his emphasis on gathering great fruit without any great gloss remains: 'I shall speke clere & playne thinges... They ar playne for the prudente/ & right to them that seke knowlege'. (B6r) His colloquial turn of phrase is well suited to the idiomatic wisdom: 'Better is a lytell with the fere of God than moch tresure with trouble. Better it is to be bonden to a messe of potage with loue/ than to a fatte oxe with hatered.' (15:16-7, D4r) The choice of these texts, less explicitly religious than Joye's earlier translations, is perhaps explained by the proverbial and speculative wisdom contained within them; the homely, colloquial teachings, extremely practical in any age, appealed to Joye. Miles Coverdale remarked that 'The Proverbs and the Preacher of Salomon teach us wisdom, to know God, our own selves, and the world, and how vain all things are, save only to cleave unto God.'⁴⁵ These biblical translations amply demonstrate the advantages and disadvantages of Joye's prose style. Renderings of his such as 'Pryde goth before a fall/ and

⁴⁴See *George Joye*, p. 138.

⁴⁵Prologue to 1535 Bible, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 18.

a fall foloweth a proude mynde'(D6r) were preferable to Coverdale's 'Presumptuousness goeth before destruction, and after a proud stomach there foloweth a fall.'⁴⁶ On the other hand, 'A blabby mouth shalbe smytten with his owne folyssh speche'(D7r) was not taken over by subsequent revisers, and understandably so.

The efficacy of Joye's straightforward, homely style enabled it to survive the generations, although its presence in later texts is not generally recognised. It is common to credit Miles Coverdale with establishing the 'style for the gnostic books, like Proverbs and Ecclesiastes'.⁴⁷ In *The Making of the English Bible* (p. 69), Gerald Hammond remarks that it is in the Prophetic and Poetic books of the Old Testament 'that we see Coverdale's creative translation at its freest, unaffected by any existing English version.' Such a view ignores the fact that one of his stylistic sources was George Joye. Even despite Joye's influence on Coverdale, the KJB shows an atavistic strain, occasionally skipping over Coverdale and reverting to Joye's translation.⁴⁸ For examples of Joye's presence in the KJB, take Proverbs 16:24: 'Plesant spech is an honey combe/ the soules sewtnes and medicine to the bones.' The essential elements of the KJB rendering are to be found in the very first printed English translation of Proverbs: 'Pleasant words are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.' Similar echoes are numerous: 'The feare of god is the beginnyng of wysdome' (1:7, A2r), compared to 'The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge' (KJB); and 'The glorye of youth is theyr strength/ & the beautiful dignite of age is a graye heed' (20:29, E6r), 'The glory of young men is their strength: and the beauty of old man is the gray head.' (KJB) However, certain areas of difference between the KJB and the 1534 text show George Joye trying to communicate the concerns of the age: while the KJB renders Proverbs 16:10 'A divine sentence is in the lips of the king: his mouth transgresseth not in judgement', in *Solomon* the verse reads 'If the understandyng of goddes lawes be in the kynges hert/ his mouth shal nat erre in iugement.'(D5v) Similarly the Bible of 1611 translates 'Where

⁴⁶Dedication to 1535 Bible, *ibid.*, p. 9. The KJB reads: "Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall."

⁴⁷G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 75.

⁴⁸For details of this see C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, pp. 85-7.

there is no vision, the people perish'(29:18), which Joye interprets as: 'Where preching fayleth/ the peple perissh'.(G6r)

The familiarity of the London printers with Joye's works served him well. Despite the 'good comformyte' promised, in September 1535 *A compendyouse somme of the very Christen relygyon: gathered faythfully out of holy scripture: necessary for all them that rede the olde and new Testament* was published by John Bydell. Joye's name appears as translator of the tract. The little that is known of this rarely-mentioned text is due to the work of J.F. Mozley, who, in a letter of 1948, asserted that it derived from a Latin treatise - *Summa Totius Sacrae Scripturae* - published by Johannes Grapheus at Antwerp in 1533. As with the *Ortulus*, only one copy is extant.

The *Compendyouse* is a short treatise, which sets forth concisely the basic tenets of the reformers. All people 'be subiectes and bond men to synne, to deth and damnacyon, redacte and captyued even under the tyrannouse yoke of the deuyll.'(A2r) In the Old Testament God promised to send Jesus to deliver those who 'wyth a perfayte and lyuely fayth truste and cleaue unto thys promise and unto this same Jesu Chryst, whych hope and beleue to obtayne this delyueraunce is of him and thorow hym only.'(A2v) The Old Testament is this 'very self covenant and promis: none other wise then this called the new testament techeth us that same promys now to be fulfilled.'(A3r) The ceremonies and oblations used by the Jews were abolished with the coming of Christ, 'which is that very sacrifice and oblacyon only that apeased the fathers wrath and toke awaye all synne.'(A4r) The law had been given to restrain with the fear of hell, but now that fear is taken away by faith, a gift from God, which makes people 'couet and desyre to do and performe accordyng to the ensample of Chryst all the offyces and dedys of charyte'.(fol. B1) Joye's belief in a double justification, manifest in *Ashwell*, is expressed here: 'whyche [good] workes who so haue them not he sheweth hym selfe to haue no fayth in Christ'.(B2v) The assertions that the holy ghost is the 'ernest peny' of our salvation; that Christ is 'our onely medyatour', and that the Bible is the only 'grounde and fundacion of all Christen relygyon' are all familiar, and recur (in similar phrasing) throughout Joye's works.

The treatise, while bearing many personal touches of its translator, is nonetheless restrained. There is no mention either of resurrection or

of the Supper, the two great controversies in which Joye had become embroiled. The piece also lacks a preface, and even the title page is uncharacteristically terse, perhaps reflecting Joye's acute awareness of his tenuous footing in England, or resulting from pressures of time. That *Compendyouse* marked the last publication of Joye's for six years makes sense in light of the year's developments. In addition to having pledged to conform, Joye's work in biblical translation had been completely taken over by Miles Coverdale, whose Bible had been printed on the Continent over the summer, and was finally published in London by James Nicholson in October 1535. Butterworth & Chester comment:

Down to 1535, no Englishman except Tyndale had been more active than George Joye in the great task of bringing the Bible to English readers. It would therefore have been most gratifying to the biographer to find him actively connected, in some capacity or other, with these earliest authorized versions of the English Bible. But of course there was no such connection.⁴⁹

The two prime movers behind the 1535 Bible were John Rogers and Coverdale; it may be that both sided with William Tyndale in his clash with Joye, or that they believed the rumours that George Joye had betrayed their friend. Effectively isolated from his peers, Joye may have witnessed the momentous publication with mixed feelings. Any further attempt to clear his name would fall on deaf ears, as the majority of the reformers sided with the imprisoned Tyndale. Furthermore, although his influence was substantial, Joye's contribution to the text of the first printed English Bible was largely overlooked, and credit due transferred instead to either Miles Coverdale or William Tyndale, whose works had absorbed those of Joye. The vernacular edition was dedicated to Henry VIII, and soon the state took a more active interest in its dissemination. The secular authority's commitment to the English Word was affirmed in the Royal Injunctions of summer 1536, which ordered bibles in Latin and English to be available in every parish, and encouraged the parishioners to study the new texts. In February 1536 Chapuys mentioned the new Bible 'in which the texts that favor the Queen, especially Deut.xix., have been translated in the opposite sense.' Dr. Ortiz wrote of those responsible: 'to confirm their heresies, they have

⁴⁹George Joye, pp. 198-9.

translated the Bible for the people, altering many passages to support their errors.⁵⁰ This was no definitive Englishing of the Word.

Joye's specious belief in the ease of biblical transmission had collapsed. In *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, Waswo remarks: 'The word, of man and of God, is one of the primary energies of the period that is liberated. Free, it causes problems so tremendous that they must finally be evaded.'⁵¹ The English people had done nothing to prove themselves 'worthy' of receiving the Word, the condition stipulated by Henry VIII in 1530; the major controversies (between traditionalists and reformers and between the factions themselves) had not been resolved; and the accusations of wresting the scriptures from their 'true' meaning continued unabated. The English government, although headed by reformers, still delivered mixed messages to the laity. Joye's second edition of the New Testament ends with an epistle, in which he relates the duties of the preacher:

This thing (I saye) may fall upon us also to lerne men that all men be but lyers and maye erre/ and to warne us that we depende not wholl upon any mannis translacion nor hys doctryne nether to be sworne nor addicte to any mannis lerning/ make he neuer so holye and deuoute protestacions and prologs/ but to mesure all mennis wrytingis/ workis and wordis wyth the infallible worde off God... (C8r)

But there was no infallible word of God with which to judge; the same biblical passages would be cited to argue diametrically-opposed theological positions. Joye's scriptural philosophy, for which he had sacrificed so much, had resulted in him being reviled by both catholic and reformed; a wearied disillusionment must have settled on him, hearing reports in Calais of his betrayal of Tyndale. Although his Old Testament translations were discernible in the long-awaited English Bibles, his name was no longer associated with his words. Joye would not publish again until 1541.

⁵⁰L&P, vol. 10, [352, 698].

⁵¹R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 70.

Chapter 6

Let go the whore of Babilon,
Her kyngdome falleth sore;
Her mechauntes begyne to make theyr mone,
The Lorde be prayed therefore.¹

The six years of Joye's silence witnessed upheavals in the political and religious arenas which drove to alarming heights the intensity of bad feeling among the lay and the clerical communities. The escalation of the tension between extremists on both sides filtered outwards into the populace as the debated issues infringed more and more upon the traditional cultus of their daily religious lives of the laity. The elevated status of Cromwell, Cranmer and Hugh Latimer emboldened the reforming elements, and placed the conservative faction - cut off from Roman power - under further pressure. As both laity and clergy looked to the English king for guidance, the monarch found himself caught up in a religious struggle motivated by political and social concerns, forced to end years of expedient equivocation and finally rule on the spiritual doctrine of his realm.

I

Henry VIII walked a fine line throughout the 1530s. The motives behind the earlier parliamentary legislation were to be found in his desire for the wealth and the power of the Roman Church in England; he paid little attention to the radical theological claims of the heretics. Despite the eagerness of the reformers to claim the English king for their own,² Henry's involvement in the degradation of the see of Rome was spurred by political and personal motives; he had never deviated from the Catholic Church in any serious doctrinal issue, and the 'popissh palaudaments' by which the bishops had 'derkened and oppressed the holy sacred religion of god' went unquestioned by the monarch.³ This is

¹'Let Go the Whore of Babilon', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 586.

²For example, in 1535 Melanchthon dedicated his *Loci Communes* to Henry, praising the monarch's "zeal for religion, and toleration of good men seeking for a purer doctrine." *L&P*, vol. 9, [1068].

³*Unite and Scisme*, A4v, A5r.

not to deny that the English state was spearheading the effort to spread the reforming Word in England. Under the leadership of Cromwell and Cranmer, with the resources of a multitude of propagandist printers writers and preachers, and with the noble backing of the Boleyns, the reforming faction was going from strength to strength. Taking into account the zeal exhibited by Henry in bringing about the fall of the Roman Church in England, it is natural that the growth of the new learning, whose governmental support was evident, was also attributed to the king. For example, in September the Imperial Ambassador Chapuys wrote of 'a report that the King intends the religious of all orders to be free to leave their habits and marry, and that if they will stay in their houses they must live in poverty. He intends to take the rest of the revenue, and will do stranger things still.'⁴ While Henry would of course personally endorse such a highly profitable scheme, the specifically reformist endeavour to legitimise clerical marriage was certainly heretical to him.

To Thomas Cromwell, however, it was not. The confusion manifest in the Catholics is not to be found in the brethren of England, who were under no illusions as to the identity of their leader. In his *Factional Politics and the English Reformation* Joseph Block comments (p.85): 'As vicegerent, vicar general, and special commissary to the king, Cromwell had in his own right virtually unlimited jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs.' The records of this time are filled with letters offering diagnoses on England's spiritual health, all addressed to the man who had 'put forth [his] foot for the preferment of God's Word'.⁵ The correspondence is revealing: by 1535 William Barlow could be amazed at a search for English scriptural books, 'as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresy.'⁶ Within the city of London, the two sides appeared evenly matched; a letter of 10 October reads: 'Many preachers we have, but they come not from one Master, for, as it reported, their messages be divers. Latomer many blameth and as many doth allow.'⁷ However, outside of the capital things were less balanced. The contradictory nature of the accounts helps to serve as an apt summation of the lay religious experience at that time. Some continued to practice

⁴*L&P*, vol. 9, [357].

⁵*Ibid.*, [226].

⁶*Ibid.*, [1091].

⁷*Ibid.*, [583].

their traditional religion as they had always done, while others were forced to bend to the will of a Cromwellian visitor. On 14 October John Vaughan wrote to Cromwell, informing him of the 'progress' being made in the town of Gresford, but on the same day Richard Quiaenus begged intercession, his preaching having been impaired by obstreperous Dominican friars.⁸ The parish priest of St. Mary Woolchurch spoke against Robert Barnes, affirming 'that all those who preached at the King's commandment nowadays were heretics'.⁹ One Robert Ward of St. Thomas of Acres complained of the Friars Mendicant preachers, one of whom had declared in a sermon: 'I will live as my forefathers have done ... Therefore I pray you, continue as ye have done, and believe as your friends and fathers did; whatsoever these new do...'¹⁰ In general, the rural areas, protected from much of the heretical doctrines, were resistant to the men of zeal sent by Cromwell. The letters of the reformist clergy, hired as preachers 'to scrape the sur of Rome out of the hearts of men',¹¹ who ended up fleeing for their lives reveal the devotion and satisfaction of the laity with their orthodox cultus. In November Gervase Tyndall wrote to Cromwell, informing him that Catholic preachers were applauded in his area, where 'So many enemies draw their swords against the Gospel of Christ that it is dangerous to contend with them.'¹² The existing conflict was further problematised by the various factors motivating complaints against preachers; men like Cranmer and Cromwell were faced with contradictory accusations, and forced to weigh up each case individually.¹³ Meanwhile the plague, responsible for the cancellation of the parliament called for November, spread and intensified. Reformers preached that it was the fault of the papists, who presumably in turn interpreted the ravaging *pestis* as divine punishment for the nation's disobedience.¹⁴

While Cromwell's work was viewed as synonymous with the reforming cause, the king himself had the power to present the upheavals in a more palatable form. Early on Henry had adopted the

⁸*Ibid.*, [608. 611].

⁹(July 1535) *Ibid.*, vol. 8, [1000].

¹⁰(April 1535) *Ibid.*, [626].

¹¹*Ibid.*, vol. 9, [747].

¹²*Ibid.*, [740].

¹³For example see Cranmer's letter of 12 October 1535, *ibid.*, [592].

¹⁴See *ibid.*, [983]. Dr. Ortiz writes: "The dearth has increased twofold in England. The preachers publicly say that it is the fault of those who obey the Apostolic See."

stance of a rational *via media* charting a course of moderation between two harsh, unacceptable religious extremes. The escalation of the already charged atmosphere saw both factions becoming more strident. Measures had to be taken either to calm and reassure the people, or simply to eliminate the inflammatory elements altogether. The foresight of Lord Chancellor Audeley was manifest in September 1535, when he wrote to Cromwell, suggesting the necessity of a blanket ban on the discussion of any contentious issues.¹⁵ In the following months steps were taken to impede the fostering of dissent, marking for the government the beginning of an uphill struggle. Already self-conscious of the widespread dissatisfaction with issues of supremacy and succession, Henry tried to assuage the unsettled people by forbidding them to discuss that which would disturb them (as five years before he had refused his people the Scriptures in English for a similar reason). In December a proclamation was issued ordering the confiscation of certain books: any text concerned with the Act of Succession, any copy of John Fisher's sermon, and all writings which were either pro-Rome or anti-Henry were to be handed over.¹⁶ The second offensive was directed against the preachers: on 7 January 1536 a circular was sent to Henry's bishops, who were warned 'to stop the mouths of preachers who sow sedition and disseminate false doctrine.'¹⁷ Both the Romish lies and the novelties of the reformers only served to upset the people; both were anathema to Henry's church.

The New Year of 1536 did not mark a new beginning, and the seditious rumours and the frustration with Henry's vacillating religious position only increased. The Catholics, 'daily in more and more despair, only hoping for help from abroad', interpreted Anne's apparent inability to bear a son as a divine portent, while the Continental Protestants complained that Henry had only become Lutheran because the Pope refused his divorce suit, and that he 'pertinaciously adhered to ... all other papistry.'¹⁸ The death of the princess dowager Katherine of Aragon in January 1536 further exacerbated the situation. The spiritual conservatives were not the only faction with falling hopes; Anne's influence was becoming less marked, since in October of the previous

¹⁵*Ibid.*, [358]. This ban was necessary since the previous ban had expired, and the clergy sought guidance on the official position concerning such matters.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, [963].

¹⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 10, [45].

¹⁸*Ibid.*, [308, 283, 112].

year Henry had visited Sir John Seymour, and had been introduced to Jane. The internal governmental conflict of religious interests were also becoming more obvious. Unlicensed reformist preachers were defiant in the face of their bishops, claiming authorisation from the vicegerent: even the Bishop of London, armed with a commission from Henry, failed to put a stop to one of the brethren.¹⁹ On 5 May 1536 Bishop Longland complained of John Swynnerton, who had insisted on preaching of forbidden matters, claiming to know the king's mind.²⁰ Of course, no such complaints emanated from the newly-elected bishops, whose reformist tendencies had never been in doubt. The bishops who replaced such staunch Catholics as Fisher, Campeggio and Ghinucci were of an altogether different cast: Joye's defender Edward Fox was appointed to the see of Hereford; Hugh Latimer was given the bishopric of Worcester; and John Hilsey, Nicholas Shaxton, and William Barlow were elected bishops of Rochester, Salisbury, and St. Asaph respectively. In 1539 one reformer commented on conservative bishops Gardiner and Tunstall: 'I wold trust them, if I cowld see one of them ones promote or set forwarde but one that ys suspected to favour Gods worde.'²¹ Presumably the laity, overwhelmingly conservative at this time, maintained a similar scepticism about the self-interest of the new generation of brethren bishops. By April rumour had reached Venice that the English Parliament was about to abolish purgatory, and at home Francis Bigod was funding preachers to travel throughout the country, spreading the Word.²² Yet in the same month Chapuys had heard from 'everyone' that Henry had ordered the avoidance of new opinions and a return to the old-fashioned practice of preaching (omitting the papal supremacy), and that he admitted the existence of purgatory and of the efficacy of prayers for the dead.²³

As it was, there was simply no way of predicting future religious trends from the confusing morass. The worst fears of the reformers were realised on 2 May when Queen Anne was arrested and sent to the Tower, accused of multiple infidelities, including adulterous incest. She was tried, found guilty, and beheaded on the 19th. After his second wife's

¹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 11, [136, 52].

²⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 10, [804].

²¹G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 63.

²²*L&P*, vol. 10, [619, 742].

²³*Ibid.*, [752].

execution, Henry lived as a single man for almost an entire day: on 20 May he became engaged to Jane Seymour, whom he married on the 30th. Anne's incarceration had sparked a flurry of optimistic gossip among the Continental Catholics. Amid rumours that the English Church would soon return to 'normal', England began to be treated once again as one of the powers of the Christian Empire. Henry's gestures of friendship were taken seriously by the Emperor, and the French king announced that he was 'very desirous of having the honor of bringing him [Henry] back to obedience to the Pope.'²⁴ In the aftermath of Anne's execution English traditionalists became increasingly confident of an imminent restoration of the old ways; their sincere devotion was visible in the 'many legions of deuylysshe rytes, supersticiose ceremonyes, dirtye tradicions and heythen ydolatry'.²⁵ Reformers such as Robert Barnes continued preaching in the face of this adversity, while around them images were restored and the existence of purgatory was once again argued as the voice of the conservative clergy grew more strident. On the feast of Corpus Christi one Master Lovell exhorted his flock to keep the traditional holidays, light candles before images, and warned them to beware of heretics and the English New Testament.²⁶

The tension, nation-wide by this point, found ample opportunity to manifest itself in the Parliament of 1536, which assembled on 8 June. The dealing of the parliament between 1532 and 1534 were largely motivated by Henry's quest for divorce. The legislation of the later 1530s displays an overwhelming concern for the civic health of the commonwealth: 'In economic regulation, in social conscience, in legal procedure, in administration and government finance: in all of these areas Parliament acted as an organ of reform and renewal.'²⁷ The source of most contention, however, was the huge spectrum of religious issues dealt with by the two parliaments and the Convocations of this period. In his *Unite and Scisme of the Old Church* (1543), George Joye mentions the plethora of recent debates in Parliament and Convocation, which included disputation

²⁴*Ibid.*, [831, 922].

²⁵*Present Consolation*, A2v.

²⁶*L&P*, vol. 10, [1034, 1043, 1140].

²⁷S.E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation Parliament*, p. 249. See *ibid.* pp. 251-2 for a summary of the measures taken, prioritising the general good.

of the intercession and praying to saints/ and of their worshiping (god saue it) and of the veneracion of images and reliques/ of purgatory/ unwrighten verities/ of kinges autorite and power ouer gods holy euerlasting worde/ of gay significacions for decent ceremonies and laudable rytes/ of preistes vowes/ Sacraments/ and I can not tell what: and whether thei might [be] sewerlyer stablissed by mortall menis transitory new vayne actes/ then by the olde euerlastinge worde of the euerlyvinge god.'(fol. A8)

Joye's account gives an indication of the all-encompassing nature of the argumentation, and implies the outspokenness of both sides. Yet although the death of Queen Anne provided Catholics with the opportunity to raise their voices once more, no significant shift in loyalty was apparent in the king. He continued, as before, to use his clergy for his own ends. Archbishop Cranmer who had presided over Henry's second marriage, was now employed to declare it invalid, and to 'grant' a dispensation for affiliation in the third degree with Jane Seymour. The attempts to sedate the discord and strife within the realm had failed, and the King still refused clearly to favour either faction. Hugh Latimer preached the opening sermon of Convocation, which met the day following the convening of the new parliament. His sermon was, according to Eamon Duffy, 'a *tour de force* of offensiveness, a manifesto calculated to outrage the overwhelming majority of his hearers.'²⁸

Certainly, Latimer was characteristically direct in his commentary on the current state of affairs. His contempt for much of the popular devotion was made clear. 'Will-works' such as gilding statues and dressing images in silk had been prioritised over necessary works, commanded in the Bible: 'Thus it cometh to pass the works lucrative, will-works, men's fancies reign; but christian works, necessary works, fruitful works, be trodden under the foot.'²⁹ Four areas were targeted as being worthy of reformation, the first two being the consistory courts (where, 'If men say truth, how many without bribes?'), and the superfluous holy days (all of which are 'spent miserably in drunkenness, in glossing, in strife, in envy, in dancing, dicing, idleness, and

²⁸E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 390.

²⁹G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 38. Similarly in *Unite and Scisme* (A8r), Joye argues that in the old church "satisfaccions/ wilworks/ good deadis/ money and mennes merits bought and solde began to be bosted and preched for men to come to heuen by them/ wherby the merite of christis passion was blotted out of mennis brestis".

gluttony').³⁰ The remaining complaints derived from Latimer's verve for iconoclasm. Referring to 'the superstitious difference that men made between image and image',³¹ Latimer was adamant on the urgent need for their removal, and used the issue to challenge the clergy's commitment to reform: 'Brethren and fathers, if ye purpose to do any thing, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images; or else, if ye know any other mean to put away abuses, to shew it, if ye intend to remove abuses?'³² The final abuse concerned pilgrimages, which of course had to be quelled, since the visiting of relics hid superstition, 'if that some time we chance to visit pig's bones instead of saint's relicks...'³³ Latimer also condemned the sale of masses, and urged the baptism service to be held in English and not Latin, so that the true meaning and signification of the sacrament would be communicated to the recipient. To complete his attack on the conservative clergy, he asserted that the progress made in the religious education of the people was wholly against the will of the clergy, and only succeeded through the will of the king and the secular populace: 'Is it unknown, think you, how both ye and your curates were, in [a] manner, by violence enforced to let books to be made, not by you, but by prophane and lay persons; to let them, I say, be sold abroad, and read for the instruction of the people?' There was only one token concession to orthodoxy, Hugh Latimer proclaimed: 'I am bold with you, but I speak Latin and not English, to the clergy, not to the laity...'³⁴

The conservative clergy were duly outraged, and responded on 23 June with a list of *mala dogmata*. Their *apologia* defended the traditional practices of the people against Latimer's complaints, and condemned the 'many sclanderous and erroneus bokes' made by 'prophane and lay persons', particularly those books which bore the 'Cum privilegio'. With the breach in the unity of the English church disrupting the country at all levels, Henry was forced to have drawn up some form of inclusive guide to the practice of Christianity within the new English Church. The radical evangelists, confident in the protection of Cromwell and Cranmer, sermonised recklessly; in July one concerned man urged to

³⁰G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 52.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 54.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 55.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 46.

Henry VIII 'the control of preachers who, under the colour of driving away man's tradition, have almost driven away virtue and holiness. With the despising of purgatory the people begin to disregard hell and heaven.'³⁵ Considering the ongoing difficulty in ensuring acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, and the dissatisfaction of the lay people, whose churches and monasteries were at last feeling the squeeze of the reformist religious cleansing, the state's guidelines would need to be as placatory and reassuring as possible. Yet England was also in the midst of religious negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League: Edward Foxe, Nicholas Heath and Robert Barnes had been working on a reformed confession with Luther and Melanchthon since late 1535. The Wittenberg Articles had only recently been drawn up when Henry was pressed to declare the tenets of the English religion.

The 'Articles Devised by the King's Highness Majesty to Stablish Christian Quietness and Unity', better known as the Ten Articles, promulgated by Convocation on 11 July, would theoretically put an end to diversity of opinion; instead they serve to illustrate the confused free-for-all which constituted religion at the time.³⁶ Latimer's venomous attack on specific aspects of the Church was in large part evaded; the Articles tended to ignore and omit rather than openly discuss matters of contention. Of the seven sacraments, only three (baptism, penance, and the Supper) gained mention. Yet there was no resolution to the controversial sacrament of the Altar: 'beholde nowe a dayes, howe perniciously one man varieth from another about thys superexcellent and higheste mysterie.'³⁷ A warning against idolatry accompanied the sanctioning of images. While the mediating power of saints was affirmed, the concept of patron saints was denied, a tradition which had been ridiculed by the reformers:

And S.Wilfred Eoorne of Ripon to kepe cattel from pain,
 And his needle which sinners can not passe the eye,
 With S.John and S.Peters grease for to conserve the braine,
 And S.Thomas hoode of Pomfret for migreme and the rie,
 And S.Cuthberts standard of Duresme to make their foes to flye,

³⁵L&P, vol. 11, [156].

³⁶See S.M. Harrison, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties*, pp. 76-7; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 392-4.

³⁷J. Bullingham, *A Notable Oration*, C4r.

And S.Benets bolte, and S.Swithens bell
And saint Patrickes staffe and saint Williams head pardy,
And saint Cornelis horne, with a thousand mo to tell.³⁸

The eschatological complexities remained unresolved: although intercession for the dead was supported, the name of purgatory was set aside; in addition a form of justification by faith was affirmed. Unable to disentangle the contentious issues of transubstantiation and purgatory, the articles simply left the arguments open-ended. Laudable customs (such as creeping to the cross, and the use of holy water and blessed candles) were to be retained, but were stripped of their apotropaic significance and invested with a symbolic one. In this no-man's land of religious doctrine, full of vague concessions to either side, neither the laity nor the clergy felt themselves on sure ground, and both reformers and conservative Catholics felt themselves hard done by. Wilfride Holme interpreted the articles as a papist victory:

Thus of the Articles to make a shorte conclusion,
If they saye they do it for the faythes reformation,
The scripture is against their false cloked collusion...³⁹

But the traditionalists had suffered greatly at the hands of the Parliament. In the wake of the legislation abrogating holy days, only seven feasts remained between harvest time (July to September) and the Westminster law terms. Lay resistance to such an unprecedented decimation of the Church calendar was to be expected: not only did the Act represent a drastic dilution of their religious life, it would also result in a substantial increase in working days. Henry persisted in the delusion that if a problem was ignored it might simply go away, and this matter was added to all the others forbidden to be mentioned by the clergy. Unsurprisingly, the invalidated holy days continued to be celebrated in a multitude of parishes; even Henry's court observed St. Laurence's day in 1537, which left Vicegerent Cromwell less than impressed.

The supposed reasoning behind the Ten Articles was that 'so little regard was taken by some to the King's advertisements that he was

³⁸W. Holme, *The fall and euill successe of Rebellion*, G3v-G4r.

³⁹*Ibid.*, H1r.

constrained to put his own pen to the book and conceive certain articles ... thinking that no person, having authority from him, would have presumed to say a word against their meaning, or been remiss in setting them forth.⁴⁰ In this the king had presumed too much. By August Dr. Ortiz could accurately refer to 'this schism in England'.⁴¹ Between the internal confusion of the Articles and the resentment at the abolishment of the holy days, the ostensibly conciliatory parliament had only served to exacerbate the ever-widening rift in the Church, while all the time the people's complaining voice grew stronger. Previously, reformer bishops had used their position to allow their own kind to preach, while following the letter of the law when dealing with orthodox 'discreet men and learned'.⁴² In the aftermath of the Ten Articles, conservative bishops wielded their power similarly in the implementation of the reforming measures. They could neutralise the effects of the legislation either by supporting the will of the people with a traditionalist sermon, or (more commonly) by simply ignoring the measures altogether. On occasion, accusations of heresy were even dared against the reformers. The vagueness of the Articles worked to the conservatives' advantage: the responsibility to distinguish veneration from idolatry and to ensure that the laity practised the laudable ceremonies while believing in their symbolic significance only, rested upon the individual curates. The complaints throughout the 1530s against the lack of action on the part of the bishops serve as testimony to their conservative stance. For many, the most effective course of action was one of no action.

II

In July 1535 Thomas Cromwell, recently appointed vicegerent in spirituals, began to test out his new powers. The Visitation of the Monasteries began. The project was to compile a *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, to measure the extent of the resources of the English Church, and to place the clergy under moral scrutiny. A commission was established to tour the smaller monasteries and to report back to Cromwell on any moral turpitude encountered. Eamon Duffy remarks that the visitors' mission 'seems to have been to provide Cromwell with the ammunition he

⁴⁰L&P, vol. 11, [1110].

⁴¹*Ibid.*, [320].

⁴²*Ibid.*, vol. 10, [1099].

needed to damn the monasteries, not to reform them.⁴³ Certainly, the emphasis lay on abolition rather than amelioration. The enforced closure of religious houses and charities was not uncommon, particularly in order to establish educational establishments. For example, one of the articles charged against Thomas Wolsey centred on his suppression of thirty religious houses.⁴⁴ The Cardinal's method of gaining swift access to property and funds had apparently gained in popularity by 1529, when an attempt was made in Parliament to suppress the lesser monasteries. John Fisher spoke vehemently against the proposal, asserting that the bill struck 'not at the withered branches, but at the tree, on which religion groweth.' His words proved somewhat prophetic: 'Our lesser houses are desired from us; not that their value doth deserve the motion; but, that the greater may succeed their fortune; which soon will follow, if the gap be opened.'⁴⁵ Six years later there existed no sufficient opposition to Cromwell's will to serve both his religious belief and his king's greed. The visitors dismantled the shrines and stripped the houses of their relics, forwarding them to the vicegerent, who arranged expositions of the 'feigned' images in an effort to counteract the obvious dissatisfaction of the people.

It is difficult to gauge the spuriousness of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* documentation. The vitriolic reports describing superstitious papist extortionists are in all likelihood best treated with a large dose of scepticism. The visitors were not detached observers, but viewed the closure of the religious houses as a purging of papistry. The sudden surge in eager letters asking for aid in improving the religious establishments is suspicious. For example, the prior and monks of St. Albans, concerned for the fate of their monastery, asked their Abbot 'to devise some means for its utility and profit'.⁴⁶ Although Cromwell's commission received condemnation for their shoddy, inaccurate investigations, coercing of

⁴³E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 383-4. See also A.F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, p. 270.

⁴⁴For example, in the process of establishing St. John's College, Cambridge, a hospital and two nunneries were suppressed, and Jesus College, Cambridge sprang from the ashes of St. Radegund's nunnery. Wolsey actively supported the dissolution of defunct religious houses. In 1524 the Cardinal was granted the power to suppress monasteries, for which he employed Cromwell. Wolsey began a project to fund a grammar school at Ipswich (his birthplace) and another college at Oxford, which between them involved the suppression of 29 religious houses.

⁴⁵W. Scott (ed.), *The Somers Collection of Tracts*, vol. 1, p. 40.

⁴⁶*L&P*, vol. 9, [1155].

clergy and forced confessions, to paint them as a smooth-running machine of suppression would be inaccurate. While the motivation of money and the desire to find fault and thereby to prove the remaining towers of Roman Catholicism to be spiritually diseased drove many, perhaps even the majority of these men, there are extant balanced accounts, reporting well-run foundations.⁴⁷ However, this more judicial documentation was engulfed by the bilious tales of incontinent nuns and corrupt monks, and the houses began to close. As A.F. Pollard comments: 'The very privileges of the monasteries were now turned to their ruin. Their immunity from episcopal jurisdiction deprived them of episcopal aid; their exemption from all authority, save that of the Pope, left them without support when the papal jurisdiction was abolished.' He goes on to describe the dissolution as 'a gigantic bribe to the laity to induce them to acquiesce in the revolution effected by Henry VIII.'⁴⁸ If by 'laity' Pollard means the nobles and gentry that the greater part of the spoils went to, then there is much truth in the statement, but certainly for the majority of the people connected with the 376 houses affected, the dissolution was a source of severe anxiety and anger. On 4 February 1536 the Church, in the vain hope that its real wealth might be left untouched, agreed that all religious houses valued at 300 marks and under would be given to Henry. The laity watched, powerless, as the project was legislated in the seventh and final session of the Reformation Parliament: 'An act whereby all religious Houses of monks, canons, and nuns which may not dispend manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments above the clear yearly value of £200 are given to the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, for ever.' Considering the fantastic resources of the larger houses, it was inevitable that the attention of Henry and Cromwell would be turned to the greater monasteries.

The argument in favour of the dissolution of the monasteries derived strength from the denial of 'this monster, purgatory, which abuse is more than abominable'; if the place of torment did not exist, then the masses and chantries for the dead (among the main functions of the religious houses) were rendered obsolete.⁴⁹ But abominable or not, the laity of England wished to continue reverencing their dead in their masses. Furthermore, the monasteries functioned as more than

⁴⁷See for example, John Tregonwell's letter to Cromwell, *ibid.*, [457].

⁴⁸A.F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, pp. 272-3.

⁴⁹G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 51.

petitioners for the dead. Their role in education and relief of the poor (as exemplified by Newnham Priory) resulted in an increase in poverty after the dissolution. But their social conscience stretched further still; the houses were often responsible for those who would have not otherwise had the opportunity to function as part of a working society. Among the letters to Cromwell in 1535 'volunteering' for reformation, there is a petition from a group of nuns and religious women, under orders of expulsion from their nunnery. Some might have found support in a larger house, but the women's candid concern for the most helpless of their order hints at the extent of the damage caused by the dissolution process. The older women desire 'to know whether Margaret Fitzgared, twelve years of age, being deaf and dumb, and Julian Heron, thirteen years, an idiot fool, shall depart or no.'⁵⁰ The closing of the religious houses affected the entire realm, on a social, religious and financial level, and for the majority it was for the worse.

As the discontent turned to anger, the need for the king to take a strong authoritative line in religious matters became imperative. In August 1536 Cromwell issued the first of the Tudor Injunctions in matters of religion.⁵¹ The clergy of England were ordered to enforce the existing religious legislation, particularly with regard to the popular observances. Each curate was expected to ensure that the abrogated days were not celebrated, images went unidolized, and pilgrimages and relics were not abused. Bishops were ordered to set forth the abuses of the Pope. The second focus was upon education: children and servants were to be taught in English the *Pater Noster*, the Ten Commandments and the Articles of Faith. In *Unite and Scisme*, George Joye argues 'how properlye the tymes before christes incarnation/ and now this laste time before his coming to iugement agree to gither and be correspondent for in ether of them/ heretykes and sectesowers did runne and preek before him/ miserablye kutting into peeses and pituously polluting the chirche of God.'(B2r) Although obviously targeting the traditionalists in his accusation of dividing and disrupting the church, in the later 1530s both sides were struggling for domination, a conflict which caused more dissension and religious confusion the longer it continued.

⁵⁰L&P, vol. 9, [1075].

⁵¹See *ibid.*, vol. 11, [377].

The schism reached critical levels in October, and was inevitably translated into violent insurrection. A series of revolts occurred in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and the North-West, beginning on 2 October. Although often mislabelled as a revolt motivated specifically by religious issues, the preoccupation of the rebels with the state of the Church in England, and their anxiety at the recent upheavals within the religious sphere must not be glossed over.⁵² There was widespread anxiety concerning the future of the churches in England: rumour held that all jewels and vessels were soon to be claimed by the king, that parish churches were to be a minimum of five miles apart, and that for every christening, burial or marriage, a tithe was to be paid to the king. The rebels proclaimed their intent to defend the faith, for Henry 'though styled Defender of the Faith, yet by certain heretics of their time they see it confounded, not ashaming in open preaching to blaspheme the honor of God by spoiling and suppressing holy places ...and despising the laws of Holy Mother Church; blaspheming also our Lady and all other Saints, &c.'⁵³ The October proclamation of the Yorkshire gentleman Robert Aske was archetypal, asserting that the assembly of insurgents was occurring 'because evil-disposed persons in the King's Council intend to destroy the Church and rob the whole body of the realm.'⁵⁴ Of their claims, one asked

Whether they meant Christes churche the christen congregation
Or the Lapidous synagoge procript and relegate,
The great citie I suppose of the whore of Babilon...⁵⁵

Despite the political, social and economic factors which converged and fostered the rebellion, it was argued almost wholly in terms of religious motives. Although their objections included secular items such as the new taxations, the 'pilgrims' framed their insurrection by blaming

⁵²See S.M. Harrison, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Countries*, p. 44: "Generalisations about rebel complaints can only be made in negative terms: the Pilgrims of Grace were not united on a religious crusade; they were not bound together under a political faction which wanted to overthrow the King; they were not suffering from the economic difficulties prevalent in the decade before the rebellion, and which may have been particularly biting in that year ... As long as the movement was able to put forward an all-embracing manifesto of grievances with which any rebel could identify himself in part, the rebellion could hold itself together in an appearance of unity."

⁵³*L&P*, vol. 11, [892].

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, [705].

⁵⁵W. Holme, *The fall and euill successe of Rebellion*, D2v.

the state of the English Church, condemning the acts of the 'heretic' bishops Cranmer, Latimer and Hilsey and the suppression of the monasteries, and demanding the destruction of the cursed English reformers' heretical writings.⁵⁶ Any dissatisfaction with the King was diverted into the person of Thomas Cromwell; as scapegoat he became a devious manipulator who had wilfully misled an orthodox, Catholic king, and his malice towards the people of England was repeatedly stressed. However, some traditionalists interpreted the uprising from a different perspective: the rebellion was due to Henry's sins; the king himself had provoked 'his subjects to rebel, as he is such a rebel against God.'⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, George Joye managed to apportion the blame to the papist clergy in England:

By whose preuey coniuracions, secrete conspirisons in auriculare confessions and crafty consultacion were so many of the nobles of the northe and lyncolne shyer set on fyer Master Aske made the capitayne to lead forthe so rebellious a sorte of traytors ageynst our prince? Were they not the bysshops, abots & preistes which were the autours of that sediciouse insurreccion and persecusion of their owne kinge?⁵⁸

Hugh Latimer divided the blame between the bishops and the justices: if they had been 'shod for the preparation of this gospel' and had obeyed the commandment of the king in setting it forth faithfully, the disturbance would not have happened. The bishop had nothing but condemnation for the rebels:

They arm them with the sign of the cross and of the wounds, and go clean contrary to him that bare the cross, and suffered those wounds. They rise with the king, and fight against the king in his ministers and officers; they rise with the church, and fight against the church, which is the congregation of faithful men; they rise for the commonwealth, and fight against it, and go about to make the commons each to kill every other, and to destroy the commonwealth. Lo, what false pretence can the devil send amongst us! It is one of his most crafty and subtle assaults, to send his warriors forth under the badge of God, as though they were armed in righteousness and justice.⁵⁹

⁵⁶L&P, vol. 11, [1246].

⁵⁷Ibid., [1001].

⁵⁸Present Consolation, A7v.

⁵⁹G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, pp. 29-30.

Above all other manifestations of lay anxiety and confusion, it was the Pilgrimage of Grace, as it came to be known, which finally impressed upon Henry VIII the urgent need for unifying action. On 19 November 1536 another circular was issued to his bishops. This reiterated his previous attempts to end the discord rife among his people, which had been 'defeated by general and contemptuous words, used by seditious persons, by which the people are much more offended than before'.⁶⁰ The contentious and subversive preaching had sown disorder among his kingdom, and the insurrection of the people was the result. The bishops were to tour their dioceses, expounding the Ten Articles and praising the laudable ceremonies of the Church treated within. They were also to suppress any preacher who refused to openly support the ceremonies, and arrest any clergy who had dared to marry. As before, the conservative bishops, while remaining within the law, worked within the limits of their power to inhibit the unsavoury elements of the Ten Articles. The priorities were to ensure the absolute acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, and to silence any inflammatory elements. The tenets of the reformers became heretical once more, and were prosecuted as such. On 15 November 'Fyeld, Marschall, Gooddall, and another of that sort of learning' were taken; the following day Robert Barnes was imprisoned in the Tower, after preaching at the funeral of a Mr. Paggynton. Three days later John Bale was called upon to answer charges concerning his sermons on the battle between the Church Militant and the Church Malignant.⁶¹ December saw the indictments of 21 men who had followed the heretical teachings of four preachers: John Swynnerton, Francis Eliot, and Thomases Garrad and Lawney, chaplains to the bishop of Worcester and the Archbishop of Canterbury respectively. The charges included a wide range of typical reformation dogma: rejection of the cults of saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary, condemnation of pilgrimages, images, intercessory prayers for the dead and confession. The most common offence, however, was the refusal to acknowledge purgatory, 'for purgatorye ys pissed owte'.⁶²

The attempt in late 1536 at damage-control did not succeed. The truce agreed to by the 'pilgrims' on 7 December was weakened through

⁶⁰*L&P*, vol. 11, [1110].

⁶¹*Ibid.*, [1097, 1111].

⁶²*Ibid.*, [1424].

Henry's delay-tactics, and tendency was again towards insurrection. In January Robert Aske wrote a letter describing how the people were 'gnawn in their conscience' with the spreading heresies and the suppression of monasteries. By mid-January it was rumoured in France that two-thirds of England was against Henry, who would have to flee the realm or concede to their demands. The people's resentment of the implementations of the previous years were finally verbalised: one man declared that Henry had never been truly made Supreme Head of the English Church 'but by a sort of heretics and lollards'.⁶³ The loyalty of the local elements of power to the Roman Church also became visible: when acts of parliament were torn down, no diocesan inquiries were made. The radical elements of both factions engaged in preaching wars, as were witnessed in Bristol, Aylsham and Norfolk.⁶⁴ By February Henry VIII had another revolt on his hands.

Meanwhile, between February and July the bishops of the realm were debating the contents of a planned comprehensive guidebook concerning the practice of 'true' religion. The book eventually reached a form which could be authorised in the summer of 1537, a form which captures the diametrically opposed views at the heart of the English clergy. It was printed without full royal approval; apparently Henry only afforded it the most cursory glance (the king could, of course, have been hedging his bets until the people's opinion of the book became clear, for certainly he could not afford to sink lower in the opinion polls). *The Bishops' Book, or The Institution of a Christian Man* was necessarily more tolerant than the legislation of the previous summer, and 'found' the four sacraments unmentioned in the Ten Articles. However the earlier equivocation on purgatory and the begrudging allowance of images were retained. Their use was explained as a 'concession to the dullness of men's wits and the surviving traces of "gentility" or paganism'.⁶⁵ Abolition was still favoured over reformation, since there was little hope of the holy images ever being treated as the reformers would wish:

Yet Images no doubt they might be permanent,
If they were used according to the kings convocation,

⁶³*Ibid.*, vol. 12, pt. 1, [6, 123, 275].

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, [756, 1147, 1316].

⁶⁵E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 401.

But that will not be, men are so negligent...⁶⁶

The vacillation between the old and the new, the hesitant, self-contradictory setting forth of doctrine, and the confused backtracking by the authorities resulted in both factions appealing to the *Bishops' Book* to vindicate their positions. However, Catholics found it hardly enthusiastic, and to the reformers it was a far cry from the strident manifestos of the early thirties. George Joye was certainly disgusted with its content, and considered it symptomatic of the way in which 'the Bisshops with their captiued seculare armes haue most heretically and scismatykly with their borrowed secklar swerd kut in sondre the most holy unite and concorde of Christes chirche mangled and hacked into so many decent rites and laudable (as thei saye) ceremonies'.⁶⁷ He warned that even among the lay people could be found 'many that abhorre and detest these sayd holy popes decrees/ lawes &c./ as roten/ stinking running sores.'⁶⁸ But in reality the majority of the laity, encouraged by the affirmation of all seven sacraments, continued in their 'negligence' when it came to images.

At the urging of Cranmer, Cromwell took upon himself the task of obtaining from Henry permission to import and read the 'Matthew Bible', compiled by John Rogers and printed by Richard Grafton. By August he had succeeded, was congratulated by Cranmer, and received six copies of the Bible *gratis* as a gesture of thanks from Grafton.⁶⁹ Robert Redman reissued his *Ortulus*-based primer, but it appeared this time in a toned down, less inflammatory edition, whose 'studied moderation' emphasised 'the need for deference and respect for tradition.'⁷⁰ Redman's caution was characteristic of the time: considering the seditious movements and widespread unrest, extremists on both sides saw the necessity of proceeding with care. Once more arrests motivated solely by

⁶⁶W. Holme, *The fall and euill successe of Rebellion*, E1v.

⁶⁷*Unite and Scisme*, A3v.

⁶⁸*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, A2v.

⁶⁹*L&P*, vol. 12, pt. 2, [512, 593]. For Cranmer's active role in the process see B. Hall, 'Cranmer's Relations with Erasmianism and Lutheranism', in P. Ayriss & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, p. 28: "To leave to Cranmer the biblical scholar and Lutheran sympathiser no more than the role of making feeble gestures of approval is not in accord with his activities since it was his own profound concern for the Bible as the basis of Christian doctrine and piety which had led him to urge strongly on Cromwell the authorized publication of 'Matthew's Bible' of 1537."

⁷⁰E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 402.

suspicion of religious deviation became common, but this time they did not appear to favour either faction. Those found in possession of English New Testaments were suspect, as were the remaining outspoken supporters of the Pilgrimage of Grace, who condemned the heretic bishops and declared that 'God was in Lincolnshire, for those was good lads'.⁷¹ The reformist clergy, with vicegerent Cromwell, maintained the pressure on the Catholic faction, sending pointed letters warning of the danger of unlicensed, papist preaching. Hugh Latimer toured his diocese, exhorting the keeping of the King's Injunctions, and urging the reading of the English Bible. Richard Grafton wrote to Thomas Cromwell, suggesting that an injunction ordering one English Bible per parish would help matters: 'It would terminate the schism that is in the realm, some calling themselves of the Old and some of the New; for now should we all follow one God, one book, and one learning.'⁷²

Although Henry allowed considerable vacillation in the sphere of religious doctrine, where financial gain was concerned there would be no backtracking. Despite the considerable strife caused, the dissolution of the monasteries continued unabated. Indeed throughout this period of unrest it managed to thrive, unchecked. Realising their imminent destruction, and presumably 'encouraged' by Cromwell (who carried out his own personal investigation between 1537 and 1539), a large number of the monasteries surrendered 'willingly' to the King. Between 1537 and 1540 158 abbeys and 30 nunneries were dissolved. With the project thriving by 1537, the following year Cromwell initiated the suppression of the friaries. The 'more or less voluntary surrender' of the greater houses may be explained by the fact that 'resistance involved the anger of the prince and liability to the penalties of elastic treasons and of a *praemunire* which no one could understand.'⁷³ The Franciscan house in Bedford, whose value had in 1535 been calculated at £3 13s. 2d., collapsed under the pressure. The religious men signed their own humiliating dissolution document on 3 October 1538: 'Forasmuch as we the warden and friars of the house of Saint Francis in Bedford ... do profoundly consider that the perfection of Christian living doth not consist in dumb ceremonies, wearing of grey coat ... ducking and becking and girding ourselves with a girdle full of knots, and other like pharisaical

⁷¹L&P, vol. 12, pt. 2, [221, 530, 436].

⁷²*Ibid.*, [App. 35].

⁷³A.F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, p. 305.

ceremonies.⁷⁴ Joye's old enemies were suffering: Dr. Raynes 'the notorious Chancellor to the Bishop of Lincoln was murdered with staves' on the second day of the Pilgrimage of Grace uprising.⁷⁵ In the aftermath, the prior of Newnham denied that Raynes had left a box of gold with him for safe keeping, and subsequently faced charges of fraud.⁷⁶ In 1535 Newnham Priory had been valued at £284 12s. 11 3/4d when its prior, 14 canons and two lay brothers submitted to the Royal Supremacy. The next step was its dissolution.

III

By the time Cromwell set his sights on the friaries, the strain on the religious practices of the laity had been maintained for over three years. The increase in the vehemence and inflammatory quality of the sermons resulted from the frustration and anger of both traditionalists and reformers. Conservatives employed an atavistic use of holy water and other ceremonials, reinstating their apotropaic value. Roman Catholic curates neglected to refer to the usurped authority of Rome in their sermons, and stubbornly warned people against the heretical English books of Scripture.⁷⁷ State nervousness concerning opposition to the Royal Supremacy persisted. In addition Henry had finally gained on 12 October 1537 his longed-for son and heir, whose presence generated further distress about the line of succession. Under pressure to ensure peace within their dioceses, the bishops issued forceful injunctions to their clergy.⁷⁸ Anxiety at the nation-wide unrest was increased when stubborn Catholicism was found merged with seditious intent: in April three people were executed in York; among the sentenced was one Mabel Brigge, 'that fasted a black fast to an abominable intent against your Highness and the duke of Norfolk.'⁷⁹ Discernible throughout this time is a growing sense of paranoia and insecurity, manifested in the rampant informing on disobedient subjects. This had been on the increase since 1534, when Cromwell instigated an operation to 'appoint the most

⁷⁴VCH: *Bedford*, vol. 1, p. 395.

⁷⁵S.M. Harrison, *The Pilgrimage of Grace in the Lake Counties*, p. 87.

⁷⁶See *L&P*, vol. 11, [1407].

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 13, pt. 1, [604].

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, [615, 881, 1106, 1112, 23].

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 12, pt. 2, [705].

assured and substantial gentlemen in every shire to be sworn of the King's Council, with orders to apprehend all who speak or preach in favour of the Pope's authority ... [and] To have substantial persons in every town to discover all who speak or preach thus.'⁸⁰ The records are scattered with faithful parishioners exposing their Catholic curates, while bishops sought to secure their foothold in the new regime by proving their loyalty to Cromwell and the King, and therefore to the new religious dictates.⁸¹ No-one was considered beyond suspicion in this fraught era, and staunch reformers, like their rivals, were threatened with the taint of accusations of conservatism. Even the bishop of Rochester John Hilsey, an ardent iconoclast condemned as a heretic bishop by the pilgrims of Grace, wrote to Cromwell in August 1538 seeking permission to take down an image of the Virgin. He added that the act of iconoclasm would offer him the chance to clear himself of the rumour that he upheld the old superstitions.⁸² The bishops of Chichester and Norwich wrote similarly, professing their loyalty to Cromwell and asking the vicegerent not to believe the slander of their enemies.⁸³

Hilsey's approved act of iconoclasm was by no means an isolated event. The pilgrimage shrines were focused upon as an easy area of attack. In exposing false images and relics, the reformist propagandists could execrate the deceitful ways of the papist religion, thereby strengthening by implication their argument against the corrupt and immoral religious houses. In October Hugh Latimer busied himself with 'boulting and sifting the blood of Haylles', examining its workings so that he could expose its fraudulent status to the people.⁸⁴ But despite their concerted efforts, the reformers had failed to persuade the vast majority of the need to abolish the monasteries, shrines and images. No-one would deny that there was abuse within the structure of the church, but few held that it warranted the complete abolishment of so much of the laity's daily religion. The brethren had not effected a swift, confident upheaval; the oscillation during the 1530s, coupled with the fear of the Anabaptist heresy, left the people calling out for a return to their

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, [420].

⁸¹ See *ibid.*, vol. 13, pt. 1, [1111, 1150, 1492], pt. 2, [361, 606, 1202].

⁸² *Ibid.*, pt. 2, [224]. Hilsey had been responsible for exposing the workings of the Blood of Hailes and the Rood of Boxley.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. 13, pt. 2, [278, 339], vol. 14, pt. 1, [526, 865].

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 13, pt. 2, [709].

traditional religion. By June Miles Coverdale and Richard Grafton, working in Paris on a draft of (what became known as) the Great Bible, informed Cromwell that they were 'daily threatened'.⁸⁵ By July the vicegerent remarked that the king's injunctions 'have been very remissly observed, and the people remain in their old ignorance'.⁸⁶ On 5 September 1538 Cromwell issued his second set of injunctions. Following Grafton's suggestion of the previous year, there was to be provided in every parish church an English Bible, which parishioners were to be encouraged to read. The emphasis on lay religious education was reaffirmed, and the evangelical duties of the clergy were set forth. The Injunctions took a harsher view of the images: all venerated statues and shrines were to be removed, and henceforth no candles could be lit before those remaining.⁸⁷ The churches were to be darkened.

Again, the parishes failed to conform to such radical measures, and the state was forced to disseminate reinforcing statements in an attempt to ensure the implementation of the Injunctions. Henry released a proclamation on 16 November which captures what had grown into a schizophrenic attitude to religion in England.⁸⁸ Echoing Convocation's list of *mala dogmata* from 1536, the contentious opinions spread 'by wrong teaching and naughty printed books' were condemned, specifically in the books 'set forth with privilege'. The importing of English books was now forbidden except with special licence, and every translation was to bear the author's name. All English scriptural translations were to go before a Privy Councillor or bishop before printing. With the exception of the formal disputations of the Divinity Schools, all debate on the Blessed Sacrament was outlawed. Laudable ceremonies such as the use of holy water, holy bread, creeping to the cross, the Candlemas procession, and the churching of women were to be observed until Henry decided otherwise. For fear that other clerics should follow the example of the few, and marry 'without a common consent of his Highness', married priests were to be deprived. Henceforth they could not 'minister any sacrament, or other ministry mystical: ne have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit', and were 'to be reputed as lay-persons.'⁸⁹

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pt. 1, [1249].

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, [1304].

⁸⁷ See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 406-8.

⁸⁸*L&P*, vol. 13, pt. 2, [848].

⁸⁹J. Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer*, p. 98.

In these respects, the document constituted 'a devastating set-back for the reformed cause as it had been promoted by Cromwell and his circle.'⁹⁰ However, the draft corrected by Henry ended at that point, but the issued document goes further. Two clauses were added. The first stressed the need to instruct the laity in the true meaning of the ceremonials, and warned against popish abuses. The clergy were ordered to preach the Word, and explain the difference between necessary rites and church ceremonies. The second clause effectively destroyed the cult of St. Thomas Becket, who was no longer to be considered a saint, but was instead to be denounced as a treasonous papist. His images were to be removed, his festival was to go unobserved, and services in his name were to be razed out of church books. The words of Imperyall Majestye in *King Johan* take their resonance from this clause. Sedicyon is told:

But Tomas Becket ye exalted without reason
 Because that he dyed for the Churches wanton lyberte,
 That the priestes myght do all kyndes of inyquyte
 And be unponnyshed. (Act 2, ll. 2597-30)

The dual character of the voice of authority had never been so clearly delineated, and the conflicting signals emanating from the proclamation produced diverse reactions. Reformist bishops took the Injunctions even further, while conservatives played them down using neutral language. The day after the Injunctions were issued, Nicolas Partridge wrote to Henry Bullinger, informing him: 'Religion is making good progress among us. The King had sent persons to preach the truth in all parts of England', adding that 'the flames of purgatory are extinguished among us.'⁹¹ The official legislation of this time, like the Bible, could be made to argue any position. Only the Anabaptists could not 'wrest' it to their defence: on 22 November a royal proclamation unambiguously ordered all of them to quit the realm within ten days.⁹²

⁹⁰E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 411.

⁹¹*L&P*, vol. 13, pt. 2, [373].

⁹²*Ibid.*, [890]. This enforced exile sprang from the belief that Anabaptists went "about with their craftye and subtyll reasons and textes of the scriptures, halfe alleged, to perswade the ignoraunt people that they are not bounde to obey temporall rulers & maiestrates." H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, fol. B4.

By February 1539 Thomas Cromwell dared 'A Summary declaration of the faith, uses and observations in England.'⁹³ The document set forth the Christian belief of the English people, stressing how obedient and faithful everyone was, observing correctly all the fasts and laudable ceremonies. It explained that the monasteries valued at under £200 had been suppressed because of their vicious living. Images were declared to be tolerated by the king, except where they encouraged idolatry. The *Summary* went into detail concerning the fraudulent shrines and the false prophets exposed over the decade (the Holy Maid of Kent received a special mention), and referred to 'Thomas More the jester, Fisher of Rochester, the glorious hypocrite, both the champions of superstition and abuse...' Cromwell was becoming increasingly blunt in his opposition to traditional observances. There was also plans to forbid all but Oxford and Cambridge graduates to preach or expound upon the Scripture. The movement to end the discord through negative, constrictive measures continued: Cranmer issued an injunction on 13 July, to be published in all churches, ordering that the people were to study nothing but the plain text of the Bible; if questions should arise, they were to resort to authorised preachers only.⁹⁴

The proclamation of 16 November demonstrated how Henry and his reformist ministers were parting company. The official legislation bears the stamp of Cromwell and Cranmer in its reformist slant, but Henry's position had (for various reasons) never been made explicitly clear. The demise of Anne Boleyn had freed Henry from any pressure in matters of religion, and had dampened his working partnership with the Germans. The Lutherans involved in the drawing up of the Wittenberg Articles refused Henry's repeated requests to come to England. By the time of their arrival in 1539, relations between the two had cooled considerably. The Germans arrived with their Thirteen Articles in May, and left in September having made no headway. The pattern was repeated the following year: they arrived in April at royal invitation, then returned home in the summer after another unsuccessful mission. It had suited Henry's purpose to open and sustain communication with the Continental reformers; in the matters of his divorce, his search for a new bride, and his struggle against Rome it remained in his best interests

⁹³*L&P*, vol. 14, pt. 1, [402].

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, [868, 1264].

to keep all options open. By January however, he was facing the threat of a joint attack from France, Scotland and the forces of the Emperor, united in defence of the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁵ For Henry, engaging in a more prominent Catholicism could only improve his reputation. (It should be pointed out, however, that there is nothing to suggest that this was anything but his true belief). The death of the uncrowned Jane Seymour on 24 October 1537, 12 days after giving birth, may well have been considered as yet another sign from a displeased God. By February several Lutheran preachers had revoked their heresies, certain books of the new learning were recalled and withdrawn, and people began to hope that 'with the grace of God the Faith Catholic shall be heard...'⁹⁶ The tide was turning.

Miles Coverdale wrote to Cromwell on 5 March 1539, complaining that the church at Henley had kept their Becket window, candlesticks and other forbidden popish fancies 'whereby the simple people believe that they will again be allowed to set up candles to images and that the old fashion will return.'⁹⁷ Only two years previous the English Catholic laity, suffocating from the uncertainty unleashed by the Visitations, had chosen to sell the church jewels rather than deliver them up to Cromwell's visitors.⁹⁸ Now the people were hopeful of the reinstatement of their religion, and defined the reformation as 'a green learning that will fade away'.⁹⁹ Henry himself crept to the cross on Good Friday 1539, and it was reported that he daily used 'all laudable ceremonies, which no-one in London dare speak against.'¹⁰⁰ Although Continental reformers such as Conrad Pellican received favourable news from England - reporting that ceremonies were tolerated but explained, the sacrificial nature of the mass had been rejected, and the principal supporters of popery had been removed - such accounts bordered on the delusional.¹⁰¹ The king had always affirmed his belief in transubstantiation, and the principal supporters of popery were in fact the commons of England.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, [158].

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, [331].

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, [444].

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 12, pt. 1, [1316].

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 14, pt. 2, [796]. See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 418: "All over the country there were examples of service books unreformed, or reformed half-heartedly: clergy and churchwardens erased the Pope's or Becket's name by lightly gluing strips of paper over them."

¹⁰⁰*L&P*, vol. 14, pt. 1, [967].

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, [466].

This rose-tinted view of religion in England was shared by Robert Crowley, who wrote around this time *Of Obstinate Papists*:

I wolde they were/ wyth theyr father the Pope,
 For whylse they be in England,/ thei do but lyue in hope.
 And except they myght get/ the Bible boke burned,
 Into dispeyre theyr hope/ wyl shortly be turned.¹⁰²

The survival instinct of even the reformist bishops discouraged them from stating their beliefs, not for fear of Henry, but of Thomas Cromwell. The bishop of Rochester John Hilsey, one of the prime movers of the Paul's Cross sermons in these years, (and therefore of 'the most important vehicle of persuasion used by the government'),¹⁰³ wrote to the vicegerent on 23 July 1539 that when he 'or any of his preach there, they are so untruly reported that they dare not preach any more there.' Due to a lack of volunteers, Hilsey was to deliver a sermon there the following Sunday, 'with more fear than ever he did in his life'.¹⁰⁴ As it turned out, the bishop did not preach as arranged, having been taken ill unexpectedly...

It was in the midst of this nervous, paranoid atmosphere that Parliament, which had not met for two years, was called, and opened 28 April 1539. Audeley spoke, stressing that the king's priority was to resolve the diversity of opinion in religious matters, and a committee was appointed to formulate the basic tenets of the English faith. The elected commission was representative of the schism: reformers Cranmer, Latimer, Goodrich and Capon were expected to struggle towards a concord with Lee, Tunstall, Clerk and Aldrich. The Parliament should have resolved, reassured, and implemented with strength. Instead, 'Far more than the Reformation Parliament or the Parliament of 1536, this meeting was poorly organized, inadequately prepared for, divisive, full of opposition to government measures.'¹⁰⁵ The result was legislated on 10 June, with the passing of 'An Act abolishing diversity in Opinions', better known as the Act of Six Articles.

¹⁰²'Of Obstinate Papistes', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 45.

¹⁰³M. Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons*, p. 20. For Hilsey's importance see S. Wabuda, 'Setting forth the Word of God: Archbishop Cranmer's Early Patronage of Preachers', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, pp. 81-2.

¹⁰⁴*L&P*, vol. 14, pt. 1, [1297].

¹⁰⁵S.E. Lehmborg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII*, p. 83.

The articles tackled several long-evaded issues, and decided in all cases for the traditional position of the Catholic Church. Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, the Articles affirmed that the Real Presence of Jesus took the place of the substance of the bread and wine, leaving only their accidents remaining. Communion in both kinds was deemed unnecessary. Private masses and auricular confession were both declared meet and necessary. Apart from the support for transubstantiation, most devastating for the reformers were the articles on vows and marriage. Vows of chastity and widowhood were proclaimed perpetual, and it was emphatically stated that priests could not marry; those who had were to spurn their wives by 12 July.

The reformers were stunned. The Archbishop of Canterbury, married since 1532, was finally forced to cast off his wife, who had been kept in seclusion for seven years. Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton chose to resign their bishoprics rather than implement the decrees. Despite the assured report that 'the late Bisshops of Salisbury and of Worcestre had an hundred merkes pension vnder the Kynges broade seale', there is no concrete evidence that this was ever more than rumour.¹⁰⁶ The state had decided in favour of the romish ways of Antichrist, and the reformers were without recourse. Significantly, even a reformer such as George Constantine thought that much of their suffering was self-wrought: 'The cowardnes of our Bisshops to tell trowth and stande bye it, while they might be hearde, and the covetousnes of our visitors. For in all our visitations we have had no thinge reformed but our purses.'¹⁰⁷

George Joye broke his silence, and took up his pen once more. His voice of condemnation cried out against the reinstatement of the popish

¹⁰⁶G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 56. However, when being examined on 14 May 1546 Hugh Latimer refused to answer the questions posed, saying "he doubted whether it were the King's pleasure that he should be examined, and therefore desired to speak with the King first; he had been deceived that way before, when he left his bishopric, the lord Crumwel persuading him it was the King's pleasure that he should resign, "which his Majesty after denied and pitied his condition"". *L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [823].

¹⁰⁷G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 59. Both reformers and conservative Roman Catholics were in agreement on this point: "The Abbaies went doune because of there pride,/ And made the more covetus riche for a tyme.." Douce MS 365, fol. 95, *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 202.

ways: 'Belyk Cristes chirche of Englund hathe gretely erred unto this last blak parlement...' ¹⁰⁸

holdinge yet fast in their honowr the Popes thorney tradicions and false religion diuiding the peples hertis from god into a thousande wais/ workes/ worshipinge/ merites/ saintes to pray with/ or for us (I can not tell whether) some sent to the Bisshops boke for their saluacion/ some to the Actes of the perlement to seke oute their articles of the Popes faith ... but none do thei sende to the holye Byble/ albeit under a colowr it be layd in euery parissh Church and the curate which ether with an euill wille or els can skant spel it/ commanded to reade it. ¹⁰⁹

Distrustful of the government effort to supply the laity of England with English scripture, and disillusioned with the oscillation in matters of doctrine over the previous four years, Joye's cynicism and lack of faith in the state of England are new, and disturbing. Although he began writing soon after the Act of the Six Articles, his tone is already one of bitter weariness, as though aware of imminent exile. If the new articles are true, he asks, then why have they been revealed only now 'in this new blak parlement unto Wynchester and to his dronken prowde crownes of Ephraim the bisshops'. ¹¹⁰ Although the Duke of Norfolk is afforded a brief glance, the focus is centred upon Stephen Gardiner, Joye's new nemesis. He describes how Gardiner 'so fyercely fyghteth and incenseth the kynge and his nobles agenst maryed preistes'. ¹¹¹ The issue of clerical marriage was of course, especially close to Joye's heart. He asked: 'What else is this acte or lawe of preistes chastite but the very stronge senewe to holde faste and to kepe still all the reste of the hole impiete and mischeif of the bisshop of Rome?' ¹¹² George Constantine viewed the legislation from an alternative perspective, pointing out the political ramifications of the Articles: 'And alas for this laste acte, how can the Germaynes be

¹⁰⁸*Defence*, A7v.

¹⁰⁹*Unite and Scisme*, A3v-A4r.

¹¹⁰*Defence*, A7r.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, B8r.

¹¹²*A very godly defense*, D8r. Robert Crowley took a similar view in a speech before parliament: "They were not congregated in hys name, but rather agaynste hym and hys doctrine, for he hym selfe is dear loue, & (as his Apostle Iohn writeth) wher this dear loue is not, ther is not he. Thys thyng is well proued by theyr proceadynges in the same Parliament. For they established Articles euen directly agaynst Gods worde, forbedyng to mary, and commaundyng to put asunder those that God hath ioyned together." R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 170.

our frendes, when we conclude them heretiques in our actes of Parleaments.'¹¹³

Ostensibly, the Act of Six Articles would put an end to the religious strife raging in England. But the heresy of the reformers had been given too much leeway over the previous decade; fostered among an elite few scholars, merchants and nobles, it had in the 1530s spread out among the commons of England, and inextricably blended with jingoistic issues of national independence, pride in the vernacular language, and zealous patriotism. The king's unintelligible loyalties had the effect of so dividing 'the hertis of the peple that thei coude nether depende onely nor wait upon the onely one God and his lawes/ nor yet agree amonge themselues in any ciuile societe.'¹¹⁴ From the outset the reformers were looking for ways around the declaration. George Constantine pointed out: 'th acte of Parleamente ys not that men shuld other be examined or subscribe to the same, for it requireth no sich thinge, for it ys of authorytie it self withowt any mans subscription.' Therefore unless explicitly required to submit to the legislation, the reformers could continue safely in their beliefs. By 22 August men were relieved that there was no commission as yet out for the Act of the Six Articles, as this hinted that 'there wilbe a moderation in it.'¹¹⁵ There were rumours that Robert Barnes had boldly preached against the Six Articles on Lady Day (when in fact he was not even in the country).¹¹⁶ Although the Act represented a blow for the brethren in its content and in the ensuing loss of Latimer and Shaxton, nevertheless Vicegerent Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer remained. The legislation could be seen as one more addition to the contradictory oscillation of the parliament:

For the lawes concerning the welthe/ gouernance/ and good order of the chirche/ they are now fermely decreed and set faste/ and to morowe unmade and marred agene/ they ar treated and retracted/ acted and unacted/ then thei reason for the reformacion of the chirche/ and of the maner of the reformacion therof/ whether this maner or maye ought to be directly or undirectely/ tolerable/ iuste or absolutely/ aperte/ playne/ or by colour couertly brought to passe. And it is so subtyly disputed and so craftely handled/ that there is no maner nor mesure/ non

¹¹³G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 61.

¹¹⁴*Unite and Scisme*, A2v.

¹¹⁵G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 58.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 57.

ende/ nor no certaynte/ forme nor fasshion of their wauering lawes/ inconstante
actes/ crafty counsels/ forewritinges/ afterwritinges/ opinions/ doctrines/
sentences and myndes.¹¹⁷

The reformers' hopes increased with the rumour that Henry would marry into the family of German Protestant princes. With the Emperor and the French king becoming all too familiar, Cromwell had encouraged Henry to form an alliance with an alternative power; the Anne of Cleves fiasco was the result. The brethren could also take heart at the success of the Dissolution. Twelve of the more powerful houses held out, and soon found themselves involved in charges of treason, their abbots accused of complicity in the rebellion, the property treated as private estate and declared forfeit to the Crown. George Joye's home town of Bedford was greatly altered. On 2 January 1540 Newnham Abbey surrendered to Henry VIII.¹¹⁸ John Gostwick, like so many others, bought up the monastic lands which he had been instrumental in dissolving. On 3 March 1540 a new grant was drawn up, for which he paid £1404 5s. 10d.. Detailed among his new property was the manor of Ravensden, the rectories and advowsons of the parish church in Renhold, and three manors in Renhold, among which must have been Joye's family home.¹¹⁹ Within 20 days the last abbey surrendered, by which point over 200 greater houses and 200 friaries had been acquired.

Henry and Anne of Cleves were married on 6 January. A letter dated 24 February informed Henry Bullinger that the state of England 'is much more sound since the marriage of the Queen, who is a pious woman, by whom, it is hoped, the Gospel will be diffused. There is now no persecution, except of the victuallers ... Meanwhile the Word is powerfully preached by one Barnes and his fellow ministers. Books of every kind may be safely exposed to sale...'¹²⁰ The initial optimism of the reformers was extinguished almost immediately. Five days later Barnes preached at Paul's Cross against Stephen Gardiner; Henry called both to dispute the matter before him. It may be that George Joye contributed to Barnes' defence, for he later wrote: 'I was by Barnes choise his scolemaister at the which tyme we entreted the article of onely faith

¹¹⁷*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, A2v.

¹¹⁸*L&P*, vol. 15, [11].

¹¹⁹H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Gostwicks of Willington', *BHR*, vol. 36, p. 70.

¹²⁰*L&P*, vol. 15, [259].

iustifieth'.¹²¹ The king forced Barnes to submit, recant his error, and publicly apologise at the Cross with his fellows Jerome and Garret.¹²² Significantly, Cromwell remained silent, his influence finally spent. By the end of March one conservative boasted that 'his Highness is of such sort that I think all Christendom shall shortly say the king of England is the only perfect of good faith.'¹²³ Francis I received encouraging reports of Henry's action against 'certain seditious Anabaptists and adherents to the errors of the Germans'; Barnes, Garrett and Jerome were sent to the tower; and the Parliament called for 20 April was to 'finish the affairs about religion.' The French Ambassador Marillac foretold the upheaval: 'Within few days there will be seen in this country a great change in many things; which this King begins to make in his ministers, recalling those he had rejected and degrading those he had raised. Cromwell is tottering...'¹²⁴ Sure enough, Thomas Cromwell was attainted as 'the most detestable traitor that has ever been seen' and as 'a detestable heretic'.¹²⁵ Yet still there was no conclusion. By 1 June rumour held that Barnes was soon to be released and that Latimer was to get his bishopric back; 'Meanwhile the state of religion remains in this unhappiness, the bishops in envy and irreconcilable division and the people in doubt what to believe'.¹²⁶ Then, on 10 June Cromwell was arrested and taken to the Tower. The official account, to be spread to the Christian princes, was as follows:

The substance was that the King, wishing by all possible means to lead back religion to the way of truth, Cromwell, as attached to the German Lutherans, had always favoured the doctors who preached such erroneous opinions and hindered those who preached the contrary, and that recently, warned by some of his principal servants to reflect that he was working against the intention of the King and of the Acts of Parliament, he had betrayed himself and said he hoped to suppress the old preachers and have only the new, adding that the affair would soon be brought to such a pass that the King with all his power could not prevent it, but rather his own party would be so strong that he would make the King descend to the new doctrines even if he had to take arms against him.¹²⁷

¹²¹*Refutation*, B1r.

¹²²*L&P*, vol. 15, [306, 334, 411].

¹²³*Ibid.*, [429].

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, [485, 486].

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, [498 (i.60)].

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, [737].

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, [766].

Cromwell was ideal as scapegoat, as Wolsey had been before him. The marriage between Anne of Cleves and Henry was declared null and void by the joint Convocations on 9 July. On 28 July Henry and Catherine Howard were married, and Thomas Cromwell was beheaded. His possessions had already been delivered to the king at Hampton Court palace the previous day. Two days later six men were executed: recusants Thomas Abel, Edward Powell and Richard Fetherston suffered for their popish treason; Robert Barnes, William Jerome and Thomas Garrett were burned at Smithfield for their German heresy.¹²⁸ England had alienated both Catholics and Lutherans alike. The French Ambassador wrote: 'It was wonderful to see adherents to two opposing parties dying at the same time, and it gave offence to both ... Yet the Government ... will not have either the one or the other, but insists on their keeping what is commanded, which is so often altered that it is difficult to understand what it is.'¹²⁹ Phillip Melanchthon pronounced: 'Let us cease to sing the praises of the English Nero.'¹³⁰

By 1539 Joye had realised the nature of the situation: 'Trowth it is that Huldrike Zwinglius sayd. In blode is the gospell planted, wyth blode therefore must it be conserued and defended.'¹³¹ Martin Luther's fear that Henry 'cared little for this learning but meant to make a religion for himself' had proved all too true.¹³² Speaking of Gardiner and Tunstall, Constantine remarked in August 1539:

But these two Bisshops if they were as well lerned in Gods worde as they be in the Popes law, and as earnest to set the worde forth as they be traditions, they were bisshops in deade; but alas by them, and soch, we have no thinge, in a manner but *translatio Imperii*, so that they make of the kynge as it were a Pope. And dispensations be sold now dearer by the half then they were in the popish tyme.¹³³

¹²⁸See *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 438.

¹²⁹*L&P*, vol. 15, [953].

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, [985].

¹³¹*Present Consolation*, B4v.

¹³²*L&P*, vol. 14, pt. 2, [379].

¹³³G. Constantine, *Memorial*, p. 63. The view recurs under Elizabeth. In a letter to Bullinger dated 3 September 1566, Beza writes "the papacy was never abolished in that country, but rather transferred to the sovereign". Quoted in H. Chadwick, 'Royal ecclesiastical supremacy', in B. Bradshaw & E. Duffy (eds.), *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation*, p. 201 (footnote 79).

By 1540 Henry was pope over a discontented people, facing political enemies on all sides armed with the justification of a holy war. In August Marillac announced: 'Thus a climax of evil has arisen and all sorts of unhappiness are registered in England.'¹³⁴ The power vacuum left by Cromwell, like that of the Roman Pope, was absorbed under Henry's aegis. No English monarch had ever had such power. The battle to win the king's ear was beginning in earnest.

¹³⁴L&P, vol. 15, [954].

Chapter 7

The end of all doctrine and study is good counsel...

Thomas Elyot¹

There was still time remaining in which to win the king's ear. The 1530s had proven that innovations in the clerical sphere were largely dependant on political expediency; Henry VIII's master plan for the *Ecclesia Anglicana* seemed to stretch little farther than announcing himself as its absolute ruler, entitled to its land and wealth. The reformist cause had been allowed time to gather a significant following, loyalties it would have been without had the state responded either decisively or quickly in response to the religious discord. While enjoying neither security nor legitimacy, the reformers had thus far been able to boast the support of key religious and state figures. By 1540 however, with the loss of Boleyn, Cromwell, Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, the initial zeal of the brethren had transmuted into grim determination. The Catholics were at present enjoying the favour of the king, but as the previous decade had demonstrated, his religious policy was certainly open to suggestion. In many ways, these years marked the last hope for the first generation English reformers.

I

The pressures brought to bear upon the reformers, delayed somewhat in the immediate wake of the Act of Six Articles (to the relief of George Constantine), were unleashed with the fall of Cromwell. With the long-awaited legislation firmly deciding in favour of traditional religion, the time had come for enforcement. The bishops renewed their efforts to silence the heated debate continuing throughout the realm. By spring 1541 Henry Bullinger was told that there was not left in England 'a single preacher who, out of a pure heart and with faith unfeigned, is seeking the glory of God.'² Certainly the Catholic backlash had taken a hard line on contentious sermonising: Bishop Bonner's injunctions of 22 October 1540 suppressing unlicensed preachers were by no means unique, and Henry

¹T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governor*, p. 238.

²*L&P*, vol. 16, [578]. Letter by Richard Hilles.

himself had prohibited the once-favoured Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Shaxton from preaching or coming within three 'German' miles of Oxford, Cambridge, or the city of London.³ These prohibitions could be seen as divine punishment; in 1559 one preacher asked: 'What plague did God threaten greater against a rebellious people, than that hee would take away from them their true Prophets? When were peoples sinnes so ripe to procure vengeance, as when their preachers were dumb dogs and could not bark?'⁴ The letter received by Bullinger went on to tell of three burnings - further repercussions of the Supper controversy - and lamented the persecution of the brethren.⁵ The author found the fault within the people of England: 'Our sins have doubtless deserved this change.'⁶

The deaths of Barnes and Cromwell must have extinguished any remnant of hope that the surge in traditional religion was merely a momentary weakness of Henry's. George Joye fled his country for a second time. In addition to being an outspoken heretic, one of the 'conterfeyte and bastarde Gospellers',⁷ Joye's status as a married priest left him vulnerable to the dictates of the Six Articles, despite the moderation in 1540 of the death penalty set forth in 1539. From the Continent, Joye decried the tyranny of the bishops who 'so blodely raygned' in the parliament of 1539, legislating 'that bothe man and wyfe fownde to gither shuld be hanged. But the seclare sorte yet more merciful/ the next yere folowing made it but the losse of all theyr goodes and perpetuall presonement/ if the iusste howsbonde had accompanied with his lawfull wyfe/ oh blodye spiritualtye/ whiche shuldest be an ensample of clemencye/ lenyte/ and mercye!'⁸ The prime example of the 'mad moody ministers' of the Roman Church was of course the bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner, who provided for Joye certain proof of the active,

³See *ibid.*, [186]. Dated 22 October. Having learned that 'many persons not duly qualified for the office of preaching do daily preach', Bonner banned all from preaching without his speical licence, except within their own churches.

⁴Sermon by Edward Dering, J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 74.

⁵*L&P*, vol. 16, [578]. The three- who were executed 3 May at Southwark - are detailed as: a French groom of Anne of Cleves, an Italian painter and an Englishman.

⁶Hilles goes on: "Those on whose support we depended for purity of doctrine have been removed; for we have placed too much confidence in individuals, and now God has taken them away..." See also Nicholas Ridley's comment that "it may be perceived, how England has deserved this just plague of God." 'A Treatise Lamenting the State of England', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 147.

⁷J. Bullingham, *A Notable Oration*, C1v.

⁸*A very godly defense*, A4v.

relentless workings of Antichrist.⁹ It was to Gardiner that Joye ascribed the bulk of the blame for his deportation:

I am by you drouen out of my natyue lande from my frendes to wander and trauell in a strange contrye, the more is my heuines and sorowe and payne especially in my syknes & olde age: wherof I may thanke you & you popisse impes persecutinge the gospell and diuisinge your ungodly and uncristen actes, inhibicions, enstructions condempnacions and articles wherby ye haue & yet make many a pore man to smarte.¹⁰

As to when Joye realised that flight was once again his only option, one can only speculate. Certainly, he was writing in 1539, but did not publish until 1541, by which time he had returned to the town of Antwerp. In his *Refutation* (1546), Joye writes of Barnes's recantation before Gardiner and his subsequent death with the authority of an eye witness:

But this is plaine: openly he asked you forgeuenes at saint Maries spittel, whiche ye gaue it him in an outward signe ... And he standinge at the stake asked the shryue the cause of his death and he saide he knew it not. And then last of al, doctor Barnes as one suspecting only you, sayd these wordes. If doctour Steuen bishop of Winchester be the causer of my deathe, oure lorde my god, for christes sake forgeue it him, as I wolde my selfe be forgeuen. (B2v)

If Joye was indeed present, then his self-imposed exile probably began in the latter half of 1540, which dating would allow him time to prepare his first text in six years for publication in April 1541. However, it may be that Joye had left the country some time earlier, for in his tract against Joye, Stephen Gardiner appears puzzled at the man's in-depth knowledge of events, and wonders 'who toulde tales out of scoole.'¹¹

If the parliaments of the 1530s began to administer civic reform on a nation-wide scale, it was in part motivated by the potentially seditious unrest fomenting on the same scale. One wrote:

for we are in dyvision
bothe for reght and religion;

⁹'The Image of Both Churches' in *Select Works of John Bale*, H. Christmas (ed.), p. 260.

¹⁰*Refutation*, E7v-E8r.

¹¹S. Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles*, A2r.

and, as some saythe,
we stagger in our faythe.¹²

Some of the resistance may have been an instinctive reaction to the overwhelming, contradictory legislation enacted: 'Who can tel us all the actes of parlementes/ ordinances/ and institucions of counsells and bisshops in their owen diocesees? By which/ all the people of God hath ben so combred/ snarled/ tyed and perplexed...'¹³ Poverty and plague thrived in a symbiotic relationship, which was seen to reflect the moral turpitude of the England. Robert Crowley remarked: 'Wel, brother, these be greate plages, & it behoueth the synnes to be greate that haue deserued these so great and intollerable plages at Goddes hande.'¹⁴ Meanwhile the common people, crippled by taxation, were forced to witness the treasures of the churches, shrines and religious houses, into which they had invested heavily, transferred to the royal treasury. Even in the midst of the endeavour to quieten the realm, Henry demanded of laity and clergy further taxes, which were legislated concurrently with his divorce from Anne of Cleves. Significantly, the north of England was exempted. The bishops' 'offer' of money to their monarch, in thanks for freeing them from the pope, was greeted with derision by the reformers: 'As if they had ever been, when subject to the Pope, under such a yoke as they now are, when all their property, and life itself, are at the King's disposal! In like manner the laity made a voluntary grant of this money. Everything is given freely and voluntarily in this country!'¹⁵

Royal policy had failed to satisfy the reformers, but neither were the traditionalists content, for the state continued to sanction in various ways the heretical practices of radical reformers, and still failed to standardise religious practices. The feast days were yet again juggled during the summer of 1541: some were restored, others abrogated. Ambassador Marillac wrote to Francis I on 11 May:

Last year [when] they put to death those whom they had used as instruments to oust the monks and seize their revenues, they made several edicts about the bibles in the vulgar tongue, which are kept in all the churches, so that the people dared

¹²*Vox Populi Vox Dei*, *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 134-5.

¹³*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, A2v.

¹⁴'The Way to Wealth', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 135.

¹⁵*L&P*, vol. 16, pt. 1, [578].

no more read therein; now, eight days ago, they made a contrary edict upon the permission to read in the said bibles, which a few days before they had wished entirely taken away, with an express command to bishops and their commissaries to preach purely and simply the text of the Bible without admitting any doctors' opinion. It is not known whether this is in order to discover those who hold any opinion contrary to what has been prescribed, or whether it is to enter further than ever in the new doctrines of the Germans.¹⁶

The scepticism and paranoia of both clergy and laity were well-founded, for contradictory measures continued to be implemented, under orders of the state. In addition to the financial 'gifts' from his people, Henry tapped another resource. On 22 September the Archbishop of York was commanded by the Privy Council to remove all shrines throughout his province; the rest of the English bishops were commanded to do likewise in a royal circular of 4 October.¹⁷ Many reformers supported such practice in theory, since in the book of Daniel God himself 'commandeth to breke them al to poulder and to prophane their places & tabernacles euen to make them lothely & abominable'.¹⁸ However, there remained the issue of what was to be done with the valuable contents extracted. The stripping of the shrines was interpreted by traditionalists as a campaign of avarice: motivated by greed instead of religious zeal, Henry appropriated all the silver and gold intended for the glory of God, to himself. A description of the destruction of Thomas Becket's shrine hints at the wealth amassed by the Crown during this period of siege: 'The shrine was broken down, and carried away; the gold that was about it filling two chests, which were so heavy, that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church.'¹⁹ Margaret Aston remarks that the destruction of Becket's shrine in 1538 'greatly shocked Catholic Europe, [and] evidently continued to be a wonder-worker even in the telling, forty years after its jewels and ornaments had been carted off for Henry VIII's enrichment.'²⁰ Concern for the impoverished state of the country, and the royal and civic duty to aid the poor are themes which resound through the literature of this period. The opportunity offered by the wealth of the shrines was ignored; Henry had shirked his obligation:

¹⁶*Ibid.*, [820].

¹⁷*Ibid.*, [1192, 1233].

¹⁸*Daniel*, E3r.

¹⁹G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, vol. 1, p. 388.

²⁰M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, p. 316.

But who so sets his minde to spoyle and rob
 Although hee come by due discent from Brute,
 Hee is a chorle, ungentle, vile, and brute.²¹

The wealth from the monasteries, hospitals and shrines, went either directly to Henry, or was used by him in his dealings with the magnates of England, 'and as all men vnderstandes,/ bothe lordeshipes and landes/ are now in few mens handes...'²²

By October 1541, with rumours circulating of new measures to impoverish the people still further, all that Ambassador Marillac could say of 'the English Reformation' after over a decade of royal aggrandisement was that: 'The church service conforms entirely to the Latin church, except that the mention of the Pope is changed to the name and authority of this king'.²³ Henry VIII, self-proclaimed spiritual leader, had exploited the fervent faith of others, and transmuted their concern for religious purity into hard cash. Yet despite the motivation behind the royal sanction, the fact remained that the church bore the stamp of the reformers, and the brethren were manifest at all levels. In theory, if brought to the realisation of the error of his ways, the king could cease his back-tracking towards the more acceptable orthodox faith; the English Church could yet be one with the invisible true church of Christ. It was out of this charged atmosphere that Joye's polemic evolved.

Having left an England in turmoil, Joye lived as a fugitive on the Continent, 'the popes frendes so fiercelye hunted for us and our bokes and resisted oure laboures with so greuouse inhibicions condempnacions, banishmentes and burninges.'²⁴ Despite the relentless pressure bearing down upon him and his family, he succeeded in maintaining a sense of perspective on his suffering, and looked forwards to calmer days: 'behold how greuouse and bitter it is for .3. or .4. yeares continually/ & then aftir/

²¹*The Mirour for Magistrates*, fol. 125b.

²²'Vox Populi Vox Dei', *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 124. See also Robert Crowley's poem 'Of Almes Houses', which describes the replacement of an alms house with a 'lordely house', and the suffering which ensued: "Alas! ... / we are all turned oute,/ And lye and dye in corners,/ here & there aboute./ Men of great riches/ haue bought our dwellinge place..." R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 11.

²³*L&P*, vol. 16, pt. 1, [1297].

²⁴*Refutation*, A2v.

how god remitteth it for as long a ceason to rest us/ euen as it were the halcyon dayes to suffer his chirche to breathe a whyle: that she maye be the stronger ayenst the next storme & bataill folowinge.²⁵ The progression of Joye's work followed a logical course. By 1541 the several editions of the Bible had already absorbed and built upon his scriptural translations; there was little point in continuing in the same vein, considering the urgent need for an apologist of the reformed faith. Joye approached the problem from three angles: he concentrated on setting forth an account of the brethren's beliefs, both to educate the unlearned and to act as a guide for the converted; he attacked the arguments of the conservative clergy (in the form of Stephen Gardiner); and he made a bid to win the king's ear, to convince him of the imminent devastation which England would suffer if the papistical practices of the Roman Church were allowed to continue.

The first of his works to appear was *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper*, published by Catharine van Endhoven on 27 April 1541. That year appears to have been a particularly difficult one for Joye: Gardiner himself was in Antwerp on business, one of his priorities being to hunt out the English heretics. Joye believed himself to be the bishop's prime target.²⁶ Added to his concern for self-preservation was the difficulty of publication because there 'went forth a straighte commandement fro the emperour (by whose procurement I know not) but wel I weet, the byshop was in those partis ambassiator not longe before that no englyssh bokes be no more printed at Anwerpe ne in any other places of his nether partes of Germany.'²⁷ Despite the prohibition, Catharine van Endhoven published the blacklisted text on the banned subject of the Supper, and in the years that followed printed the majority of his controversial works.

²⁵*Daniel*, h2v. For a similar perspective see the dedicatory preface to the Geneva Bible (iiiiv): "yet the Church of Christ euen vnder the Crosse hath from the begynning of the worlde bene victorious, and shalbe euerlastingly. Trueth it is, that sometyme it semeth to be shadowed with a cloude, or driuen with a stormie persecution, yet suddenly the beames of Christ the sunne of iustice shine and bring it to light and libertie. If for a tyme it lie couered in ashes, yet it is quickly kindeled agayne by the wynde of Gods Spirit: though it seme drowned in the sea, or parched and pyned in the wildernes, yet God giueth euer good successe..."

²⁶See *Refutation*, A2v: "And I namely whom this byshoppe that yeare at Anwerpe diligentlie hunted for..."

²⁷*Ibid.*, A2r.

Joye and van Endhoven covered their tracks as well as possible: *A frutefull treatis of Baptyme and the Lordis Souper* appeared anonymously, claiming to have been printed at Grunning. Considering his preoccupation with the issue of clerical chastity, that his first tract printed was not a defence of married priests appears significant. Joye may have recognised the more urgent need of relating to the brethren the true manner of worship and celebration of the Supper, to guide them in their construction of a new liturgy and to encourage them to be steadfast in their faith. The religious confusion of previous years had taken its toll on the sacrament; one reformer remarked: 'wyth how lyttle reuerence it [the Supper] is ministred and receyued, euery Christen hert seeth & lamenteth.'²⁸ The sacramental theology of *Frutefull* continued in the vein of *Supper*, and was later complemented by *Our sauour Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche with many ceremonies* (1543). Joye's authorship of the text (although affirmed by Mozley, following John Bale), was doubted by Charles Butterworth, due to the mildness of tone and coherent organisation of the text: 'The work is quite unlike any known work of Joye's.'²⁹ In fact the style, structure, language and theology of *Frutefull* are all standard for the reformer, and there are strong echoes to be found in both *Supper*, *Subversion*, and *Our sauour Jesus Christ*.³⁰ Joye's respect for the sacrament of the altar and his recognition of its importance as an expression of unification are heavily stressed. His characteristic differentiation between the outward and the inward experiences of the communicant are expressed using the same vocabulary: with our 'exterior eyes' we see the sensible signs of the sacrament, but with 'the eyes of our faith we se as presently his body crucified & his blode shede & geuen us.'³¹ As in *Supper*, the body and blood of Christ were 'eaten & dronken by faith/ & not with our bodely tethe & fleshely mouthes'.(fol. B3) Similarly, annexed to Joye's emphasis on receiving the sacrament 'worthily' is the warning that to eat and drink

²⁸R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 156.

²⁹George Joye, p. 226.

³⁰See O. O'Sullivan, 'The Authorship of *The Supper of the Lord*', *Reformation*, vol. 2 (1997), pp. 207-32.

³¹*Frutefull*, C1r. See also *Refutation* (X8v): "And in the holy souper of the Lorde, dewly ministred, I remember and see with the eyes of my faith, in the breakinge and geuinge of the holy bread his bodi broken crucified & geuen me unto the remission of my sinnes", and *Supper* (G5v): "so that whyle euery man beholdeth with his corporal eye those sensible Sacramentes: the inward eye of hys fayeth may se and beleue stedfastly Christ offered and dyinge upon the crosse for his sinnes, howe his bodye was broken and his bloude shed for us, and hath gyuen hym selfe whole for us".

unworthily, was to eat and drink one's own damnation.³² Far from being 'unlike any work of Joye's', *Frutefull* bears the characteristic stamp of the reformer. The reasonable tone and the coherency of the work, supposedly incongruous with George Joye, are in fact manifest throughout his works.

Joye then turned his attentions to the defence of clerical marriage. In August 1541 two works were published which tackled the issue. *A very godly defense/ full of lerning/ defending the mariage of Preistes* was a translation of a tract by Melanchthon, and was addressed to Henry VIII. The other publication of this year had been written in 1539 in response to the Six Articles: *The defence of the Mariage of Preistes: Ayenst Steuen Gardiner*. Neither bore Joye's name: *A very godly defense* was ostensibly written by 'lewes beuchame' and printed 'at Lipse by Ubryght Hoff'; *Defence* claimed to be from the pen of 'James Sawtry', and printed 'at Auryk by Jan Troost'. The fictitious authors, printers and places of publication demonstrate the pressure bearing down on the brethren overseas, with the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp 'casting of his blodhowndes into euery cyttie and towne to hunte oute the christen simple sely flocke of chryst.'³³

Joye maintained the stance taken on clerical chastity in *Ashwell* throughout his career, approaching the debate from several positions. Essentially, he held that the Bible did not merely permit, but in fact commanded marriage to all those not 'endewed with the singlar gift to lyue withoute a wyfe'.³⁴ Their chastity was not invalidated, but was maintained through a loving Christian marriage. According to Joye, the clerical 'vowe of wyuelesse chastite is ungodly & agenst goddis precept/ wherfore it is vayne & of non effecte.'³⁵ Joye attributed the widespread resistance to the fact that clerical celibacy was in the best interests of the licentious clergy, the greedy nobility, and the narcissistic royalty. Priests would 'leuer (as experience techeth) kepe other mennis wyues abuse their daughters/ violate their maydens and haunte euery daye a new

³²*Frutefull*, mentions the unworthy eaters who "eating this holy souper eat & drinke their owne condemnacion"(D1v) and concludes "unto dethe & to their owne damnacion may thei eat and drinke it".(D3r) See also *Supper* (D1r), "For he that eatith and drinketh unworthely, eteth & drynketh his own dampnacion".

³³*Confuteth*, C6r.

³⁴*A very godly defense*, A6v-A7r.

³⁵*Ibid.*, B7v.

whore prodigiously polluted in al maner fylthines not to be spoken/ then to haue their owne lawfull wyues in chaste matrimone according to goddis holy institucion and ordinance'.³⁶ This arrangement suited the gentry: the estates of the nobility were protected from falling into clerical hands through marriage, and the royal court was provided with sycophantic satellites *gratis*. In prohibiting the rightful marriage of clerics, the work of the devil was being carried out, with dire consequences: 'And nowe euen this same forbiddinge of matrimony is not onely the mother of these greuouse offences/ as of lechery and almaner filthy lustis/ but she is the cruell cause of the most bocherly bloudshedding of innocent bloude.'³⁷ Ultimately, it was to Henry that Joye appealed for the revocation of the ban, which action would end 'these monstruouse lecheryes wherof their fayned chastite is the very cause', and would prove the monarch a member of the true church of Christ:

Nowe we desyer all rulers for the loue & glorye of god/ to consyder with cristen hertes these two thinges/ that is to weit/ That Paule affirmeth the forbidding of wedlok to be the doctryne of deuillis. And that Daniel signified and poynted us forth Anticrist with his finger to be clerely knowne by thissame his owne proper marke/ euen to be the contempner/ defyler/ breker/ & the naught maker of iuste matrimonie.³⁸

Within a few short years, Joye's royal petition contained a stronger note of warning: *The Coniectures of the ende of the worlde* (1545) asserts: 'He blasphemeth Gods worde also whilis he forbiddeth priestis to marie...'³⁹

II

Joye's second venture into the world of religious polemic coincided with an increase in censorship and demand for pacifying propaganda. Popular literary forms came to be seen as unpredictable; their potential for subversive, inflammatory statements was too great a risk. During the meeting of Convocation in February 1542 a revision of Coverdale's Great Bible of 1539 was agreed upon. The original commission (which

³⁶*Defence*, A3v.

³⁷*A very godly defense*, B1r.

³⁸*Ibid.*, C3r; fol. D7.

³⁹*Coniectures*, E7v.

included Tunstall, Gardiner and Thirlby), was dropped in favour of the theologians of Oxford and Cambridge. Convocation's objections to the alteration were ignored; Cranmer instead refocused attention on to the lack of enforcement of and obedience to the royal Injunctions.⁴⁰

With the blanket ban on the reformers' work, and the ongoing movement to restrain the English printing trade, the other main source of danger stemmed from the dissatisfaction of the people themselves. Taxes implemented to fund military campaigns against France and Scotland had further impoverished the country. In April Bishop Bonner attempted to diffuse the tension within his diocese. His idea was to demotionalise the clergy, who were ordered not to rail or rage, but 'coldly, discreetly, and charitably' to extol virtue and suppress vice.⁴¹ This appears to be symptomatic of a more general urging to carry out one's duty within one's socially defined role. No matter how diseased the state of England, divine intervention would come, 'in the meane season, quiet, and pacifye your selues, & let euery man accordyng to his vocation, laboure to lyue truly in this world, to the mayntenaunce of the common weale.'⁴² But the humours of the long-suffering people on both sides of the religious divide were not easily sedated, and people continued to speak out. On 27 July six were indicted at Coventry for speaking against confession, icons, and particularly against the sacrament of the Altar, one man having asked: 'Masters, what make you of the sacrament of the altar or how take you it? I do take it but as a flour, and I had as lief turn my arse to it as my face.'⁴³ As with Longland's hunt for Lollards, the attempt to root out the present-day heretics began by looking to those of previous years. Again, one was pronounced guilty by suspicion. In 1543 one Anthony Peerson was indicted for having preached irreverence to the Clergy and disbelief in transubstantiation, the sermon in question had taken place over two years before. The royal court was scoured: in March Chapuys wrote that 'a priest doctor, one of the chambermen and certain others have been imprisoned for Lutheranism and heresy.' There was another series of arrests in April: on the eighth of the month four or five priests were arrested for heresies, and the following day Chapuys related

⁴⁰See S.E. Lehmborg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII*, pp. 163-4.

⁴¹*L&P*, vol. 17, [282].

⁴²H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, B2v. Also see *The Mirour for Magistrates*, (fol. 157a) where Jack Cade describes himself as a fool "That would not stay my selfe in mine estate".

⁴³*L&P*, vol. 17, [537].

news of the imprisonment (for disturbance of the peace) of the earl of Surrey and two others, adding his belief that they would be detained for their Lutheranism. Apparently suspects could be brought in under any legitimate charge, giving the clergy time to build a strong case for the prosecution of heresy. In addition, the correct practise of England's authorised religion was enforced: during Lent the mayor, recorder and Aldermen of London were ordered to search throughout London to ensure that the approved fasts were being observed. Chapuys remarked: 'The prime mover of this reformation is Winchester, who is now in the King's favour, to the great regret of Lutherans and Frenchmen'.⁴⁴

1543 saw a further steps taken to control the printing trade. On 22 January Parliament passed legislation concerning the printing, sale and use of bibles and other religious books. One of the conditions of the treaty agreed to in February by Henry and the Emperor was that no book in English would be printed in the Emperor's dominions, or in German within England. On 2 April Chapuys wrote to the Queen of Hungary, explaining that 'there are in Flanders fugitive Englishmen, wicked wretches, who there get heretical books printed in English and send them hither secretly, to the scandal of good men'. He conveyed Henry's desire for her to rectify the situation. Meanwhile the state was taking care of its own offenders, imprisoning on 8 April eight London printers, including Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, for the printing of unlawful books.⁴⁵

The state employed both negative and positive countermeasures in its attempt to suppress all rogue religious elements. Concurrent with the prohibitions and imprisonments was the preparation in Convocation of a text, intended as yet another standard declaration of the tenets of the English Church. These guide-books met with progressively more scepticism from the reformers. In *Refutation* (1546) Joye rebukes Gardiner for the amorphous rules of the church:

Nowe ye saye it is writen for oure counforte, and anon ye feare men from it, nowe it is a vaine trust and then it is a counfortable adsewraunce, and anon ye put all men

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 18, pt. 1, [293, 310, 390].

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, [66, 144, 353, 384]. The only detail given in *L&P* is that the books are "contrary to the proclamation". Apart from Grafton and Whitchurch, the printers incarcerated were: Beddle, Middelton, Maylour, Petye, Lant and Keyle.

in dout therof and of their election in Christe, makinge faith no faith, but a waueringe doute, ne gods promise of no effecte. So inconstant and waueringe is your doctrine.⁴⁶

April saw the publication of *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man*, better known as the *King's Book*. It represented another grave setback for the reformers. The 'revision' of the *Bishops' Book* of 1537 was, according to Eamon Duffy, 'in theological terms, effectively a new work, and in almost every respect emphatically more traditionalist than its predecessor.'⁴⁷ George Joye placed the blame on the bishop of Winchester, whom he asserted had ghost-written the

booke full of repugnances of false and popishe doctrine ... as it is to se to euery learned reader, a boke belyke penned of you, for it sauoureth euery where of your dampnable doctrine. And therefore fearing lest it shulde haue ben writen against, you amonge your selues haue armed it with the Kinges title and autorized it with his name, being afraid to iustifye your owne bokes.⁴⁸

The reformers had not overreacted, for Catholics concurred as to the legitimate traditionalism of the book. Charles V was informed of the Parliament's 'book for the extirpation of the heresies and errors which have heretofore reigned; restoring the ceremonies and other things of the Christian religion to their first state, except what concerns the authority of the apostolic See.'⁴⁹ The publication also marked an intensification in the heresy investigations. On 4 May plans were made for a commission to be sent to purify Kent, which had a considerable reformist presence, and had become a battleground for the religious strife. In the same session examiners were ordered over to the ever-suspect Honey Lane.⁵⁰ The subsequent Kentish investigation corrected those who had erred on the side of traditional Catholicism (for example, in failing to explain the symbolic use of the sacraments), but those scrutinised were predominantly of a reforming caste.⁵¹ On 5 May 1543 *A Necessary Doctrine* was read before the nobility of the realm in the Council

⁴⁶*Refutation*, K5v.

⁴⁷E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 442.

⁴⁸*Refutation*, S2v. In *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII* (p. 185), S.E. Lehmborg describes the book as "popery minus the Pope."

⁴⁹*L&P*, vol. 18, pt. 1, [684].

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, [390].

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pt. 2, [546].

chamber, and five days later an act for the advancement of the true religion was passed. Henry's decision of the early 1530s to solve a problem by simply removing it was again put into effect. His people were obviously unworthy of English Scriptures, and were ill equipped to read them. Unfettered access to the Bible was prohibited; the commons (except for substantial merchants) and all but noble women were deemed untrustworthy of the Word. Four days after the enactment, Thomas Becon, Robert Wysdome and Robert Syngleton all succumbed to the pressure to conform, and recanted their heretical opinions.

Meanwhile, Joye continued in his exile overseas. The details of his life remain scanty, and his own references to his experience living as a fugitive are few and vague. What is communicated clearly is his sense of weariness, as he, with his wife and new-born son, sought refuge,

...comfortles tossed and hunted from place to place, chased from cyte to cite into unknowen countries amonge chorylshe and fyerce barbarous people (a lasse for that we dwell altolong amonge these boisteous rude men, we are weary of our lyues thus to wandre amonge the haters of peace, whiche when we wolde haue rest, they rustle theyr harnes to batayll.⁵²

Gardiner's campaigning against the harbouring of heretics had reaped rewards, as is evident from Joye's implication that he had been made to suffer on a biblical scale:

For when I was hungry, thyrstie, naked sorowfull, harbourles .&c. Youre selues, not onelye wolde ye not fede me, nor gyue me drynke, ne cloth nor comfote nor harbour me in any one of these my lytle sely membres, but ye bytterly commaunded all the Englyshe hostes in Anwerpe, in no wyse to suffre us to come into theyr howses for anye releyse and socour.⁵³

Catharine van Endhoven ignored the treaty between Henry and the Emperor, and went ahead and published *Our sauour Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche with many ceremonies* in February 1543, after over a year had passed without mention of Joye. The book appeared without name of either author or printer, merely offering the

⁵²'Complaynyng Prayers', in *Rekening*, E1v. Joye and his wife had a son in 1543, who was named after his father.

⁵³*Ibid.*, E2r.

(false) information that it was printed at Zurich. *Our sauuiour Jesus Christ* sets forth the institution, significance and righteous celebration of the two scripturally-based sacraments: baptism and the sacrament of the Altar, and defends the omission of the others through an examination of the early apostolic church. The core of the Christian religion needed few explanatory words, 'nothing regarding nor requiring any curiouse & laboriouse loquacite or longe babling.' (fol. A3) The emphasis throughout this text remains focused on the simple tenets of the true church; Joye relinquishes his favourite, violently outspoken prophets Isaye and Jeremy in favour of Saint Peter, who is referred to as 'the most constant and feruent affirmer and defender of the simplicitie and playnesse of the faith & doctryne of christe'. (B4r) As a contrast with the apostle, Joye cites the teachings of the papists, with 'their thorny spinose disputacions fonde questions and withe their skoldinge cauillacions and sophisticall besye brawlynges.' (C5v-C6r) Their actions stultify the Word, which becomes stagnant without being actively preached:

Also the worde of the lorde/ in a maner and as farre as it pertaineth unto us/ is idle wantinge her frute and operacion/ excepte there be men that will exercyse/ stere up & whett it/ in tyme and place/ applynge and laynge it unto men/ teaching it/ earnestly prouking it settinge it forthe at lybertye and defende it. (C2v-C3r)⁵⁴

The concern for education, apparent from the first of Joye's works, is stressed:

For as miche therefore/ that there is noman sodenly full made, nor borne a perfit artificer: the chirche muste nedis haue scolis/ scolis (I saye) in which tongues/ artes/ liberall disciplines/ but yet in a sobriete and mean/ but cheifly the holy institucion & godly bringing up of children be delyuered and taught religiously... (C3r)

George Joye continued in his own endeavour to educate the people in the true Christian faith, and to strengthen their resolve in the time of

⁵⁴For a similar sentiment see Ralph Cudworth's sermon of 1647: J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 440: "The Gospel, though it be a Sovereigne and Medicinall thing in it self, yet the mere knowing and believing of the history of it, will do us no good: we can receive no vertue from it, till it be inwardly digested & concocted into our souls; till it be made *Ours*, and become a *living thing* in our hearts." Also Hugh Latimer's comment: "must we as well live the word as talk the word", G.E. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 106.

persecution. In March he published *The Rekening and declaracion of the faith and beleif of Huldrik zwingly*, a translation of the 12 articles presented to Emperor Charles V at the 'Counsayll of Ausbrough'(A1r) in July 1530. As the bishops and lawyers of England were learned in 'speculatiue, but fewe in practik diuinite sharpe in naturall; but dull in spiritual iugement', and because 'therbe many laye men of better iugement & knowlege then the speculatyue priestes and prelats for all theyr latine and greke to', Joye 'thoughte it conuenient, the boke to be translated into theyr mother tongue'.(A1v) His preface addresses the schism in England: the people are now 'in the more doubt, for that they heare suche deuersite of preching one agaynst another, such contradiccion amonge them that shuld be lerned & wise'.(A2r) The resultant confusion is only to be expected: 'The symple people ...seyng this inconstancy, no merueyle though they can not tell whom nor what they maye beleue'.(A2v) The hypocrisy of the state is highlighted: it used to burn both the vernacular Bible and its owners; now both of these are allowed, but 'neuer vnto this day haue they founde the tyme to repent them openly of theyr open abhomynable bloody murther not yet in open pulpettes to recante theyr owne false doctryn & open iniquite'.(A2v) For the English laity, faced with 'daylye newe articles of theyr fayth, made of newe bysshops in theyr newe bokes of newe institucions', Joye can only offer the following advice: 'se that the scriptures be euer thy towche stone'.(A2r)

In June a further two of his works were printed: a defence of Robert Barnes, and *The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche*, a comparison between the present-day church and the primitive church. The former, *George Joye confuteth/ Winchester's false Articles* is essentially concerned with the issue of justification by faith, the heretical belief which ostensibly cost Barnes his life. As mentioned above, Barnes and Gardiner clashed through their sermons during Lent of 1540, and Barnes was finally forced to submit. Joye provides both a personal and a theological defence for Barnes, through which shines his anger at the needless outcome of what he saw as an essentially private dispute. The subject was still vital in 1546, when he wrote *Refutation*:

Howe smothely soeuer ye haue here firste of all for your defence painted your excuse in wasshinge your handes with pilate yet by your owne wordes, the contention in this matter of faith was onely betwixt you and him, onely you he

troubled, onely you he offended ... onely you complayned of hym so greuously to the kynges maiestie. (B2r)

In *Confuteth* the bishop, like Thomas More before him, was attacked personally; his 'luciferyn pryde/ ambicion/ arrogancye [and] viciouse liuing'(A4r) were condemned. The defence consists of multiple approaches; Joye systematically dissects Gardiner's writing against Barnes, ending each of his points with a reiteration of the belief that only faith justifies. In challenging 'the false articles of Winchesters false faith,'(c2r) Joye argues solely from the scripture in order to explain the workings of faith, justification, and penance. Again, papistry is associated with the deliberate obscuring of scriptures; the bishop is accused of being ashamed of the simple, plain words of the gospel. Joye attempts to clarify the theological issue: 'If onelye unbeleif dampneth/ why shulde not onely faithe iustifye?'(b8r)

The memory of the plight and the 'unnecessary' death of Robert Barnes remained with Joye, gaining mention in both *Daniel* and *Refutation*. From the personal grief evident in *Confuteth* extended a broader reassurance, offered to the 'simple sely flocke of chryst'.(C6r) It affirmed that the Lord heard all, and would avenge. One day people would praise God as they now praise bishops and kings, and the true brethren would then be saved. In this tract Joye's bitter sense of loss merges wholly with his utter rejection of the efficacy of works, and provide us with a subjective, touching defence of what was the principal doctrine of the reformers: justification by faith alone. 'Does he clayme (thinke ye) any parte of his iustificacion for burning of Doctor Barnis and his felows for prechinge agenst theise wikedly armed articles? Tell us Win. didst thou burne them so cruelly of loue and not of haatred or enuy?'(b8v-c1r)

Back in England, the bishop of Winchester was tending to his other duties, marrying Henry and Catherine Parr in July 1543. Catherine Howard had been charged with adultery in November 1541, and was executed as a traitor to her country three months later. For those who looked to the weather in order to glean God's state of mind, there were ill-boding portents to be seen. Whether concerning the new marriage of the king, the religious strife, or the moral degeneration of the nation, it was certain that the 'pestilence, haile unseasonable weathers, and other

lyke plagues ... are by the righteous iudgement of god, sente upon us, for our sinnes.'⁵⁵ The unusual climatic conditions were such that on 23 August the king ordered the realm to pray for 'seasonable and temperate weather.'⁵⁶ George Joye, of course, saw in the abnormal conditions a direct response to the legislation of antichrist enacted over the previous years: 'Nether is it to be douted/ but that these calamities/ plages and punisshments of the worlde which now are begune/ be cast upon it for their manifolde manifest idolatrye glosed with a certayn reuerent behauore to images ...for their forbiddinge of lawfull matrimonye/ for separating and violating iustely maryed persones...'⁵⁷ The government took a different view: the religious efforts of the state were lauded (by the state) as evidence of its willingness to co-operate with the Christian Empire. On 6 March 1544 the Privy Council used the *King's Book* to demonstrate to the Emperor 'how conformable to Christ's doctrine and the institution of His Holy Church Henry's teaching is.'⁵⁸

Joye was unconvinced. His tracts during this period return again and again to themes concerning righteous government, the office of magistrates, the duties of a Christian ruler, and more specifically Henry's obligations towards his suffering country. His book *The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche* provides a detailed comparison between the present-day church and that of the scripture, tracing the patterns of persecution and conflict. In writing *Unite and Scisme*, Joye's principal aim was to place England's strife within the context of thousands of years of biblical discord, in order to impress upon his readers the urgent need for repentance, for fear of imminent destruction, and also to console the brethren, through a demonstration of the way in which the true followers of Christ had always been victimised. Joye's bid to win the King's ear merged with his defamation of Gardiner as Antichrist: if Henry's closest advisor was in league with the devil, then the monarch would have to look for guidance on spiritual affairs from a member of Christ's true church. Joye was treading a fine line, having to gauge the offensiveness of his condemnation of Henry's past and present government.

⁵⁵H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, A3v.

⁵⁶*L&P*, vol. 18, pt. 2, [66].

⁵⁷*Daniel*, J2r.

⁵⁸*L&P*, vol. 19, pt. 1, [168].

III

The necessity of advising kings on their moral and civic responsibilities was fraught with difficulties. In theory, a Christian king was open to just advice and rebuke; he possessed the humility to admit past errors, and the open-mindedness and altruistic concern for the welfare of his country to sacrifice his personal concerns for the needs of the many. The reality, however, was markedly different. Considering his tenuous legitimacy within the Christian Empire, the manifest lack of support for his royal supremacy, the failed marriages and execution of his wives and advisors, and his consistent oscillation between religious poles, further discussion of Henry's shortcomings was analogous to traversing a minefield. If one hit upon a raw nerve through mistiming, the charge of sedition or treason was perilously close. Literary forms which were less direct than polemical tracts were dissected for malicious intent; the symbolic abstractions of plays, satirical invectives and the jovial banter of ballads came under royal scrutiny. Joye writes only in the direct mode, addressing the issue of government both on an abstract level, placed within the frameworks of the Bible and of English history, and by specific reference and appeals to Henry himself. In the latter cases, he professes nothing but respect for the king, utilising More, Gardiner and the Roman Church as scapegoats. It is in the former approach, in his generalised, less self-conscious statements on wise and foolish monarchs where the resentment and vitriol are to be found. It was these which could be read as veiled attacks on the rule of Henry all too easily.

Like Sir Thomas Elyot, Joye's philosophy of leadership rested on the assumption that the power of secular rulers was divinely bestowed; Holy Scripture affirmed 'that the hearts of princes be in God's own hands and disposition.'⁵⁹ In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* Tyndale explained that 'God hath made the kinge in every realme iudge over all/ and over him is there no iudge.'(fol. 31v-32r) This view is voiced in John Bale's *King Johan*, in which Nobylte declares that John's 'princely estate and powre ys of God.'(Act 2, l. 1178) According to Joye, the laws of righteous government were to be found in the Bible, which sets forth 'to

⁵⁹T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governour*, p. 12. For Joye see *Daniel*, fol. K4: "Sith empires and realmes stand by gods power/ it must nedis be God that geueth kynges their auctorite as it is wryten."

be short/ all diuine and humane thingis/ ecclesiastik and polityk/ yea all the partes of owr lyffe/ all ages and all offices it informeth and instituteth'.⁶⁰ The duty of subjects ruled over by a just monarch was to thank God 'and obeye their prince praying incessantly for him.'⁶¹ While admonishing corrupt kings to expect rebellion, Joye himself never questioned the authority implicit in an ordained king and the obedience automatically due him. God bestows a ruler according to the deserts of the country, therefore 'oure synnes are the chief causes why the Lorde God aboue, doth sende ungodly and wycked rulers.'⁶² The assertion was not uncommon: no matter how evil the ruler, rebellion would always be blasphemous, since 'the tyrannycal power is of god, and that whosoeuer doth resist it, doth resysst the ordinaunce of god, therby purchasing unto him selfe euerlasting dammpnatyon.'⁶³ According to Tyndale, if subjects sin they must be brought to the kinge for judgement, but 'If the kinge

⁶⁰*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, C2v. The men working on the Geneva Bible held similarly views: "the knollage and practising of the worde of God (which is the light to our paths, the keye of the kingdome of heauen, our comfort in affliction, our shielde and sworde against Satan, the schoole of all wisdome, the glasse wherein we beholde Gods face, the testimonie of his fauour, and the only foods and nourishment of our soules)", *The Geneva Bible A facsimile of the 1560 edition*, (iiiir). The revisers of the KJB believed likewise: "But what mention we three or four uses of the Scripture, whereas whatsoever is to believed or practised, or hoped for, is contained in them?", *The Holy Bible: The Authorized or King James Version of 1611*, viii-ix.

⁶¹*Daniel*, G6r.

⁶²H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, A3v. See also Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (fol. 45r): "Evyll rulers then are a signe that God is angry & wroth with us."

⁶³*Ibid.*, A3r. See also *The Mirour for Magistrates* (fol. 159a): "therefore whosoeuer rebelleth against any ruler either good or bad, rebelleth against God and shalbee sure of a shamefull ende: For God cannot but mayntaine his deputy"; Tyndale *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (fol. 44v): "Heedes and governers are ordered off God and are even the gyft of God/ whether thei be good or bad"; and also 'The voyce of the laste trumpet', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 67:

"Now touching thy religion:/ If thy prince do commaunde the ought,
Against Goddes Euangelion,/ Then praye for him styl in thy thought.
... And se thou do not him dispyse,/ But aunswere him wyth reuerence;
And though thy mightest, yet in no wyse/ Do thou forget obedience."

In the late 1550s Christopher Goodman set forth an opposing argument, claiming that not acting against an ungodly ruler would invoke the wrath of God: "Thus we see that although David thought it not lawful in his private cause to touch God's anointed, yet are no people or nation thereby constrained wither to obey their anointed in unlawful demands, or else forbidden to withstand the open transgression of God's laws and man's ... so that not to withstand such rages of princes in time ... is to give them the bridle to all kind of mischief, to subvert all laws of God and man, to let will rule for reason, and thereby to inflame God's wrath against you", *How Superior Powers ought to be Obeyed*, 1558 Geneva edition, pp. 140-1. Quoted in G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 93.

sinne he must be reserved unto the iudgement/ wrath and vengeaunce of God.'⁶⁴ John Bale had his King Johan voice the same belief:

'The powrs are of God, I wot Powle hath soch sentence;
He that resyst them agenst God maketh resystence.' (Act 2, ll. 1408-9)⁶⁵

The duties of secular rulers in spiritual matters were concerned with the two forms of law: the earthly politic law, whose function was 'with fere of punishment by the swerde to refrayne euill men/ from thefte/ murther/ aduoutry/ iniuryes or trowbling of the comon peace'; and the spiritual law, comprised of the commandments of God, which 'worketh wrathe and the punisshment of God.'⁶⁶ Robert Crowley believed, with Joye, that one obeyed the former out of fear, and the latter out of love:

Se thou serve him as faythfully
As he were thy Lord and thy God;
Not wyth eye-seruice fainedly,
Neithyr for the feare of the rodde;
But for the conscience thou dost beare
To thy Lorde Gods commaundemente;
That is, for loue, and not for feare
Of any worldly punyshmente.⁶⁷

The secular authorities were responsible for enforcing 'the sumptuarye and penall lawes', including those of matrimony, of benefice, 'and of the lawful use of the goodes of the chirches.'⁶⁸ In this way they could 'with disciplyne constrayne and bynde faste these contumate stifnecked

⁶⁴*The Obedience of a Christian Man*, fol. 32r.

⁶⁵In this Bale is paraphrasing Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528): "The powers that be are ordeyned off God. Whosoever therefore resysteth the power resysteth the ordinaunce of God." (fol. 29r).

⁶⁶*Frutefull*, B4v. Similarly William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: "For ruelars are not to be feared for good workes but for euyll. ... yff thou do euyll/ then feare. For he beareth not a swearde for nought. For he is the minister off God/ to take vengeaunce on them that do evill." (fol. 29). John Calvin also detailed one of the functions of the law as being "to control those who would have no concern for just and right behaviour, unless there was fear of punishment." *Institutes*, (bk. 2, ch. 7), T. Lane, & H. Osborne (eds.), p. 111.

⁶⁷'The Servant's Lesson', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 61.

⁶⁸*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, C4r.

unshamelesse criminouse synners.'⁶⁹ Again, this opinion is found in Bale:

For non other cawse God hathe kynges constytute
And gevyn them the sword but forto correct all vyce. (Act 2, ll. 1276-7)

But there were also spiritual duties annexed to the office. As *rex et sacerdos*, a monarch had to ensure that the clergy, guardians of the nation's faith, were just and virtuous, and that religion was practised purely, even if only outwardly: 'For the Magistrates shulde be the keepers and mayntainers of the hole law perteing to discipline. For as they prohibit murther although thei cannot change mennis herts/ so ought thei to forbidde outwarde idolatrye blasphemies and externe reuerent behauour before images as creping to the crosse'.⁷⁰ Kings themselves should neither play 'anticrystis part for the popis pleasure'⁷¹ nor usurp a divine power for themselves: 'In vayne it were for men to dispute of Cristis religion/ of rightwysenes or of any godlynes/ if kynges wyll of their self willes folowe that at is wryten in the tragedye/ that is to weit/ holynes/ godlynes/ religion faith & trwth/ al ar but the pryuate possessions of kynges.'⁷² Ideally, they would be firm leaders without degenerating into tyranny; accessible and flexible without being vulnerable to manipulation. Spiritually they were responsible for watching the watchmen, providing the highest example of an obedient Christian, subject unto Jesus, who assumed the responsibilities of his estate, and carried them out with a faithful, humble heart.

This form of leadership only grows out of a deep comprehension of the Word of God. Joye's *The exposition of the book of Daniel* (1545) opens: 'And nowe ye kinges get ye understanding & knowlege/ be ye taught & lerned in Gods worde/ ye iuges of the erthe.'(A1r) As it was the final recourse for theological debates, so was the Bible the standard by which to measure all governmental decisions: 'for kynges ought not aftir their owne iugement & plesure to make what actes & lawes they lyst/ no not of cyuil thinges/ but they ought to enacte & make iuste lawes

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, C3r.

⁷⁰*Daniel*, F7r.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, f6r.

⁷²*A very godly defense*, D4v.

following the plesure & wil of god & not their owne'.⁷³ Of course, the difficulties particular to Henry's reign, and the responsibility for the backsliding away from the true religion, were blamed on the presence of bad advisors. As he was not to obey his own subjective whims, equally so he was to give no credence to 'other mennis enstruccions blowne unto his eares by flaterers.'⁷⁴ For Joye, Stephen Gardiner headed this 'sedicious Hieroboams counsaill', whose type found it easy 'to invent some iugling castes & apparent reasons to blere ignorant princes eyes'.⁷⁵ Although once favourable towards the true church, Gardiner's moral degeneration had increased exponentially with his worldly success: 'Many men be more blynde and folisshe aftir they ar promoued to be bisshops and haue once dronken of the gloriouse whores golden cuppe of Babylon/ then then they were but pore cysars and scolars in Oxforth and cambringe.'⁷⁶ Filling the role left vacant after Thomas More, Gardiner soon demonstrated his papal allegiance, writing against the eternal truth he had 'once tasted and fauoured'.⁷⁷ Joye rebukes him with the accusation that the pope was 'more beholden to you for so defendinge him withe your penne ... then to any other of his cardinals and bishops.'⁷⁸ Worse than any ignorance, the bishop of Winchester had betrayed the trust and kindness offered him by his monarch, 'pretendinge to be his frend and faithfull subiecte',⁷⁹ but in reality staining his reputation with the ignominy of popish superstition:

And euen there were any traiterouse touche committed agenst his maiestie, that was one, and the most ingratitude so unthankfully to abuse the ientle noble clearnes & the most benigne ientlenes of so gracious a prince to you which hath promoted you out of the dong hill to set felowlke with lordes and dukes. And is this the thanke and honor and humble seruice ye rendre therfore to his maiestie,

⁷³*Ibid.*, D4r. See also *The Mirour for Magistrates* (fol. 243a): "For Princes are Gods lieutenauntes or deputies, to see Gods lawes executed among their subiects, not to rule according to their owne lustes or deuises, but by the prescript of Gods lawes: so that the chiefest poynt of a Princes office consisteth in obedience to God & to his ordinaunces..."

⁷⁴*Daniel*, F1v.

⁷⁵*Unite and Scisme*, A3v; *A very godly defense*, C3v. In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* Tyndale offers a similar opinion of the clergy's intentions: "With good lvyng ought the spirituallte to ridde them selves from feare of the temporal swerde/ & not with craft and with blindinge the kynges...". Fol. 33v.

⁷⁶*Defence*, B1r. Joye argues similarly in *Refutation*, F7r: "...once before ye were promoted, ye sawe and professed the truth, but now drowned with the worlde ye be so blynde that ye see not the sonne in the cleare myddaye."

⁷⁷*Refutation*, M2v.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, G3r.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, B1v.

to father a false boke upon his highnes into the denigracion of his cleare fame making his grace to sustaine the infamies and sclaunders of your damnable popish boke?'⁸⁰

Henry's obligations were thus complicated by the presence of such Roman monsters within his court, leading him away from the true church of Christ. And as the head of the English Church, any such wavering of Henry's faith had far-reaching ramifications: 'We see also here not onely the kinges herte but also al the hertes of his nobles and officers to be in the hande of God/ & them to folowe the kinges confession and religion nonother wyse then the shadew folowe the sonne.'⁸¹ Therefore the stabilising of the king's faith and his grounding in the true religion was critical, both for himself personally and for the good of the common wealth. Robert Crowley described the detoxification necessary:

When the body is vexed.
Through humors corrupted,
To restore it to helth
those humours muste be purged.
...Euen so doth it fare
by the weale publyke,
Whych chaunceth to be often
diseased and sycke,
Through the mischeuouse malice
of such men as be
Desyrouse to breake
the publyke unitie.⁸²

Once armed with the scriptures Henry need fear no insurrection from his subjects. However, Joye warned: 'presse the worde of peace/ persecute and slaye the prechers therof/ and what ye fered the same shal com upon you'.⁸³ As a godly king, he was expected to be nurse and feeder of his subjects, and to take charge 'lyke a father and mother ouer the churche of Criste seing it taught Gods worde faithfully and purely/ quenching

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, S2v-S3r.

⁸¹*Daniel*, E7r.

⁸²'Of Commotionars', R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 21.

⁸³*Defence*, D2v.

idolatry/ and suppressinge all supersticioouse rytes &c. And tradicions of men.'⁸⁴ Protecting his people against the damnation of unbelief was one of his primary obligations; it was Henry's responsibility to remove the images, 'the occasion of blasphemy and idolatrye/ to punissh the spekers and doers or wryters for the reuerent behauour and worshiping of them/ and to maintain the prechers techers & wryters ayenst their popissh idols the bisshops.'⁸⁵ Joye's Erastian belief is particularly evident during this period; the duties of a righteous, god-fearing monarch resound throughout his publications.

Joye had to tread carefully when considering the fact that it was under Henry's leadership that his country continued to adhere to papistical notions. He could only impute all blame to Gardiner at the risk of painting Henry as a weak-willed figurehead, or of obviously using Gardiner as scapegoat for the king's deeds. The bishop himself commented on the artificiality of Joye's argument:

Suppose ye, the kynges maiestie, can not understande, what ye meane by Wynchester? when ye attribute all the fashion of the state of the realme, to Winchester? cal the actes that myslyke you Wynchesters? al statutes Wynchesters? all iuste punishementes (howe so euer ye call them) Wynchesters? and charge all upon Wynchester, that in so doing ye name Wynchester, not for Wynchester, but use the name of Wynchester, in stede of that ye dare not name and speake oute.⁸⁶

Furthermore, it could be presumed that the bishop simply manipulated Henry's failings. For example, the criticism that the 'bisshops usurpe a seclare lordely power to interprete scriptures/ whiche to flater princes thei geue it also to kinges and yet is the trwe interpretacion of the scriptures the gift of god',⁸⁷ carried with it the implication that Henry was susceptible to the flattery of the fawning satellites of his court. However, despite the danger, Joye genuinely believed himself to be fighting for the souls of England. In the tradition of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Daniel, he was prepared to put himself at risk for the sake of the nation. The overriding concern in *Daniel* is the responsibility of the ruler for the spiritual health

⁸⁴*Daniel*, G5v-G6r.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, F2v.

⁸⁶S. Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles*, b4v.

⁸⁷*Daniel*, d8v.

of his people; to shirk such duty is perillous, both spiritually and physically. Isaiah himself had warned 'Wo be to you that make ungodly actes and wyked lawes.'(D1r) Kings, although divinely appointed, were still mere humans, and must not presume above their status: 'The power of kynges hath hir limites/ nether must thei take to themselues a lycenciouse lyberty to enacte and constitute anything agenst goddis comandements. For the threates that thondre from heuen and the wrath of God ar as wel shaken at kynges faces and their heades as at any wother mannis...'⁸⁸

Joye further discussed the issue of righteous rulers through delineation of ungodly magistrates. In a realm headed by an anti-christian king, blasphemous doctrine would be taught, and the true preachers would be killed. Although subjects were bound to obey the ungodly ruler, they were not bound to fulfil his ungodly laws, since to do so endangered their souls (whereas the ruler had power only over their bodies). This theory was realised at the trial of John Nicholson (alias Lambert), at which he disputed at length with the bishops as Henry looked on. Finally Henry VIII asked him if he would live or die: 'He answered, *That he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency.*'⁸⁹ The king's clemency was not forthcoming, and Nicholson's body was burned as that of a heretic. Joye warned that sooner or later, the vengeance of God would be delivered upon the offending rulers: 'Let all crysten emprours/ kinges and bisshops that yet slaye cryst in his members beware and wayte for a lyke destruccion.'⁹⁰ The cautions given of papal immorality were all too applicable to the situation in England. The secular antichrist prophesied to come would be a 'wyked kynge' who 'shuld raigne as head ouer his chirche/ nether God not wemen regarding/ but defiling his owne chirche with the most fylthye and incestuouse lecherye.'⁹¹ This was in reference to the reign of the popes, but the ease of transference to the English tyrant (irrespective of authorial intention) renders it highly subversive. Such an association of lechery with the anti-christian ruler recurs in Joye's works; for example in *Daniel* he describes Cyclops (representing the pope and his princes), as 'the one eyed great tyraunt kinge ...sitting alone in his denne lading his

⁸⁸A *very godly defense*, D4v.

⁸⁹G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, vol. 4, p. 404.

⁹⁰*Daniel*, X1v.

⁹¹A *very godly defense*, B2v.

bellye with dilicates and his owne flessch with lustes', who cares 'not for this honeste cure and coniugale loue.'⁹²

The faults declaimed by Joye came even closer to Henry's heart. Speaking of the widespread poverty, he categorically stated: 'Nether haue the princes power to translate to themselues theecclesiastik goodis/ with the defrauding of the pore chirches and scoles...'⁹³ The goods of the Church belonged to the poor; in claiming them for himself Henry was not only neglecting his obligation as nurse and feeder of his subjects, but was also assuming power above his status. Joye's description of Nebuchadnezer as 'a tyraunt/ not onely defending the ungodly worship papistry and false religion with swerde and fyer/ but also with a blasphemouse mouthe preferring and extollynge his owne power aboue Goddis',⁹⁴ bore an uncomfortable resemblance to King Henry. Joye went on to complain that statements on the state of England were extracted from men, who were forced to affirm under duress: 'This is a realme of rightwiisenes where in is ministred all iuste execucion and no persecucion',⁹⁵ the implication being that Henry's country was neither just nor Christian. This belief was supported by the final admonition in *Daniel*: 'Beware of images & of Mayzim/ which is not yet euery where throne downe/ but onely in certain places of the ouer germany/ where the Gospel is purely preched.'⁹⁶ England could not boast such a purity of faith, suffering as it did from the presumptuous sin of pride: 'To make new articles of owr faith contrary to Gods worde/ and to set them in their prophane seculare actes of politik parlements armed withe swerde and fier/ is not else then to be exalted aboue god himself.'⁹⁷ Never reticent to point out the imminent downfall of these rulers, Joye was astonished that 'emproure and princes be not afrayed/ so boldely and so lyghtely at euery popisshe fryers & Bisshops complaynt and persuasion to burne so many innocents as they haue done of late in all realmes christened...'⁹⁸

⁹²*Daniel*, e5v. See also *ibid.* fol. H6: "Here shal ye see the iust iugement of god/ and what maner an emprowr and princes he wyll suffer to raigne when he entendeth to kut of and translate their kyngdoms/ that is to wete/ dronkerds/ bellybeastis/ voluptuose tyrants/ couetuose oppressours of their comons/ furieuse murtherers of innocents/ persewers of crystis religion ... [and] louers of women..."

⁹³*Daniel*, J3v.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, D8v.

⁹⁵*Present Consolacion*, A3v.

⁹⁶*Daniel*, h3v.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, e6r.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, e6v.

The most interesting facet of Joye's conviction that the kingdom of Antichrist had been well established for hundreds of years, is the all-inclusive nature of the conspiracy which he felt colluded under a mask of Christianity in order to bring about the downfall of the world. Written in 1545, his commentary on the Book of Daniel explains that the secular powers will help Mayzim in any possible way, 'yea and it were to slay an hole londe of crysten man whiche dare speke or write ayenst Mayzim/ for the holy souper of the lorde to be restoreed into the right use.'⁹⁹ The act of greatest significance occurs when the anti-christian clergy

see their Mayzim to mould/ be sower and begin to lese his vigore strengthe & taste/ then shall thei render up all their spirituall iurisdiction powr and autorite into the seculare kings handis aye with their bisshoprikes chauntries colleges & goods to/ for the stronger helpe and defence of Mayzim ... Thou shalt see it openly how the bisshops shall shortly rendre up into the emprours and kings handis their bisshopriks autorite spiritual ouer the chirches/ their first frutes their tenthes/ palaces parkes &c. And the pope shall yet geue them the tytles of god/ to defende his false faith.¹⁰⁰

If read with recent English history in mind, the implications of Joye's theory were profound: the Reformation, the ostensible rejection of the pope; the introduction of the Royal Supremacy - all had been scripted. Henry still proudly lauded his papal title of *Fidei Defensor*, and while traditionalists of the calibre of Gardiner had been presumed defeated with the dissolution and the subjection of the pope's power, yet they continued to wield considerable power. Furthermore, the legislation of recent years had exposed the popish heart of England. It had been a

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, f1r. "Mayzim" appears to be the "mauzzim" mentioned in Daniel 11:38, the mening of which has been much debated. It seems to represent the name of a god, and has been rendered: "God's protectors", "god of munitions", "god of strongholds" and "forces". Possible identifications are with Jupiter Capitolinus, Jupiter Hospitalis, Mars and Zeus Olympios, but more interestingly it has been associated specifically with the Roman Church. To Matthew Poole, the word signified "demons, or god's protectors, whom the Romans would worship with Christ, such as saints and angels." T.K. Cheyne & J.S. Black (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Sir Isaac Newton interpreted "mauzzim" as referring to protectors or guardians, and found in the verse a prediction that the doctrine of guardian angels would be introduced by the Roman Antichrist. Joye's reading of the word derives from the Septuagint, for Theodotian rendered the word as "Antichrist" (and the Geneva Bible follows this). See also J. Orr (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, J. Hastings (ed.) *A Dictionary of the Bible*.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, f1v-f2v.

horrendous masque, a mockery of the apostolic church, all the work of the devil.

King Henry was in all likelihood aware of Joye's writings during this period, considering both the public feud between Gardiner and Joye, and Gardiner's personal vendetta against the reformer. Whether or not Joye's own works offended the king, one which was mistakenly ascribed to him certainly did. The bishop of Winchester considered Joye to be the author of *The Lamentation of a Christen Agaynst the Cytie of London*, a book whose contempt for Henry's underlings angered the monarch late in 1544.¹⁰¹ At that time Gardiner lamented that 'a knave lurking in a corner, as Joye doth at Antwerp should be nourished to trouble the realm thus.' Setting aside the antipathy resultant from the mistaken identity, Joye readily expected defiance to his exhortations. Had not the preaching of Jeremiah himself been condemned, 'As wold nowe men resiste and destroye him that shuld preache to emprours and to kinges saing. Excepte ye repent and receiue the gospell nowe offred you/ the turke shall destroye all cristendom.'¹⁰² One thing from which he derived strength was his belief in the community of the faithful in Christ: 'This is a grete consolacion for us/ how wyde so euer we be sketered/ yet to haue god in the middis of us'.¹⁰³ The empathy of the faithful crossed any distance, because Christ's true church is united: if one suffers in England, then all suffer in Germany. Secure in his faith, Joye, like Job, did not presume to second guess his god: 'Let us here therefore lerne in our afflictions and troubles to holde faste our faithe and cal upon god abiding patiently his helpe although it come not to passe aftir ovr imaginations but as it is disposed and gouerned of godis counsel.'¹⁰⁴

The duties of a minister of the Word extended beyond offering solace and reassurance, and Joye readily acknowledged his obligation to criticise sinfulness wherever he discerned it, even if it was in the king

¹⁰¹See *L&P*, vol. 20, pt. 2, [732] for Stephen Gardiner's letter of 5 November: "Points out how the King is touched by the bringing into contempt of those who rule under him, the aldermen of London and the Parliament, and concludes that Roderigo Mors who writes this book, and everywhere prints the word Joye with a great letter, is indeed Joye that worketh sorrow to himself and other, and not Mors, whereof is he borrowed an adjective it should be well placed." The author was in fact Henry Brynklow.

¹⁰²*Daniel*, fol. A6.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, g3v. See also *Present Consolacion* (A4r) where Joye offers the assurance that "where so euer is Christ our head, there are his members."

¹⁰⁴*Daniel*, C2v.

himself. The office of the spirituality 'ys not to bere the sword,/ But to geve counsell acordyng to Godes word.'¹⁰⁵ Books such as *A Present Consolation* (1544) and *Daniel* are filled with urgings and exhortations to right living and Christian ruling. As Daniel taught the ways of righteousness to the kings, exhorting them 'to be the nources of the Gospell... [and] to geue unto the trwe prechers double honour/ that is to saye theyr dewe reuerence and a lyuing competent', so all rulers should, in their time of war and schism, fulfil their duty to do likewise.¹⁰⁶ The appeal for a competent living was topical, for a large percentage of the clergy in England 'had to be content with the wholly inadequate income left after monastic impropiators had skimmed off the cream of parochial tithes'.¹⁰⁷

At the first publication of *Daniel*, it had been 15 years since Joye's lost Primer had reached England. The country had been in a near-constant state of unrest, and the daily religious lives of the laity mercilessly hacked, then left floundering in confusion. Yet despite Henry's adherence to the fundamental tenets of Catholicism, in 1545 his church was overseen by a suspected reformer. During Gardiner's ascendancy, Archbishop Cranmer had persevered in his attempts to weed out superstition within his diocese, battling against the backlash of traditionalism which followed in the wake of the *King's Book*. Although the outlook was grim, he persisted in the tug-of-war with Gardiner for the legitimacy to be gained from Henry's official support. His efforts paid off in the end: as the *King's Book* of 1543 marked a victory for Gardiner, the royal primer two years later represented success for Cranmer. It was George Joye who had established this handbook as a primary site for the religious conflict, which decided firmly in his favour on 29 May 1545, when the first authorised primer in English was published. The initial spate of staunchly reformist primers of the early 1530s had soon petered out, due to the authorities' concern for the unsettling effect wrought by the books. Although toned down in the later 1530s, the primer's potential for insidious propaganda could not be overlooked by either party: John Hilsey's *Manual of Prayers* of 1539, for example, while being

¹⁰⁵J. Bale, *King Johan*, Act 2, ll. 1348-9.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, fol. D7. See also T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governour* (p. 4) where he affirms that those who excel "in this influence of understanding, and do employ it to the detaining of other within the bounds of reason, and show them how to provide for their necessary living, such ought to be set in a more high place than the residue..."

¹⁰⁷W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 132.

considerably less inflammatory than the handbooks from earlier in the decade, 'showed if anything more clearly the desire of the reformed party to harness the traditional materials of the primer to a reformed message.'¹⁰⁸ The conservatives were also running off editions of *Horae* during this period. Perhaps the brethren simply recognised and successfully exploited earlier the potential for communicating theology through the handbooks; Catholics were forced to carry out an essentially reactive campaign, conceding to more and more vernacular input.¹⁰⁹ In addition, they were impeded by the legislation enacted; with the entire traditional cultus regarded as suspect, they were hard pressed to find as treasured and colourful a replacement for their readers. The primers of the reformers, however, progressed from strength to strength, gaining more structure and focus with each edition.

It was the royal publisher Richard Grafton who issued *The Primer, in Englyshe and Latyn*. Its proclamation of its status as sole legitimate primer was supported by a royal injunction of 6 May. This instructed all teachers to use the primer to teach the young, and forbade the buying, selling or using of any other primer, whether in Latin or in English.¹¹⁰ As with the *Ortulus*, the *King's Primer* sought to provide a basic lay religious instruction, and sought to cut away what it saw as the dross of traditional religion. The structure of the calendar followed the revised liturgical year; the abrogated feast days went unmentioned. Although the *Dirige* (omitted in the *Ortulus*) was included, two thirds of it had been edited out. The prayers of intercession to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, and those of adoration to the Blessed Sacrament were all excluded, as they had been in the *Ortulus*. Filling up the spaces were works of Richard Taverner, Cranmer, Luis de Vives, and Erasmus. Duffy has commented on these: 'Sombre and self-consciously scriptural, adapted to the specific circumstances of daily life ... these prayers point away from the lush affectivity of medieval piety, towards the starker and graver tones of Reformation. The *Primer* ... was a portent of things to come.'¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 444.

¹⁰⁹See R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People*, p. 189: "Protestants were undoubtedly more strongly committed than Catholics to the dissemination of relatively inexpensive religious literature. At Exeter in 1549 they were indeed derided by their traditionalist enemies as 'two-penny book men'."

¹¹⁰*L&P*, vol. 20, pt. 1, [661].

¹¹¹E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 447.

It is too easy to read the Reformation backwards, tracing the inevitable 'progression' towards English Protestantism. The men caught up in the mess of religious struggles viewed things differently. George Joye wrote in 1545:

It is a wondrefull warre of so many & so mighty princes of the worlde/ ayenst so fewe and feble a lytle ferefull flok/ that so many and so mighty ahuld be afrayd of us which nether with materiale swerde nor shyldde can fyght/ but onely with oure lyppes/ pennes and prayers. It passeth all manis reason that we shuld in conclusion haue the victory.¹¹²

Considering his expressions of weariness and depression, Joye's output during these years is heroic. With so many of the prominent early reformers dead, Joye emerged as a lone voice from the Continent, decrying against the Catholic backlash. It may be that this man, dodging his adversaries year after year, with his wife and baby son in tow, also emerged as a leader of the exiled brethren during the 1540s, offering them comfort in their suffering and guidance in their faith. The *King's Primer* did not provide the reformers with the reassurance that there would be a resolution to the persecution. For Joye, the 'pestilences famine derth destruccions burnings and blodshedings' marked clearly the beginning of the end.¹¹³

¹¹²*Daniel*, g7r.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, J2v.

Chapter 8

The hunt is up, the hunt is up.
The masters of art and doctors of divinity
Have brought this realm out of a good unity.¹

The *King's Primer* was presented to a grievously suffering England. The state had overspent dramatically on its political machinations, and the common people were deemed liable to pay for the mismanagement. The religious dissatisfaction of the laity continued; the relentless outbreaks of disease increased. From the nation-wide suffering and spiritual strife emerged a sense of an imminent, final catastrophic event. Over the course of this decade the severity of Joye's belief in the impossibility of an earthly victory for the reformers became tempered by his belief in the future awaiting the suffering brethren. The extinguishing of any hope for a restoration of the true church during his lifetime was accompanied by a new, extended outlook. The strands of George Joye's theology, with its stress on education and on stoic endurance, and its steadfast unwavering commitment to the Word, were all entwined within the schemata voiced by him during this period. His perspectives on both world and time became expanded, enabling a re-interpretation of the present turmoil within a framework of magnificent, awesome proportions.

I

Henry's war with Francis I failed to unite the commons in nationalist pride. The summer military campaign of 1545 had incurred huge expenses: budgeted for £250,000, the venture had in reality cost closer to £650,000.² There was also the added strain inflicted by the collapse of Henry's alliance with Emperor Charles V, who had opened negotiations with the French in order to concentrate his efforts on destroying the Protestant Princes. Financially crippled, the English government debased the coinage, and attempted to call in early the future debts and subsidies owing. It also announced a meeting of parliament, which had to be

¹A ditty by John Hogan. Quoted in G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police*, p. 137.

²See J.J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 453.

postponed more than once due to virulent outbreaks of the *pestis*. When it finally met on 23 November 1545, it was the religious community of England that was looked to for alleviation of the government's crisis, attention being focused this time upon the chantries. The value of many chantries dissolved or secularised in 1536 had been reclaimed by their founders, patrons and benefactors. The state now declared that the money was owing to King Henry. In addition, Henry claimed the right to appropriate the remaining chantries to the royal coffers 'if necessary'. In February 1546 a commission was organised to carry out a survey of the chantries. There was little doubt that, as with the religious houses, assessment was the first step that would lead inevitably to their dissolution.

Although constituting a move against traditional religion, the dissolution of the chantries was motivated not by reforming zeal, but by financial necessity. The position taken by the English state on spiritual matters was still infuriatingly unclear. Certainly, early in 1546 Henry had accepted the reformist recommendations of Cranmer, Worcester and Chichester, who advised that the Halloween night celebration, the covering of (the remaining) images during Lent, the traditional kneeling before the cross, and the lifting of the veil on Palm Sunday were all unnecessary and could be abolished. The king actually took these measures a stage further, expressing his desire to do away with the traditional creeping to the cross, which represented in his eyes 'a greater abuse than any other'. With what must have been wishful thinking, Henry added: 'All other vigils have been virtually for years abolished throughout Christendom, the name alone remaining in the Calendar'.³ The perspective of John Hooper on the current state of affairs was, however, markedly different. On 27 January 1546 he wrote to Henry Bullinger, and described the idolatrous state of England:

Our King has destroyed the Pope, but not popery; he has expelled all the monks and nuns, and pulled down their monasteries; he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into his exchequer, and yet they are bound even the frail female sex, by the King's command, to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least 10,000 nuns, not one of whom is allowed to marry. The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular

³*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [110].

confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory, were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.⁴

Devastating bouts of plague and sweating sickness had taken their share of the brethren - the duke of Suffolk, chancellor Audeley, the King's physician Dr. Butts and Sir Thomas Wyatt had all succumbed to the infectious diseases. In the wake of these losses, Hooper lamented that 'the country is now left altogether to the bishops and those who despise God and all true religion.'

John Hooper was not alone in his *planctus*, and the view that England had swung irrevocably back to traditional Catholicism was held by many. As mentioned earlier, George Joye had begun to question the validity of the clergy's submission to Henry, discerning in their alliance an international conspiracy of Antichrist. In 1544 he insisted that 'the bisshops of Englonde [are] yet cowpled and confedered with the bisshop of Romes bisshops and his whelpis in dewche londe'.⁵ When Henry left the Privy Council 'busy against those suspected of forbidden opinions' on 14 May 1546, it was taken as confirmation 'that the bishops and churchman are in more favour.'⁶

The layers of motives underlying Henry's handling of English religion appear so complex as to be indecipherable. As in the previous decade, the king attempted to play on both sides. Henry's reopening of diplomatic relations with the Lutherans was concurrent both with treaty negotiations with France and, more significantly, with an energetic attempt to purge his land of reformist elements. There was a resumption of the pressurising of Mary of Hungary to take measures against the printers and authors of heretical books.⁷ The search also focused upon those closer to home. In May 1546 Dr. Edward Crome, a man 'much liked by the King' gave a sermon at Paul's Cross. As with the suspects of Honey Lane in the 1520s, there were men attending (in this instance the bishops of London and Worcester, and Henry VIII's chaplains) for the purpose of detecting errors.⁸ Crome was called and examined before the Privy

⁴*Ibid.*, [131].

⁵*Present Consolacion*, E8v.

⁶*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [825].

⁷*Ibid.*, [1098].

⁸*Ibid.*, [790]. See also *ibid.*, [176, 783, 810].

Council, and was warned by them 'not to yield to the fancies of his brethren of London'. One such man was Hugh Latimer, who 'specially comforted Crome in his folly', drawing upon himself an interrogation of his own.⁹ His first recantation having been found unsatisfactory, Crome submitted for a second time on 27 June, admitting that he had previously intended 'to maintain his former evil opinion and yet satisfy his promise [to recant].'¹⁰ The penitent asserted his belief in the Real Presence and in the true (orthodox) celebration of mass. His statement was received with some bemusement by the reformers: on 2 July one wrote 'Our news here [is] of Dr. Crome's canting, recanting, decanting, or rather double decanting...'¹¹ However, other men thought it a great deterrent: on 6 July the Imperial Ambassador Van der Delft wrote to Mary of Hungary: 'Here is great examination and punishment of heretics, no class being spared; "and, as those who have retracted have been pardoned, the principal doctors have publicly revoked the condemned doctrines; and this has had a very good effect upon the common people, who are greatly infected."' ¹²

The ambassador's reference to the leniency of the inquisitors was true. Rather than burnings, recantations were sought. Apart from Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs (who were urged by Nicholas Shaxton to follow his own example and recant), the majority of suspects were given ample opportunity to submit and were (as in the case of Sir John Olde, chaplain to Lord Ferrers) 'dismissed with a lesson.'¹³ The Catholic faction tried to make advantageous use of the execution of Anne Askew, but its attempt to implicate Queen Katherine Parr and the Earl of Hertford in Anne's heresy failed. Still, neither side considered themselves to be favoured. Like John Hooper, other reformers viewed the measures as 'popery without the pope'. On 23 July John Dymocke wrote to Paget, communicating the widespread complaints that 'his Majesty has put away the devil but his Majesty has his dam and his devilish ceremonies'.¹⁴ The same sentiment found expression in popular verse:

we haue banyschyd superstysyon,

⁹*Ibid.*, [790, 810].

¹⁰*Ibid.*, [1138].

¹¹*Ibid.*, [1180].

¹²*Ibid.*, [1227].

¹³*Ibid.*, [1246]. For Askew see *ibid.* [1181].

¹⁴*Ibid.*, [1331].

but styll we kepe ambysyon;
 we haue showtt awaye all cloystrees,
 but styll we kepe extorsynares;
 we haue taken there landes for ther abbwese,
 but we haue convertyed theme to a worse vse.¹⁵

The prescriptive measures of the state continued in the face of public discontent. On 8 July 1546 a proclamation was issued, whose aim was to 'avoid and abolish such English books as contain pernicious and detestable errors and heresies.'¹⁶ It banned the New Testaments of Tyndale and Coverdale from 31 August; none but the authorised Richard Grafton edition of November 1540 would henceforth be permitted. In addition the injunction commanded 'That after the said day no person keep any book set forth in the names of Frythe, Tyndale, Wiclif, Joye, Roye, Basyle,¹⁷ Beale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turnour or Tracy...' All were to be handed up to the sheriffs within 40 days, and in the future no English books touching religion were to be imported without special licence. That vernacular literature was blamed for exacerbating the diversity in religious opinions was evident in the proclamation's final measure, which ordered that henceforth English printers were to ensure that each printed 'book, balet or playe' bore their name, the name of the author, and the date. Miles Coverdale lamented: 'there is now a wonderful diversity in writing books and ballads in England, one envying against another, one reviling and reproving another, one rejoicing at another's fall and adversity. And not only this, but at the end of every ballad or book in manner, (whether it be the better party, or worse,) is set the king's privilege.'¹⁸ Popular forms were suspect, and could prove lethal for their authors:

Beware, take heede, take heede, beware, beware
 You Poets you, that purpose to rehearce
 By any Art what tyraunts doings are.

¹⁵'Vox Populi Vox Dei', W.R. Morfill (ed.), *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 139.

¹⁶*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [1233].

¹⁷Theodore Basile, a pseudonym for Thomas Becon.

¹⁸'An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 323. Finally in 1540 'The Tenor of the kynges preylege' was set forth, explaining "we haue only graunted & lycenced to Johan gowgh cytesyne & stacyoner of London, that he only to prynte under our pryuelege al maner of bokes new begon ... for the space of .vii. yeares". *The dore of holy scripture*, A1v.

Erynnis rage is growne so fel and fearce,
That vicious acts may not be toucht in verse...¹⁹

The proclamation was enforced by Bishop Bonner, who wrote to inform the Privy Council that he had held a book burning on 28 September in accordance with the legislation.²⁰ Richard Cox also responded to the decree, complaining to Paget on 29 October that his anti-reformist legislation had generated great Catholic momentum at local levels. The papists now 'rejoiced much that they might remain still in their old ignorancy and superstitious folly.' According to Cox, in many places people

burnt New Testaments, Bibles not condemned by the Proclamation, and that out of parish churches and honest meaning men's houses. They have burnt of the King's Majesty's books concerning our religion lately set forth, and his primers which now be utterly depised and not used nor taught the youth,... They teach the old Latin with the old ignorance, and would that printers should print them again, and promise them good utterance. The Proclamation meant well for the abolishing of ill books; but the success is *eradicare lolium cum tritico*...²¹

The England described by Cox held little hope for those exiled on the Continent, who were at this time undergoing their own torments. On 3 October 1546 John Dymock wrote to Paget from the Continent, telling him of the latest developments:

Here and in every parish church the preacher warns men to take heed whom they lodge, for the Pope and Emperor have sent out 600 or 700 man to poison wells and beasts in the fields and lay wild fire in houses and towns belonging to the Protestants; "which is an ungodly thing if it be true, but it is true that the preachers have declared it in the pulpit in every parish church..."²²

During this time the paranoia exhibited by the high clergy of England during the Cromwellian era was felt by all. As Harry Phillips had befriended William Tyndale in order to betray him, so apparently were

¹⁹*The Mirour for Magistrates*, fol. 225b.

²⁰*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 2, [173]. Included as the works of Joye were: *Daniel*, *David's Psalter*, *Jeremy*, *Solomon*, *An Apology*, *Isaye*, *Subversion*, and *A Present Consolation*. Also included was *Defence*, under the name of James Sawtry. See *A&M*, vol. 5, App. 18.

²¹*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 2, [321]. (Getting rid of the darnel with the wheat).

²²*Ibid.*, [216].

there others feigning to be true gospellers. George Joye castigated this Enemy Within in 1544, bitterly condemning their actions: 'For euen our owne false brethen spekinge fayer to our faces, pretendinge to be chased out of theyr countrie for the same gospel, in nothings at all folowing it, but openly slandering it, vex us, molest us belye us, depraue us, slaunder & hurt us, no lesse cruelly persecutinge us then the open papistes.'²³ Does this vehement complaint reveal a hitherto unknown operation of the English state, or is it explicable in terms of a lingering antipathy of certain reformers for Joye, in the wake of Tyndale's martyrdom? Whatever the case, Joye felt himself, his family and the faithful brethren to be under attack from all sides, struggling in vain against an indefeatable enemy. When he replied to Stephen Gardiner's *A Declaration of Svch true articles as George Joye hath gone about to confute as false* in 1546, Joye's situation was dire. In the conclusion Joye reveals that he had 'skant .xx. dayes to read it & to make this answer, and lesse quietnes to wryte. For in ded ye made me a runner about...' (Cc7v) Considering that *Refutation* is 194 pages long, the haste with which Joye was forced to write goes far to explain the repetitive nature of the argument. He did not have the luxury of time enjoyed by Martin Luther, who wrote: 'I have constantly tried in translating, to produce a pure and clean German, and it had often happened that for two or three weeks we have searched and inquired for a single word and sometimes not found it even then.'²⁴ Being thus oppressed, one of Joye's most pressing concerns was the sincere consolation of those suffering for the 'true' faith. It was of paramount importance to steady the belief of the reformers, who were being persecuted both at home and in exile, by overt and hidden enemies, and were forced to come to terms with the dreadful certainty that 'as shepe be we apoynted to be slayne.'²⁵

The theme of righteous suffering, present in Joye's works as far back as *Isaye*, reached its fruition in his writings of the 1540s. His *A present consolacion for the sufferers of persecucion for ryghtwysenes* (1544) sought to contextualise historically the afflictions thrust upon the true followers of Christ. Through this the age-old pattern of earthly injustice was made manifest: 'The worlde hated Chryst, and no doute but

²³*Present Consolacion*, B6v.

²⁴'On translating: an open letter', quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 94.

²⁵*Present Consolacion*, B6v.

it will neuer loue his members, but with the same bitter hated persecute us which be Chrystes floke. The worlde loueth his owne.'(D2v-D3r) Dean Colet himself had spoken of those 'blynded with the darknes of this worlde' who 'se nothyng but erthly thynges.'²⁶ In the words of Miles Coverdale, was Christ himself 'not taken for almost a fool, a seditious person, a new fellow, an heretic, and one overcome of everybody, even forsaken both of God and men?'²⁷ The brethren needed to reconcile themselves to this reality, which had been delineated in the Word, accompanied with assurances of future comfort in the world awaiting them.²⁸ The religious violence in England was seen as a natural occurrence, which one should neither question nor hope to change, 'For neuer was there any chirche so litle, so hole and perfit, but it had an aduersarye to persecute it.'(A4v) With Paul, the faithful were to rejoice in their necessary afflictions: 'Here is it playn, Chryst in his members to suffer persecucions unto the worldes ende untill his aduersaries be slayne with the breath of his mouthe, wherfore take awaye persecucion out of Englund, and so take ye awaye the worde of the crosse euen the gossell, the chirche of Christ & all true preachers.'(fol. A4)

The consolation proffered by Joye gains further significance in light of his belief that 'the worldes ende' was rapidly approaching. The discourse of apocalypse came to possess a powerful resonance during this period.²⁹ The eschatological treatises printed and the popular millennialism preached were responding to particular needs of the people, and appealing to specific anxieties. In *Arguing the Apocalypse* Stephen O'Leary defines 'the essential topoi of apocalyptic discourse' as time, evil and authority, and goes on to suggest that the discourse itself functioned 'as a symbolic theodicy, a mythical and rhetorical solution intended to "solve" the problem of evil through its discursive construction of

²⁶Quoted by J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet*, p. 298.

²⁷'An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 237.

²⁸Take for example, three of the opening quotes on the title page of *A Present Consolacion*: "All that wyll lyue faithfully and purely in Chryst Jesu, shall suffer persecucion. ii.Timothe.iii. If any will folowe me, let him renounce him selfe and take upon him his crosse dayly and folowe me. Luke.ix. Blessed be they that suffer persecucion for well lyuinge and iustly doinge, spekinge or writinge: for theirs is the kingedome of hauen. Matth.v." (A1r).

²⁹In K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* (p. 31), the period between 1540 and 1553 is said to mark "the growing involvement of England's exiles in a literally historical interpretation of prophecy." For her examination of this see ch. 2, pp. 32-68.

temporality.³⁰ It was (indeed, it is) characteristic of writers of apocalyptic literature to interpret their present time as one of extreme hardship and suffering. This trait is discernible in Latimer's *Sermon of the Plough*, which lamented: 'But London was never so ill as it is now. In times past men were full of pity and compassion, but now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold...'³¹ Similarly, Joye's *Daniel* stresses that the church had endured difficult times in the past 'But in the greatest anxt [i.e. anxiety] of all affliccions & persecucions is it now in this last age of the worlde.'(g2v) Similar responses to the book of Daniel are to be found throughout apocalyptic literature:

Ev'n thou - O Daniel! whose keen eye could see
Times - distant times - as present unto thee -
... and we - who live to day,
Are well aware how very true *thy* lay. ³²

In part, the attraction for the reformers of the discourse of apocalypse lay in its ability to legitimise the phenomenon of oppression. It held a similar attraction for John Foxe when writing his martyrology, and for John Bale who penned his commentary on the Apocalypse during the 1540s. O'Leary comments: 'The story of the apocalyptic tradition is one of community building, in which human individuals and collectivities constitute their identities through shared mythic narratives that confront the problem of evil in time and history.'³³ The apocalyptic strain in the writings of George Joye takes on just such a role. Joye's awareness of the community of brethren has already gained mention; although separated physically, and hounded by 'the anticristen deuilishe dragon', as members of Christ's church they were united.³⁴ In his *Present Consolacion* Joye sought to reassure and strengthen the faith and commitment of the brethren: 'Verely we are not alone in our affliccions... But euen Chryste suffereth with us.'(E5v) Not only were they joined to Christ through their individual hardships, but the scattered refugees were bound together through their shared suffering with and for the Son of God: 'where so euer is Christ our head, there are his

³⁰S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 20.

³¹G. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 64.

³²T.J. Mauger, *The Millennium, a poem, in four books*, p. 6.

³³S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 6.

³⁴'Complaynyng Prayers', in *Rekening*. E1r.

members.'(A4r) For Joye, the tormented brethren 'beinge thus knit together with the bondis of loue, haue all thingis bothe mirth and sorowe, heuines and ioye, comon.'(E5r) *Present Consolation* elevated the sufferings of the reformers to the highest level of mythic narrative; through their pain they reproduced the torments of Christ himself: 'The same rebukes iniuste vexacions and cruell persecucions [inflicted upon Jesus] do we suffer this daye.'(C6r) Through invocation of the trials endured by Christ, Joye imbued the tribulations of the hunted reformers with profound significance:

Nowe therefore let us patiently suffer dependinge upon our fathers pleasure whyles his aduersaries persecute us for preachinge and wrytinge unto them the trwth: let us constantly suffre to be exyled for that we abhorre theyr idolatry theyr antichrysten rytes and supersticious ceremonyes, let us flye in holy derkenes out of Babylon into the deserte with our pore lawfull wyues rather then wykedly to suffer ovr etc. This is ovr crowne & praise (as Peter saith) unworthely to suffer with a good consciens for the trwthes sake, and not as any malefactours.(C5r)

The words of consolation took their form and their content from Joye's apocalyptic expectations. As his advice to princes had been framed with the threat of the End hanging over them, so was his strengthening of the brethren given focus through the invocation of the day of revelation. According to Joye, the imminent approach of the Last Judgement could be discerned from the terrible wars and pestilence ravaging the world. The apocalyptic texts of the Bible had revealed the true church of Christ on earth in its 'bloody colours of affliction & persecucion', which disruption the 'anticristen sinagoge' did not understand, having 'neuer felt trouble for the truth'.³⁵ In 1526 John Fisher, preaching at Paul's Cross, had interpreted similarly the present state of the church: 'it was prophesied before not only by our saviour Christ/ but also by saint Peter in his epistles/ and by saint Paul in his both/ and by saint Jude/ that such heresies should rise/ and specially toward the end of the world.'³⁶ Not since his translation of the woeful cries of Isaiah and Jeremiah had Joye's concern with 'these our troublous corrupt and bloody laste dayes of this worlde' been so marked.³⁷ His exegesis of Daniel returns again and again to the subject, telling us 'These

³⁵*Present Consolacion*, A6r; *Subuersion*, A2r; *Present Consolacion*, A6r.

³⁶J. Fisher, *A sermon had at Paulis*, A3v.

³⁷*Present Consolacion*, B6v.

thinges be wryten for oure warninge ouer whom the ende of the worlde hangeth', (K3r) and warning that of all their idols, the mass of the papists was 'the most execrable abominable signe of a swift and soden destruccion shortly to fall ouer them.' (e3v) Joye was in no doubt: 'the tyme is come that the iudgement or plage muste beginne at the house of god.'³⁸

The confidence evident in Joye's writing derived from the Word, more specifically from Daniel and Revelations. Using both texts, the history of the world could be mapped out and given coherence; the present state of turmoil could be rationalised and placed in context. The context required to make sense of the irreconcilable religious differences, the destitution of Christendom, and the widespread violent unrest, was that a monumental phase of history was being entered into - the End was nigh. This reassuring view of history as predetermined is one of the staple traits found throughout apocalyptic literature. In *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition* Bernard McGinn writes:

A second indispensable characteristic of apocalyptic eschatology is the divinely predetermined patterns of crisis-judgement-vindication that marks the End. Apocalypses that show an interest in history at all have some variation on this pattern, that is, they see the present time as one of some form of crisis (most frequently, the growth of evil and the persecution of the just); they look forward to judgement in which the wicked are punished and the just approved; and finally, they expect a triumphant vindication of the sufferings of the just, most commonly in terms of personal immortality, but frequently also including the resurrection of the body...³⁹

For Joye, the triple drama of crisis-judgement-vindication had already begun. Through his perspective on 'this present tyme & end of this worlde', the persecution of the reformers was assigned a place within a scheme of history mapped out on a teleological framework.⁴⁰ John Bale demonstrates a similar belief in *The Image of Both Churches*, where he comments that the Revelation of St. John 'containeth the universal troubles, persecutions and crosses, that the church suffered in the primitive spring, what it suffereth now, and what it shall suffer in the

³⁸*Ibid.*, D3v.

³⁹B. McGinn, *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, p. 10.

⁴⁰*Daniel*, f3r.

latter days by the subtle satellites of antichrist'.⁴¹ The experiences of the reformers, like every preceding event in time, derived meaning from being sited within a single process, which was moving inexorably towards the End and Redemption. All the signs were evident in the plague-ridden country of England, crippled with poverty, tormented by internal division, whose fundamental faith in the redemptive power of the Lord had been debated for years. The apocalypse was drawing near, and as it approached the anti-christian chaos grew. This chaos was evident in every strata: social, religious, political and semantic. The disturbance of 'the infallible worde off God' testified to the imminent future:

For there is a terrifying moment when the sign no longer accepts being carried by a creature as a standard is carried by a soldier. It acquires autonomy, it escapes from the thing symbolised, and - this is what is frightening - it takes over that thing. ... When the symbol devours the thing symbolized, when the cross-bearer becomes the crucified, when a malign inversion overthrows phoria, then the end of the world is at hand. Symbol, no longer ballasted by anything, becomes master of heaven. It proliferates, insinuates itself everywhere, and shatters into a thousand meanings which don't mean anything any more. ... don't try to find the thing to which each sign refers. For these symbols are *diabols*, and no longer symbolize anything. And saturation with them brings the end of the world.⁴²

II

The ultimate consolation for the reformers was provided by the certainty of suffering 'into his perpetuall glorye'. In *Present Consolacion* Joye strives to view the present trials within the larger context of the spiritual afterlife: 'the more affliccion and persecucion the worde of the crosse bringeth to us, the more felicite and greter ioye abideth us in heuen.' (B4r) When seen in relation to Christ's sacrifice, and to the eternity awaiting them, the importance of the reformers' earthly sacrifices was greatly diminished, thus making the day-to-day anxieties of the hunted brethren easier to cope with.

⁴¹'The Image of Both Churches' in H. Christmas (ed.), *Select Works of John Bale*, p. 253.

⁴²M. Tournier, *The Erl-King*, p. 260.

Daniel ably communicates the basic aims of Joye's polemic, both by its choice of text and textual commentaries. The title page reads: *The exposition of Daniel the Prophete gathered oute of Philip Melanshton/ Johan Ecolampadius/ Chonrade Pellicane & out of Johan Draconite &c..* Joye amalgamates several commentaries and then takes the text further, relating its particular significance to present-day England. Butterworth & Chester had little good to write about the latter text: 'Lacking the erudition necessary for an original study of this difficult book, he simply conflated expository materials drawn from the commentators ... and added a vast deal of his own sermonizing and propagandizing.'⁴³ The dismissal is harsh, and somewhat unfair. In fact the detailed interpretations (translated for the first time into English) and Joye's own editorial were of tremendous relevance to the England of the day, as is explained in the preface: 'In this glasse we behold god both almightie & merciful by kinges & prophets so to gouerne the worlde/ that thei wil not beleue the prophets and trwe prechers'.⁴⁴ Joye's readership appeared to disagree with Butterworth & Chester's dismissal of *Daniel* as 'Joye's longest and most tiresome book'(p.235), for its popularity was such that it warranted two London reprintings in 1550; significant considering that its length (of almost 500 pages) would have made it an expensive, laborious venture to risk undertaking without certainty of high sales.

Several features of the biblical book rendered it of particular significance to the persecuted refugees. Firstly (as with the rest of the Word), the book of Daniel was 'wryten for our doctryne that thorowe pacience and consolacion of the scriptures we myght haue hope.'⁴⁵ The biblical text would also have struck a chord with the hopelessly persecuted: in *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (p. 87), John Collins argues that the primary concern of Daniel's author 'is not in speculating on the future but in providing an assurance that the predetermined period of Gentile sovereignty is coming to an end.' Joye's interpretation is in accordance with this: we are told that Daniel 'prophecieth certainly of these troublouse laste blodye dayes and persecucion nowe of late begunne

⁴³George Joye, p. 235. W.K. Jordan follows Butterworth's lead, commenting that Joye "devoted a solid and unbelievably dull book principally to an analysis of the Book of Daniel, in which there were intimations of the millenarianism which was to plague England a century later.' *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 138 (footnote).

⁴⁴*Daniel*, B3v.

⁴⁵*Present Consolacion*, C7r.

which all/ Cryste with his laste coming now at hand shall kut of.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the prophet's response to the certainty of the approaching End was also particularly suited to the reformers. Collins goes on to remark: 'The most obvious function of the resurrection in Daniel 12 is to lend support to those who had to lay down their lives if they refused to betray their religion. In the perspective of Daniel, martyrdom makes sense. Belief in vindication beyond death undercuts the greatest threat at the disposal of the tyrant.'⁴⁷ Again, in this instance George Joye shared a similar understanding of the text. He tirelessly exhorts his fellow believers not to be troubled 'for feare of the losse, of our litle goodis and disquietinge of our mortall bodyes in this transitory lyfe'.⁴⁸ 'I tell you my frendes, be not afraid of them that slaye your bodies, and then can thei do nomore to you ... They kyll our bodyes, but thei sende our soules into the handis of out heuenly father, and make our dethe precieuse in the syght of god.'⁴⁹ Earthly pains came to be stripped of their power through concentration on the reward awaiting the faithful sufferers: 'Wherfore (dere brothern) we be happye whiche haue the trwthe all though before the worlde we seme to be the most unhappy and miserable. For unto us that perseuer in it there is layd up promised of god the most ioyouse and plentuouse rewarde.'⁵⁰

The figure of Daniel itself was of value, providing a prime example of the necessary but worthwhile sacrifices, and of their precious reward:

Daniel was cast in to the lyons, and a non made the prince of the Persians. And as ye se, that if our god in this worlde promoueth his, out of affliction and persecucion into glorye honor and felicite, miche more translateth he his derely beloued chosen out of these miserable and heuey present persecucions into that heuenly perpetuall ioye and felicite in the other worlde. And the lenger it is deferred the more sweter it is when we haue it...⁵¹

For George Joye and his fellow ministers, Daniel represented a model worthy of imitation, as Collins relates:

⁴⁶*Daniel*, A7r.

⁴⁷J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 91.

⁴⁸*Present Consolacion*, B5v.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, F7v, F8v.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, B7r.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, B3v.

There is no doubt that the author of Daniel belonged to these wise teachers (the *maskilim*), who are portrayed here as the true heroes of the persecution and in chap. 12 are singled out for special honour at the resurrection. They are portrayed as activists, but they are not said to fight. Their activism lies in making the masses understand.⁵²

The figure of Daniel, as one who had resolved the question of earthly suffering, built upon those of Isaiah and Jeremiah, who condemned the abuses of the world and were persecuted for their righteous preaching. *Daniel's* appeal to the brethren at large is evident in its two London reprintings of 1550, and its lasting impression on the personal theology of George Joye is manifest throughout his apocalyptic writings. As Revelations did for John Bale, for Joye the book of Daniel functioned as a microcosmic text, in which was mirrored the entire history of humankind since creation: 'it is the very breif compendious some and reherceall of the storye of the hole worlde/ euen from the firste monarchye to the laste/ setting befor our eyes the cleare examples of the good and euil princes and rulers.'⁵³

In providing such examples, *Daniel* gained further resonance for the English reformers, who were eager to advise Henry VIII on the spiritual necessity of and the political advantages to be gained by an alliance with the Continental Protestants. Despite his affirmed orthodoxy, the king's opinions on spiritual issues would always be overshadowed by matters of political expediency. By the latter half of 1546 Charles V had heard rumours that Henry was discussing an Anglo-French venture to offer support to the Protestants. If his hope was to scare Charles into negotiations with England, Henry failed, ironically through his own success. The devoted conservatism required of his clergy had been all too apparent in recent months, and the energetic interrogations, public recantations and destructions of reformist texts alleviated the fears of the Emperor. Charles commented: 'if he continues punishing the schismatics in England it does not seem probable that he will help those in Germany...'⁵⁴

⁵²J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 89.

⁵³*Daniel*, A4r.

⁵⁴*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [1481].

The Emperor's confidence could not have lasted long. The English exhibition of religious conservatism was short-lived, and as 1546 progressed the reforming elements became emboldened once more. When the Duke of Norfolk and his son Henry Howard were charged with treason and imprisoned on 12 December, all was thrown into disarray. The Imperial Ambassador Van der Delft wrote to Charles V on this occasion, commenting on the mutability of the court: 'Affairs here change almost daily. Four or five months ago was great prosecution of heretics and sacramentarians, which has ceased since Hertford and the Lord Admiral have resided at Court.'⁵⁵ The religious leanings of these two men were well known; in one communication Chapuys makes reference to 'these stirrers of heresy, the Earl of Hertford and Lord Admiral', mentioning that the Queen also 'shows herself infected'.⁵⁶ Hertford and Viscount Lisle proved to be of great influence: der Delft described Henry's councillors 'inclining' to the men, and lamented that the majority of the courtly *milieu* were of their 'perverse sects, and in favour of getting rid of the bishops, and they do not conceal their wish to see Winchester and other adherents of the ancient faith in the Tower with the Duke.'⁵⁷ By 16 January 1547 the chaplain to the bishop of London was bewailing the spiritual state of the youth of England, who were being raised in heresy. The remaining good men who 'used virtue and holy ceremonies' were now afraid to celebrate their religion; 'sanctimony of life is put away with fasting on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and beads, and therefore good men dare not now use them for fear they should be laughed to scorn.'⁵⁸

Who knows how long the struggle between the papists and the gossellers would have continued under Henry VIII. During his reign the *defensor fidei* allowed to be stirred up a plethora of inflammatory theological issues. Henry assigned himself the role of *pastor angelicus*; ostensibly the church was to be purified under his leadership, in reality it was impoverished. He attempted to manipulate the religious conflict to his own advantage, but soon the commitment, loyalty and zeal of both conservatives and radicals slipped beyond his control. Henry failed to resolve the heated debates, and refused to commit himself

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pt. 2, [605].

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, [756].

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, [605].

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, [710].

wholeheartedly to a single course of action. In December the king told Van der Delft that he had suffered a fever for 30 hours, but had fully recovered. Der Delft commented that the king's looks 'do not bear out the latter statement.'⁵⁹ The monarch's progressive demise had been evident for some time; the treasonous quartering of the arms of Earl of Surrey with those of Edward the Conqueror had been in anticipation of the imminent power struggle. In the early hours of 28 January 1547 King Henry VIII died in his palace at Westminster, his crown passing to his nine-year old son Edward. The Henrician 'reform' was over.

Der Delft and Chapuys had interpreted correctly the religious leanings of the court, and the name of Stephen Gardiner was absent from the list of executors of Henry's will. With the new monarch was released a fresh impetus towards reform, and an iron commitment to see the measures through to their successful implementation. A.F. Pollard has commented: 'Fortune had played a strange trick with the headship of the church when, thirteen years after its transference from pope to king, it passed to a child.'⁶⁰ On 20 February the young king Edward VI was crowned by Archbishop Cranmer. Educated by Richard Cox and John Cheke, Edward was being raised in the reformed faith, and the majority of his Council of Regency and Privy Council were of a similar caste. Gardiner was helpless against the ruling faction, headed by the newly elected Lord Protector, Edward Seymour, who became the Duke of Somerset, and (in the place of Norfolk) Lord High Treasurer and Earl Marshall. The 'unworkable' will of Henry VIII was disobeyed, and instead of an equal division of power, it was decided that Seymour would be given primacy.⁶¹ The reforming cause now had both the power and the opportunity to effect lasting change. The removal of Chancellor Wriothesley from the Privy Council on 5 March marked the beginning of the purge of conservative magnates.⁶² In theory, the way was clear for the new learning.

George Joye and the other exiles watched the unfurling of events from the relative safety of the Continent. Somerset eased into his role of

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, [605].

⁶⁰A.F. Pollard, *The Political History of England*, vol. 6, p. 4.

⁶¹W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 56.

⁶²John Gage and Thomas Cheyne were among the others ordered to confine themselves to their houses indefinitely. See D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, p. 44.

religious cleanser, working with Cranmer to draw up a program of reform, in order to reduce 'again religion to a right sincerity'.⁶³ The characteristic equivocation of Henry's reign was not to be found in the new measures, the disastrous effect of backtracking having been demonstrated all too well in the past. The Privy Council set forth from the outset the theology and correct practise of the Christian religion in no uncertain terms, allying itself with the reformist Henrician measures ostensibly adhered to throughout the realm. The reality was somewhat different; the country's adherence to the traditional *cultus* of English religion was plainly visible, as Duffy relates:

The people still for the most part prayed upon beads, and the hallowing of bread, water, and candles, as well as the Holy Week ceremonies of the blessing of Palms and of the paschal fire, were all, despite Cranmer's efforts in 1546, still retained in the liturgy. Everywhere the observance of Lent was still enforced. And although the quenching of the lights before the saints and the gradual suppression of their cults had led to the dissolution of many gilds, they were in principle still legal, and in fact many survived into the new reign. Above all, Masses satisfactory were sung, week by week and day by day, in most of the parish churches of England the bede-rolls were still read and, in many places, the traditional bequests for requiems and "Diriges" were still included as a matter of course in wills.⁶⁴

The offensive proper struck in the summer of 1547, with the first injunctions concerning religion and the announcement of a royal visitation of the realm. One critic's comment that these injunctions, issued on 31 July 1547, 'were not of themselves in any way radical' and constituted 'no more than piecemeal reforms' is misleading.⁶⁵ The legislation reiterated and then developed the previous attempts of Cranmer to 'cleanse' the land of papistry. Iconoclasm was ordered; all remaining relics, shrines and pictures known to have been 'abused' with pilgrimage or offerings were to be removed and destroyed. For the first time, stained glass religious art was also targeted. From July the measures were supported by newly licensed preachers such as Hugh Latimer, James Pilkington and John Knoxe.⁶⁶ The clergy were to

⁶³A&M, vol. 5, p. 698.

⁶⁴E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 449.

⁶⁵W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 161, p. 155.

⁶⁶*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 2, [34].

encourage the lay people to purge their own homes in a similar fashion, and were to declaim the usurped power of Rome and the papistical superstitions four times a year. The recitation of the rosary ('mumbling over beads') was dismissed, and the church processions were condemned. All lights but two altar-candles were forbidden. Finally, the sacraments were allowed only a symbolic significance, serving merely as reminders. In the stripped, darkened churches, the parishioners were to read and listen to the scriptures in English and Erasmus' *Paraphrase*.

Bishops Gardiner and Bonner voiced strong objections to the injunctions, and were subsequently imprisoned. The latter submitted and was free by November, the former remained incarcerated until the new year. The men were presumably intended to serve as examples to other would-be outspoken conservatives, but in reality the action appears to represent the Edwardian council at their most extreme. The moderation of these new measures, relative to those of the Henrician regime, must be noted. The provision for punitive measures was negligible. Somerset, who was classed by Pollard as 'One of the most obstinate optimists in English history', had witnessed the failure of violence to enforce religious legislation, and instead adopted an approach of toleration.⁶⁷ The scale of punishment for breaches of the injunctions was comparatively mild. Even the *Paraphrase* recommended had not been subjected to extreme reformist reinterpretation, Mary herself had helped in its translation.⁶⁸ In addition, although 'her refusing to conform to the order of Common Prayer lately set forth' was marvelled at by Edward VI, he still permitted Mary to have mass celebrated in her home, as long as she did not publicise the occurrence.⁶⁹ This approach of toleration derived from the council's knowledge 'that they held the governance of a people whose religious unity they did not command.'⁷⁰

The lenient nature of the articles, which attempted to institute a distinctly reformist liturgy without either an enforcing or a regulating power, gave the reformers free reign to destroy all physical indications of papacy. As Pollard has commented: 'The engines of terror were brought

⁶⁷A.F. Pollard, *The Political History of England*, vol. 6, p. 13.

⁶⁸ However, the *Paraphrases* were removed during the Marian visitations. See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 530.

⁶⁹*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 8, [51], see also *A&M*, vol. 5, p. 700.

⁷⁰D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, p. 175.

to a sudden standstill, and the treason and heresy laws of Henry VIII were quietly ignored. The result of the liberty was a popular licence which, as in the cities of Germany, took the forms of image-breaking and of scurrilous ballads and tracts against the mass.⁷¹ The iconoclasm in London was so acute that a restoration of the unabused images was planned, but the reversal was eventually prevented by the fear that any action would further exacerbate the issue. Shortly afterward the Council ordered the removal of any images remaining within the city of London.⁷²

However, the freedom abused by the radical reformers was also available to the conservatives. For Catholics, the injunctions still allowed room for manoeuvring, perhaps a sign of the government's continuing desire for aid from Emperor Charles. The clergy were not asked to support openly the new edicts, and much was left up to the individual church to decide whether an image was 'abused' or not. Both factions were allowed complete freedom of speech, as long as it did not incite civil unrest. Unfortunately, all too often it did.

The people's readiness to practise their chosen faith (whether orthodox or reformist) was interwoven with a growing awareness that those who ruled on earth were not untouchable. One critic comments: 'Inconsistency and laxness at the top had bred unruliness and presumption below ... politically, people no longer feared their governor.'⁷³ Neither did they accord any great respect to the clergy: on 12 November 1547 a proclamation was issued ordering that no person 'shall use hereafter such insolence and evil demeanor towards priests, as reviling, tossing of them, taking violently their caps and tippers from them'.⁷⁴ Christopher Haigh remarks: 'Personal abuse of clergy seems not to have been common before the Reformation, and rarely led to defamation suits, but this changed from the 1530s'.⁷⁵ With both church and state revealed as 'this stinking pitchy bronde of anticrist', their position as unquestionable authorities was severely destabilised.⁷⁶

⁷¹A.F. Pollard, *The Political History of England*, vol. 6, p. 13.

⁷²See W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 148.

⁷³D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, pp. 180-1.

⁷⁴P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, [292].

⁷⁵'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 72.

⁷⁶*Daniel*, e4v.

O'Leary has argued that this phenomenon was a characteristic feature of apocalyptic literature: 'When a whole world or cosmos is perceived in terms of the ultimate exigence of evil, and the urgency of this exigence is emphasized by an epochal rhetoric that constitutes time through the imminence of its fulfillment, the theme of authority becomes central in Christian eschatology.'⁷⁷ We may recall the complaint that the preachers of the new learning 'have almost driven away virtue and holiness. With the despising of purgatory the people begin to disregard hell and heaven.'⁷⁸ The reformers' questioning of authority had begun with their prioritisation of the Word over human speculation, but their scepticism was soon extended to other earthly institutions. The topos of the apocalypse fired the imaginative capacities of the suffering brethren. The beast of Revelations 13, originally 'designed as a symbolic subversion of the persecuting power of the Roman empire' could be transferred all too easily to other earthly authorities.⁷⁹ Its primary identification was of course with the figure of the pope. The papal father's status in apocalyptic discourse tended to oscillate between the benevolent *pastor angelicus* and the dreaded *pseudopontifex*.⁸⁰ This image of the false minister exercising a usurped authority, which gained great strength in Joye's writings, has been connected specifically with apocalyptic writing:

Often, these groups used typological interpretation of scriptural prophecy to effect a dialectical transformation of the symbols of sacred authority. Thus, the more the Roman Catholic church persisted in its claim that the divine authority of Scripture had to be mediated by traditional authority in the person of the pope, the vicar of Christ on earth, the more reformers ... were prone to view the papacy itself as either a type or the literal fulfillment of the scriptural prophecies of Antichrist.⁸¹

In *Daniel*, Joye writes that Jesus 'shall come agen shortly to delyuer us mightely out of anticrystis tyranye/ & destroye him with his

⁷⁷S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 55.

⁷⁸L&P, vol. 11, [156].

⁷⁹S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 56.

⁸⁰B. McGinn, *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, p. 55, traces the image of the *pseudopontifex* back to the tenth century, when Bishop Arnulf attacked John XV at the Synod of Reims, held at Basle in 991 AD. See *ibid.* p. 160 for the image in the thirteenth century, and see S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 55 for the image in the eleventh century.

⁸¹S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 55.

almighty worde.'(h4v) The papacy was, however, not the sole power to be identified with Antichrist. The role of the secular kings in the chaos marking the beginning of the End was set forth in the book of Daniel, and had been examined by Peter John Olivi, head of the Franciscan Spirituals, who 'distinguished the *antichristus mysticus* from the *antichristus magnus*, the first a false pope who would attack the evangelical way of life begun by Francis, the second a secular ruler, his ally, who would be the final persecutor of the sixth age.'⁸² As has been mentioned in chapter seven, Joye had developed a startling theory describing a far-reaching collusion of monumental proportions, in which the submission of the clergy was interpreted as a calculating ploy of Antichrist. Significantly, O'Leary defines a function common to the discourses of both apocalypse and conspiracy, suggesting that 'each develops symbolic resources that enable societies to define and address the problem of evil. While conspiracy strives to provide a spatial self-definition of the true community as set apart from the evils that surround us, apocalypse locates the problem of evil in time and looks forward to its imminent resolution.'⁸³ This conspiracy between Rome and the temporal rulers was yet another example of the chaos prophesied to precede the return of Christ. Both factions of the religious war identified the present turmoil with the chaotic inversions delineated in Daniel. In his response to Joye's defamatory tract, Stephen Gardiner launched accusations which in effect painted Joye as a schismatic, a bringer of chaos, who took away 'distinction and difference of apparell, dayes, tymes, and places.'⁸⁴ In the writings of both men the political and religious upheavals were given 'apocalyptic validation to show that they were part of God's plan and not ephemeral accidents.'⁸⁵

This attempt to make sense of the world through a deterministic view of history was furthered through the humanistic scepticism of the elaborate allegorical and symbolic schemata devised by medieval scholastics. Having been trained as humanist biblical scholars, the reformist theologians were well-versed in this philosophy of the Word. Their interest lay in the literal meaning of the scripture, and when examining the apocalyptic texts, their 'interpretations sought concrete

⁸²B. McGinn, *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, p. 166.

⁸³S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 6.

⁸⁴S. Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles*, X2v.

⁸⁵B. McGinn, *Apocalypticism in the Western Tradition*, p. 157.

historical and scientific fulfillments of prophecy that would provide objective demonstrations of the veracity of Scripture.⁸⁶ Therefore Joye directs his readers to Jeremiah 48-51 to 'se there clerely the present face of the soden miserable fall of the Pope & his kingedome now at hande'.(A5r) An exegesis of Daniel, for example, searched for direct historical correlatives for the *antichristus magnus*. In his works Joye assigns considerable importance to the secular princes who rejected their responsibility 'to be the nources of the Gospell', and worked against the will of God.⁸⁷ The 'Satanike spirit of the spiritalty' had been documented for centuries, but the revelation of the secular authorities as Satan's 'seculare impes' seemed to make more vivid and tangible the day of judgement, as though the appearance of Antichrist's secular servants marked definitely the beginning of the apocalypse, and gave it an immediate reality: 'euen now are the last dayes come/ as Daniel prophecieth herafter/ wherin the emprour and kynges all as many as haue burned and yet burne men for the gospell be lyke to be greuously punisshed.'⁸⁸

George Joye was not the only man to warn the secular authorities of the dire consequences of their actions. The reformer Robert Crowley spoke before the parliament that met in November 1547 to support with legislation the injunctions of the summer. Crowley condemned 'the greate extortion and vsurie that reigneth frely in thys realme, and seme to be authorised by Parliament wythin these .iii. yeres laste paste.' His speech called for the repeal of the Act of Six Articles, pleading: 'If you wyll call these Articles into question agayne ... I doubt not but you shal be fully perswaded that they proceded of the spirit of erreure, and not of the Spirite of God; because the charite of God was not amonge them in that assemble.'⁸⁹ The urgency manifest in Crowley's speech derives from his firm belief that the very fate of England rested on such a repeal:

The vse of the sacraments and ceremonies; the vsurpyng of tenthes to priuate commoditie; the superfluouse, vnlearned, vndiscret, and viciouse ministers of the church, and their superstitious and idolatrous administracions. Of these thynges, I saye, ought ther to be a spedy reformacion. For they are now most lyk hastely to

⁸⁶S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 59.

⁸⁷*Daniel*, fol. D7.

⁸⁸*Present Consolacion*, C6v; *Daniel*, e4v; *Daniel*, E6v.

⁸⁹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 170.

brynge vppon thys noble realme the ineuitable vengeaunce of God, if they bee not shortly reformed...⁹⁰

Those who believed that the day of judgement was approaching were working against the strictest of deadlines; there was limited time remaining in which to convince the strays to return to the flock. In 1548 Latimer exhorted the fallen capital: 'Oh London, London! repent, repent; for I think God is more displeased with London than ever he was with the city of Nebo.'⁹¹ In the writings of George Joye the theme of temporal urgency is given focus both on an abstract level and through subjective, personalised discussion. Joye's works were often specifically addressed to his fellow brethren; the future comfort awaiting them was invoked in order to dissipate the present despair felt by all. This theme was also voiced through Joye's cautions, which were offered to the secular rulers, and directed at the papists 'ouer whose heades the imminent heuye wrathe and vengeaunce of God hangeth/ redy to fall downe from heuen upon them.'⁹² John Bale likewise 'considered it no less than my bound duty, under pain of damnation, to admonish Christ's flock'.⁹³ Stephen Gardiner was singled out for special attention: in *Defence* Joye quotes Isaiah 17, exhorting: 'Repent Wyn. lest the hasty whirlewynd of goddis present heuy indignacion carye you shortly away'(A7v); he later reiterates: 'Repent repent Wynch. in tyme/ for the axe is bent at thy tre sodenly to be cut downe and cast into the fyer.'(C8v)

Certainly, the apex of Stephen Gardiner's career had passed. He showed no inclination to sway with the prevailing religious wind, planning a solemn dirge and mass to be said after Henry's death. But the state distanced itself from Gardiner's faith. When Parliament met in November 1547, it cemented in legislation the tolerant, but undeniably reformist, religious philosophy of Somerset. All of the Henrician statutes concerning theology were repealed, including on 2 December 'that monstrous hydra with six heads (the Six Articles, I mean)'.⁹⁴ Communion in both kinds was to be introduced, although the traditional doctrine of the mass was for the moment left untouched.⁹⁵ The works of

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁹¹G. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 65.

⁹²*Defence*, D3v.

⁹³'The Image of Both Churches' in H. Christmas (ed.), *Select Works of John Bale*, p. 255.

⁹⁴*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 703.

⁹⁵*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 4, [2].

the reformers were legal once more. The other major work of the Edwardian parliament concerned the implementation of a process begun by Henry: the dissolution of the remaining chantries and small guilds. Close to 2400 religious funds, which constituted 'the main form of organised lay religious activity' in England, were liquidated.⁹⁶ The act drew considerable funds and lands to the Crown, the latter were sold on, and composed over 89% of all lands sold by the Edwardian government.⁹⁷

The act also greatly exacerbated the tension already rife among the parishes. It was a devastating blow for the English laity, whose development of the chantry system had represented a huge contribution to the spiritual life of the community. Such a plan would destroy the religious work of lay people and working guilds throughout the country. What had functioned as a prime opportunity for active lay participation within the clerical sphere was to be lost, along with the monetary funds raised by the laity themselves. Bale's King Johan voices his disapproval of the chantry system:

<i>Nobylyte</i>	Sir, I suppose yt good to bylde a perpetuite For me and my frendes to be prayed for evermore.
<i>K. Johan</i>	Tysh, yt is madnes all to dyspayre in God so sore And to thynke Christes deth to be insufficient. (Act 1, ll. 485-8)

Although primarily associated with praying for the souls of the dead, the chantries also played a role of considerable social importance, and the extinction of the chantry system can not be justified solely in reformist terms. The guilds and the individuals who managed the chantries were especially concerned with caring for the poor and with halting the falling standards of education. In the wake of the act, schools formerly supported by chantry funds could no longer be maintained, with the result that the status of education degenerated still further. In addition, the dissolution added to the growing masses of unemployed clergy, who like those ejected from the religious houses over the course of the previous decade, were not permitted to marry or take part in 'normal' working life. Their obvious penury perhaps discouraged those who would otherwise have entered holy orders, for there was a sharp drop in

⁹⁶E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 454

⁹⁷See W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 111.

ordinations to the priesthood from the beginning of the innovation in religion.⁹⁸ In many cases the religious hospitals were also reappropriated, for example the revenue of the Hospital of St. John in Bedford town was comprised mainly of small rents, and was in 1535 valued at £21 02. 8d..⁹⁹ It had been established a house of charity for poor and needy free born people; on entry the people pledged to remain for life. These people never expected to be ejected from their home. Certain of the hospitals also had educational concerns, which were often forsaken as a result of their surrender to the crown. The gusto with which the monasteries and chantries had been dissolved had in theory been spurred on by good intentions: men sought to 'shake the bags/ Of hoarding abbots' to put them to practical charitable use.¹⁰⁰ However, the 'imprisoned angels' were not set at liberty, but were merely transferred to a different prison. Robert Crowley lamented the opportunity for charity which had been lost with the dissolutions:

O Lorde (thought I then)
 what occasion was here
 To prouide for learninge
 And make pouertye chere?
 The landes and the jewels
 that herely were hadde,
 Would haue found godly prechers,
 which might well haue ladde
 The people aright
 that now go astraye,
 And haue fedde the pore,
 that famishe euerye daye.¹⁰¹

Poverty increased in a two-fold manner, as both those who had cared for and those who had been taken care of were deprived. One of the thousands of funds dissolved in this year was the chantry of Corpus Christi in Newnham Priory, founded by William Joye, its monetary worth (£8 7s. 4¹/₂ d.) was declared to be owing to the Crown.

⁹⁸For example, in the diocese of Durham, "between 1536 and 1544 no one was ordained." See M. Bowker, 'The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, pp. 78-9.

⁹⁹See *VCH: Bedford*, vol. 1, p. 398.

¹⁰⁰W. Shakespeare, *King John*, Act 3, sc. 3, ll. 7-8.

¹⁰¹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 7.

A *via media* of sorts was adhered to by the government, who paced the introduction of their reforming measures, couching the legislation with reassurances. On 16 January 1548 the traditional observance of Lenten fast and abstinence was asserted via royal proclamation: the English people 'should and ought thereby in all good works and virtues increase, be more forward, diligent, and plentiful; as in fasting, prayer, and alms deeds'.¹⁰² This was followed two days later by an order abolishing the use of candles, ashes and palms, the 'sensible signs' integral to the most important ceremonies in the liturgical year. On this day Hugh Latimer preached in the shrouds at St. Paul's, and described the devil's attempt to reinstate popery in every parish: 'When the devil is resident, and hath his plough going, there away with books, and up with candles; away with bibles, and up with beads; away with the light of the gospel, and up with the light of candles, yea, at noon-days.'¹⁰³ On 6 February a proclamation against innovation in religion was issued. It declared that nothing so disquieted the realm 'as diversity of opinions and variety of rites and ceremonies concerning religion and worshipping of Almighty God', and condemned those who try 'not only to persuade the people from the old and accustomed rites and ceremonies but also themselves bringeth in new and strange orders, every one in their church, according to their fantasies'.¹⁰⁴ Eamon Duffy (p. 457) comments: 'Under pretext of protecting the traditional ceremonies, the revised proclamation effectively abolished them.' The inevitable backlash to the radical measures took a violent form. The conflict showed no signs of dissipating, and in a desperate attempt to regain order, on 21 February the Privy Council 'fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division,' and wanting to harmonise England 'by some quiet and godly order' ordered all images - abused or otherwise - to be taken away.¹⁰⁵ The hope of the state was not realised: John Foxe tells us that 'great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people' concerning the removal of the images.¹⁰⁶ More placatory measures followed in March, but did little to assuage the widespread discontent, which was visible in the popular literature:

¹⁰²P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, [297].

¹⁰³G. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁴P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, [299].

¹⁰⁵*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 720.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 717.

England! hold vp thyne head, & see
 thy doleful, daylye, depe decaye!
 thow blind foole! yet I saye to the,
 looke on the lorde, yf that thow maye!¹⁰⁷

What John Foxe introduces as 'the mild and halcyon days of king Edward the Sixth' in fact constituted an alarmingly unstable time in English history.¹⁰⁸ The lay people of England responded violently to the attempt at enforcing the Edwardian measures. A.F. Pollard considers the extreme resistance offered to the measures to have been provoked 'not so much by what the government did by itself, as by what it refrained from doing to others.'¹⁰⁹ With the Henrician equivocation having passed, the intense, widespread scrutiny ordered by the Edwardian government (unchecked by punitive measures) resulted in the flood of iconoclasm sweeping across the country. Yet despite the furore erupting in the wake of the iconoclastic legislature, the churches continued to be stripped. Like Philip the Bastard, Somerset could swear: 'Bell, book, and candle, shall not drive me back,/ When gold and silver beckes me to come on.'¹¹⁰ By April the Privy Council were sufficiently alarmed by rumours of sedition: unlicensed preaching was once again banned on 24 April 1548, with the special licences to be issued by Cranmer, Somerset, or the king. Even those granted licences were ordered to avoid controversial subjects. But the radical reformers were wholly caught up in the uncontrolled reforming energy of the time, and soon overstepped their boundaries.¹¹¹ Bishops Gardiner and Bonner were both uncooperative in implementing the Injunctions, and were reimprisoned, the latter being first deprived of his bishopric. On 14 June Warwick asked how 'the arrogant Bishop' was to be dealt with, and 16 days later Gardiner was taken to the Tower.¹¹² On 23 September the Privy Council withdrew all current licenses, even the sermons at St. Paul's Cross were to be suspended. Until there was uniformity in opinion, any preaching - irrespective of religious position - was utterly forbidden.

¹⁰⁷'Dr. Haddon's Exhortation to Repentance', in W.R. Morfill (ed.), *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 328.

¹⁰⁸A&M, vol. 5, p. 697.

¹⁰⁹A.F. Pollard, *The Political History of England*, vol. 6, p. 14.

¹¹⁰W. Shakespeare, *King John*, Act 3, sc. 3, ll. 12-3.

¹¹¹See W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, pp. 188-9.

¹¹²*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 4, [17].

It was to this atmosphere to which Joye returned. During his second period as a refugee abroad, Joye fostered a sense of apocalyptic foreboding. His works became imbued with warnings of the final judgement and damnation. He returned to England, probably in the early months of 1548, with his eschatological concerns more prominent than ever.

III

Having experienced the violent instability in religious matters over the previous twenty years, Joye would have followed the Edwardian operations with keen attention, ready to flee his country for a third time. As it turned out, such an emigration was not necessary. Archbishop Cranmer, having committed himself to radical measures, held firm through the furore of their implementation. Others were raised to bolster Cranmer's work: Nicholas Ridley replaced Bonner as bishop of London, and Protestants Ponet and Hooper were elected to the sees previously occupied by Gardiner and Heath. By May 1548 the services in St. Paul's Cathedral were held in English, a landmark event in the history of the religious vernacular. The same month saw the publication of *The coniectures of the ende of the worlde*, issued from the press of the London printer Richard Jugge. In accordance with the regulations set forth for publishers, the name of George Joye was detailed as the translator and editor of the tract by Andreas Osiander. The text may have been ready for some time: Joye's source book, *Conjecturae de ultimis temporibus ac de fine mundi*, was published in Nuremberg in 1544; in addition the colophon mentions Joye's edition as being 'now at laste printed in the yere M.D. xlvij.'

In *Coniectures* George Joye's apocalyptic thought reaches fruition. The previous foci of his discourse - the question of authority and evil, and the consolation of the brethren - all culminate in this short (64 leaf) book, printed for the brethren 'that ye myght counforte your selues by readyng the diuine mysteries & warninges conteyned herein.'(A3r) The book's intended audience consists of those who 'wyth growing syghes ... unable to be expressed, desyer to see the day of theyr redemptyon, wherein they shuld be losed from theyr present seruitute'.(A2r) For these

suffering souls *Coniectures* predicts 'certainly the tyme of the fall of the Antichriste of Rome, and laste ende of thys myserable synfull worlde', (A2v) using the books of Daniel, Revelations, and Paul.

Such a calculation had remained a matter of some contention, and the opening of Joye's book addresses the question of humankind overreaching into the divine sphere. In his exposition of Revelations John Bale writes: 'Nothing ought here to be sought of curiosity, but of love towards God, for defence of his most pure doctrine and for avoidance of the crafty snares of the devil.'¹¹³ Joye's *apologia* attempts to resolve a recurrent tension of apocalyptic writings. Despite Daniel's obvious desire to plot out the last days, other parts of the Bible attempted to dissuade such calculation: Matthew had written: 'Awake and watche for ye know not the daye not yet the hower when the sone of man shall come'¹¹⁴ and 4 Esdras warned against seeking definite knowledge, 'for how can your small capacity comprehend the ways of the Most High? A man corrupted by the corrupt world can never know the way of the incorruptible.'¹¹⁵ At the outset Joye makes reference to this debated issue, and validates the conjectures contained within. He argues that far from forbidding us, Jesus actually provoked humankind to search for knowledge of the End. Through diligent study of the Bible we may 'comprehende within certayn limites' the time of the last days. Christ declared that no man could know 'the day and hower', however the *year* of his coming was never mentioned 'For verely, by the most apt similitude to serche it out dyd he louingly prouoke us bothe to obserue & wayte. For that same tyme, yea and in a maner compelled us to do.' (A4v) With this in mind 'we ought to endeuour our selues to studye' (A4r) for clues as to the date of the End.

Having thus provided a scriptural-based validation of the work undertaken, Joye sets about detailing the various estimations for the time of the world's end. His work certainly exemplifies the love of systematisation and schematisation characteristic of apocalypticists.¹¹⁶ There are four main conjectures. The first calculation derives from the prophecy of Elias, who had divided the six millennia into three stages:

¹¹³'The Image of Both Churches' in H. Christmas (ed.), *Select Works of John Bale*, p. 261.

¹¹⁴*Coniectures*, H2r.

¹¹⁵'1 and 2 Esdras', *The Cambridge Bible Commentary*, p. 120.

¹¹⁶See D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, p. 224.

the first two thousand years were void of any law, the second took place under the law of circumcision, and the third under the law of Christ, therefore 'from christ to the ende of the worlde, there shalbe no more (peradventure much lesse) then two thousande euen as Elias sayd'.(fol A7) Elias' conjectures could be made to agree with the idea of the 'world-week' of seven millennia corresponding to the seven days of creation. This schema enjoyed extreme popularity among apocalyptic writers, who used various biblical texts to promulgate the notion that as God had spent six days creating the earth, so would he allow it to fester for six millennia (since, according to 2 Peter 3, one thousand years with the Lord were as one day) before bringing it everlasting rest in the seventh.

The second calculation followed Matthew 24:37 'as the days of No-e were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.' The time elapsed between Adam and the Flood was calculated at 1656 years. Figuring Christ as another Adam ('of whom the fyrst was the forme and similytude'), the same time span existed from 'the celestiall Adam our Lorde Jesus unto the ende euen to that last fiery floude wherof Paul sayth ... wherfor it is very like that in the year of our Lorde .Mccccclvi. the end of the world shalbe comen before our dores'(B1v-B2r).

As is evident, the numerology of the Bible was of prime importance for these calculations. Historical events could be manipulated and mapped on to the scriptural schemes of world history, and could be traced according to various chronologies of biblical events, particularly that of the life of Jesus. The jubilee years of the Church were made to agree with the life of Christ: for example, it was 30 years after the birth of Jesus that John the Baptist preached repentance in the desert, so the thirtieth jubilee (AD 1500) therefore marked the reawakening of the knowledge of the true faith. At this time 'was the very sincere doctryne of the lawe, of the knowledg of orygynall sinne and of other vices ... restored to the churche, that the peple might haue ben prepared and made apt to receiue the doctrine of the gospell'.(B7r) However, despite the change, the 'popish Jubeley yet dureth in many churches, albe it in some where the gospel taketh place, it is extinct'.(B6v) The focus on the time span of Christ's life produced a third estimation. As he had lived for 33 years and some days, so would he return again after the same number of 'great years'. One Moses year was equivalent to 50 human years ('the years that runneth form one Jubeley to the next'), which

brought the date to AD 1650. To this was added six years for the days that Christ lived beyond 33 years, and the date for the End was set at AD 1656.

Having already witnessed the plethora of semantic meanings attributable to the Bible, one can imagine the limitless mathematical calculations which could be based on any one permutation of meaning. Joye himself tells us 'Coniecturs ar they, I knowleg and confesse it, and no oracles.'(H1r) The estimations are continually qualified: calculating from Christ's resurrection (as with John) and not his birth (as with Daniel), resulted in different figures, as did the use of Angel years, or the moon years of the Hebrews.¹¹⁷ Joye cites Zwingli's admission that any calculation beyond AD 1650 is mere guesswork. The Swiss reformer went on to suggest that seven, as God's number of rest, may figure in the date somewhere, for example 1677, 1657, 1577 or 1607. Joye then recalculates (the title page informs readers that 'meny things be added out of the said George his coniectures'(H2r)), reckoning the jubilee years of the Church from Christ's resurrection instead of his birth. He estimates that the Pope shall most likely fall in 1672, and the End of the world shall follow in 1678. Other combinations of Joye's offer the dates 1597, 1577, and 1567, for example Joye adds his own based on Daniel 12: 'Wherfor me thinketh it shuld be at an ende within these .xxxvii. yeres or within .lxxvii. if we reken fro the resurreccion of Christ, to whom be glory honor praise and thankes for euer. So be it.'(H2r)¹¹⁸

The myriad estimations reveal the degree to which the end of the world, as set forth in the apocalyptic texts, was an imminent reality to the author. All predict the final judgement as occurring within 150 years. Perhaps more significant than any single calculation, however, is the historical framework constructed, for Joye was deeply involved 'in a stream of the [apocalyptic] tradition that had as yet found no English exponent or contributor ... Joye's translation of Osiander's conjectures was one of the earliest works published for English readers which used prophecy as a guide to chronology and as a tool for periodization and

¹¹⁷An 'angel year' is defined as being equal to the number of days in a lunar year, or 354 human years.

¹¹⁸This somewhat confusing calculation is explained by K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain*, p. 65: "The abomination of the beast began in the year 287, in the reign of Diocletian, when heresies abounded. From that date to the year 1577 were 1,290 angel's days, the figure mentioned in Daniel from the beginning to the end of that abomination."

prediction.¹¹⁹ Through the discourse of apocalypse Joye had placed the history of his country within that of the divine Word. His response was characteristic of other reformers, in both the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. In his *Actes and Monuments* John Foxe examines the numerology of the apocalypse, and related it to recent history, mentioning that Satan had been bound 'from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wickliff and John Huss.'¹²⁰ Joye similarly links the biblical world with the present: as Satan caused trouble in scriptural times, 'Euen so nowe in our tyme hath he stered up the relygious and seculare papistes in England ... with like other authors of sedicion to make the doctrine of the Gospel nowe happely in spryngyng up ayen, to be odious and suspect'.¹²¹ In *Coniectures* Joye delineates the history of 'the later beast of Rome', and argues that it 'had neuer so deadly an heade wounde as the swerd of Goddes worde hath nowe geuen hym in these laste xxx yeares, sence Erasmus. Mar. Luth. Zwinglius ... with many grete lerned & godly man mo haue begun to write, teach, & preache'.(fol. F5) The present conflict between the true church and those 'confedered with Antichrist to fyght ayenst the lorde & his anointed'(F5v) was one of the 'sygnes and coniectures immediatlie coming before ... the gloriouse daye of the redempcion'.(A2v) In this way the remote world of the Bible, foretelling the horrors of the modern world, was made immediate and relevant specifically to Joye's contemporaries. This is a feature of apocalyptic writings: in 1609 Thomas Brightman, a Puritan man from Bedfordshire, published *A revelation of the revelation*. Like George Joye, Brightman is certain of the impending doom, and sees his own age as a completion, a consummation:

'Nowe it (the Historye) is reserved for this time because there could not be a full understanding of these things before the last trumpet. The events came forth by little and little, and point by point, to the knowledge of which the world attained severally & by leasure-like, as when hangings are unfolded, but nowe when al things were at last accomplished, it was a fit time to see the whole garment displaid at once.'¹²²

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹²⁰For Foxe's account see *A&M*, vol. 1, pp. 290-2.

¹²¹*Coniectures*, B8r.

¹²²Quoted in K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain*, p. 251.

The contradictory and conflicting interpretations deriving from Daniel were symptomatic of biblical scholarship in general. These difficulties increased exponentially when joined by the writings of the Church Fathers and centuries of papal decrees, and were further multiplied by the various traditions present at national, regional and parochial levels. Just as it is impossible to speak of 'the church of England' as an cohesive entity before the break from Rome, so it is equally problematic to address 'the English religion' of the early sixteenth century, since it was not a homogeneous phenomenon. The government sought to create consistency: theoretically, the uniformity in religion desired by the English state would be provided by the *Book of Common Prayer*. By the time of writing, both Latimer and Cranmer were leaning towards the eucharistic theology of the Swiss, with the result that the first draft of the book had to be toned down considerably before it reached a form acceptable to the majority of Convocation.¹²³ It was authorised by Parliament on 21 January 1549 by the Act of Uniformity (according to Pollard 'the mildest act which ever bore that unhappy name').¹²⁴ This act abandoned all local and diocesan variants of religious practices, imposing instead a single, vernacular service to be practised throughout the country.¹²⁵ The overtly reformist dogma of the book functioned as a catalyst, enabling the people of England to comprehend fully the implications of its acceptance. As D.E. Hoak remarks: 'Whereas the various proclamations of 1548 ... had not reduced the tension of the religious debate, the Act of Uniformity of 1549 failed immediately to produce an order acceptable to all.'¹²⁶ The doctrines set forth were to be implemented from Whit-Sunday (June 9) 1549.¹²⁷ The following day

¹²³Cranmer's position on the Eucharist has been the subject of much debate. For a recent examination rejecting any affinity between the theology of Cranmer and that of the Swiss see B. Hall, 'Cranmer, the Eucharist and the Foreign Divines in the Reign of Edward VI', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, pp. 217-258. In 'Treasures Old and New: A Look at Some of Thomas Cranmer's Methods of Liturgical Composition', B. Spinks considers the issue, concluding: "Ultimately Cranmer's views on the Eucharist can only be described as 'Cranmerian'." *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹²⁴A.F. Pollard, *The Political History of England*, vol. 6, p. 25.

¹²⁵For examinations of the Book of Common Prayer see A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, pp. 242-5 & pp. 276-8, and E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 464-66. For Cranmer's role see P. Ayris, 'God's Vicegerent and Christ's Vicar' the Relationship between the Crown and the Archbishopric of Canterbury, 1533-53', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, pp. 144-5.

¹²⁶D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, p. 176.

¹²⁷For the significance of the date see P. Ayris, 'God's Vicegerent and Christ's Vicar' the Relationship between the Crown and the Archbishopric of Canterbury, 1533-53', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, pp. 144: "The choice

rebellion broke out, marking the beginning of 'the most serious and widespread rising of the commons since the fourteenth century.'¹²⁸ The violent rejection began in the West Country, and was soon followed by uprisings in West and East Anglia; no county of England appears to have been unaffected. Although the uprisings were also concerned with aggregation, enclosure of common lands and wastes, and sheep farming, 'the most important of the forces animating the Western Rebellion was fear of religious change.'¹²⁹ It was also known as the Prayer Book Rebellion. Foxe tells us that in Cornwall and Devonshire, people 'especially mourning to see their old popish church of Rome to decay ... burst out in rank rebellion'.¹³⁰ Robert Crowley had warned of such insurrection when he spoke before the first Edwardine parliament in 1547:

Be warned therefore, & seke not to kepe the commones of England in slauery, for that is the next way to destroie your selues! For if thei commit theyr cause to God & quiet themselues in their vocacion, beyng contented with oppression, if Goddes wyll be so; then shal ye be sure that God wyll fyghte for them, and so are ye ouer matched. But if they wyl nedes take in hand to reuenge theyr owne wronge, God wyll fyght agaynst ye boeth, so that you boeth, consumynge one the other, shall shortly be made a praye to them that ye doubt least of al the world.¹³¹

The insurrection catalysed similar riots in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. The town of Exeter was invaded, and the priests there 'ever harped on one string, to ring in the bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home cardinal Pole their countryman.'¹³² The articles drawn up in Exeter reveal an overwhelming concern with what had been fundamental to the people's faith. They called for the reinstatement of the Six Articles, demanding royal support for the

of such a festival was highly symbolic, since this Christian feast celebrates the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles."

¹²⁸W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 386.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 457.

¹³⁰*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 730.

¹³¹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 149.

¹³²*A&M*, vol. 5, p. 731. For the articles of the rebels see *ibid.* pp. 731-2. Bishop Tunstall blamed the unrest and sedition on the pope: "And the byshop of Rome now of late to set forth his pestilent malyce the more, hath allured to his purpose a subiecte of this realme Raynolde Pole, commen of a noble bloudde, and therby the more errant traytour, to goo about fro prince to prince, and from countrey to countreye, to stirre them to warre ageynste this realme, and to distroy the same, beinge his natiue countrey." *A Sermon of Cuthbert Byshop of Duresme*, E1v.

doctrine of transubstantiation, for the sacrament of baptism, and for the legitimate use of holy water and blessed bread.

The extreme gravity of the situation was affirmed by Cranmer and his men, and is evident in their visitation articles of that year, which sought to eradicate the remnants of the traditional cultus of the people. Although the revolts failed, discouraging other attempts, the charged atmosphere was by no means dissipated. On 13 August Somerset ordered the printers of England to submit all vernacular works for examination, by which time his own fate had been decided. In mid-October 1549 the Protector was arrested, and with him went his religious tolerance. His fall, as with that of Anne Boleyn, evinced a minor swell of traditionalism, and hope for the restoration of the old religion. Continuing the pattern of the events of 1536, there was no such return to orthodoxy; the election of Robert Dudley, Earl of Warwick instead marked a dramatic acceleration of the reform. The parliament that assembled in November passed a bill (proposed during the parliament of 1547) permitting marriage of the clergy, and Archbishop Cranmer's wife returned from Germany. Warwick worked quickly, and by February 1550 was rid of Arundel, South, Wriothesley, Edward Peckham and Richard Southwell. England's religious policy was to be led by a new spirit.

Joye's theology, discernible but nascent in the *Ortulus* and *Isaye*, matured during the course of his experiences at home and abroad. It developed an encompassing framework; its perspective was expanded and its judgement matured. Where it had once decried earthly abuse, it now situated itself within the judgement to come. Joye thus sought to curb the Catholic backlash of the 1540s through an explanation of the reformist liturgy (as demonstrated by his tracts on clerical marriage and the valid sacraments) and through a contextualisation of their experiences with the over-arching scheme of God's plan. The particular potency of Revelations may be demonstrated by the case of one Stile, who was burned at Smithfield towards the end of Tunstall's rule as bishop of London. John Foxe recounts:

With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened to the stake, to be burned with him lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," said he, "how happy am I, that

shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed.¹³³

Joye's two biblical exegeses of the 1540s provided (through Daniel) a rationale of the current suffering of the righteous believers, and (through Revelations) a promise of the comfort awaiting them in the next life. The earlier bitter laments on the state of the reformers came to be tempered with a Christian stoicism which viewed the present age as a single link in a chain, deriving from mankind's first sin and leading to the final redemption. His contextual matrix had been expanded to include all of history and time.

Apart from his publications, nothing is heard of George Joye until September 1549. On the twenty-eighth day of that month he was given the rectory of Blunham in Bedfordshire, in the diocese of Lincoln. Lincoln Registers record that his living was presented by Sir Henry Grey of Flytton, Bedfordshire, on the death of Joye's predecessor Roger Tonge. Served by the Church of St. Edmund, the value of the appointment (£46 2s. 10d.) would have allowed Joye and his family to live comfortably after the obligatory payment to the Crown of first fruits. When finally able to return and to work again in his home, Joye ceased writing, which had influenced a nation and helped to shape the English Reformation. He published only once more.

¹³³A&M, vol. 5, p. 655.

Chapter 9

...you too will all be forgotten,
 Nor can fame make you known by any man.
 And if you think you may live longer yet
 At least as a name alive on the lips of men,
 When your last day takes even *this* from you,
 There's still to come
 That second death.¹

Joye's final work was most probably published in 1550. *A contrarye (to a certain manis) Consultacion: That Adulterers ought to be punyshed wyth deathe* was a response to a tract written by a member of the brethren in London. Some of the themes dwelt upon by Joye were drawn together in this book, however it concerns itself neither with the lawful marriage of priests nor the correct celebration of the sacraments, two subjects on which Joye wrote with most devotion and vehemence. The popularity of the tract was such that it never warranted a reprinting, unlike *Ortulus*, the psalters, *Supper*, *Daniel*, *Rekening*, and *Ashwell*. Despite these facts, of all of Joye's publications it is *Contrary* which ordained the future posterity of Joye's biblical and polemical works. The determining factor lay not in the theology expressed or in the timing of the argument, but in Joye's opponent. The 'certain man' of the title referred to a young tutor by the name of John Foxe.

I

Foxe's fame did not come early in life. Born in 1516 in Boston, Lincolnshire, he commenced B.A. from Magdalen College, Oxford in 1537, and M.A. in 1543. He was an outspoken reformist, resigning his fellowship in 1545 in defiance of the college statutes requiring fellows to enter in to holy orders, and marrying in 1547 (by which time he was living in London). The following year he was assisted by John Bale in finding employment as tutor to the children of the late Henry Howard, earl of Surrey (who had been executed 19 January 1547). In the same year

¹Boethius, 'The Consolation of Philosophy', bk. 2, in *The Loeb Classical Library*, vol. 74, p. 223.

(1548) Foxe had published *De non plectendis morte Adulteris, consultatio J. Foxi*, in which he argued against the punishment of death for adulterers. The treatise was reissued the following year under a different title: *De lapsis in ecclesiam recipiendis*. It was this edition of 1549 that was answered by George Joye's *Contrary*.

Joye's final work provides certain glimpses of the reformers' circle in London, in a similar way to those glimpses of the brethren in Antwerp offered by *Apology*. The subject matter of *Contrary* had apparently been a matter of debate in recent years. According to Joye's account, John Foxe had been, both 'in priuate commonicacion, and also in open sermons ... reprehending and deprauing other godlye ministers, whiche in pulpits dampne and abhorre these open obstinate Adulterers, exhortinge the Magistrates to punishe it by Gods lawes.'(B1r-2r) The implication is that Joye himself was one such active minister, for he was asked his opinion on the matter in private communication (note the repetition of the pattern begun in 1533 which resulted in the resurrection furore). Joye voiced his belief in the validity of the law set forth in the Old Testament, and stated his wish for the Magistrates to punish the sin with death, according to God's commandment. Foxe disagreed with him, and Joye 'perceived afterwarde, that this man was kindled to write this his boke partely against my sentence and twitcheth me therin, albe it not by name.'(F4r) Again, there is a direct parallel with his earlier experiences: Joye's verbal disputes with William Tyndale were such that 'aftirwards, in hys exposicion upon John he stretched forth his penne agenst me as far as he durst/ but yet spared my name'.² The discordant opinions were communicated through sermons, and were then debated at private gatherings of the reformers. Joye describes hearing 'one of Foxe's' preachers (an odd remark considering Foxe himself only attained the status of deacon on 24 June 1550, when he was ordained by Bishop Ridley in St. Paul's) speak against the penalty of death for adulterers. He continues: 'Whiche doctryne he nor you were able to defende, when it was afterwarde reasoned at the table, ye wote where.'(D6r) The issue had divided the brethren, for Joye was defending the validity of the death sentence against a group of men, who apparently disagreed with him on several matters.³ Neither was Joye alone in his beliefs (as he had not

²*Apology*, D8r.

³See *Contrary* (D7r), "But I answere this man in fewe wordes, as I answered him then, and also other which did set him up to conuicte me in this argument and other, yf they had

been in the resurrection controversy), for he was entreated by others to write a reply against John Foxe. Certain comments of Stephen Gardiner help document this support: he remarks in his response to *George Joye Confuteth*: 'After your boke, hath ben well worne in the handes of youre fauourers, it is comme at the laste to myne.' He later laments the ignorant people 'that take him for a great maister.'⁴ It is interesting that despite their obvious theological differences, men such as Joye and Foxe still shared the same company. The fracturing of the reformers feared by William Tyndale in the 1530s had not come to pass. While the matter was still being verbally debated, Joye admits to 'aduertisinge and counselinge him to ceasse from his erreure', but 'notwithstandinge yet did he put forthe this boke openlye...' (D6r-v)

The scriptural basis for the law lay in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.⁵ Joye counters Foxe's claim that the death penalty for adulterers was abrogated with the coming of Christ, arguing that although the divine promises and edicts of the Old and the New Testaments differ in their manner of delivery, 'in substaunce the olde and newe couenant is al one.' (D2v) The ceremonial law (such as circumcision), given for a short time only to the Jews, is differentiated from the moral or judicial law, given for all time to all nations: 'For fayth and loue are the senews blode mary and lyfe of all these perpetual lawes. And wherin these senews are conteyned, that lawe must nedis stand.' (D2r) The sinfulness of adultery had not changed: 'Is not adultery nowe as greate a corrupcyon, iniurye, sclaunder, and hurte to Christes churche and to all comon wealthes, as it was in tymes past' (A3r). Neither was it a gender-specific sin: 'Is it thought worthy in women and not in men? God is not acceptor of persons.' (A6v) Therefore the crime 'must be punished with deathe, as God commaunded, or els nowe with paynes as greuouse'. (B5r) To support his case Joye named Henry Bullinger, whom he claimed agreed with him that the Old Testament law had not been abrogated, and goes on to mention several others:

coulede at that tyme."

⁴S. Gardiner, *A Declaration of such true articles*, A2r, a1v.

⁵Lev. 20:10 "And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that commiteth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death." Deut. 22:22 "If a man be found lying with a woman married to an husband, then shall both of them die, both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou put away evil from Israel."

M. Latemer in the Kinges daies that dead is, did openly before him and his nobles vehemently & continually inueye in his sermons agaynste adultery, & did see it so spred, that he perswaded & exhorted him, & his counsell to punish it according to Gods lawe or by the swerd. The bishop of s.Dauids that nowe is, of late in his sermons, & diuerse other godly and learned preachers exhorted the sinne to be punished right greuosly. And the learned preachers in Germany consent all, that it ought to be punished with death, as well as murther or theft. (F3v)

Joye's maintenance of the continuity between the Old and the New Testaments had been evident since his earliest publications. In other ways, however, *Contrary* represents a progression, if not a culmination, of certain aspects of Joye's thought. To begin with, the issue of the vernacular language, revived by the humanist movement, had become an integral factor in the religious debate of England. Latin isolated the lay people from the clergy, and served to maintain the hierarchy falsely established and maintained by the Roman Church. William Tyndale had written of the clergy: 'to kepe us from knowleage of the trouth/ they doo all thinge in latyne/ They praye in latyne/ they Christen in latyne/ they blesse in latyne. they geue absolution in latyne only curse they in the englyshe tonge.'⁶ Hugh Latimer remarked: 'They roll out the Latin language by heart, but in so doing they make the poor people of Christ altogether ignorant.'⁷ Miles Coverdale voiced a similar complaint, claiming that the Word was kept in Latin

lest, if kings and princes, specially above all other, were exercised therein, they should reclaim and challenge again their due authority, which he [Balam of Rome] falsely hath usurped as many years ... and lest the people, being taught by the word of God, should fall from the false feigned obedience of him and his disguised apostles unto the true obedience commanded by God's own mouth...⁸

John Bale builds on this notion of Latin being a more deceitful tongue than English in *King Johan*, when Dissymulacyon boasts of the tricks he employs to win over the people:

⁶*The Obedience of a Christian Man*, fol. 104r. Tyndale also comments (fol. 74v): "It is verely as good to preach it to swyne as to men/ if thou preach it in a tonge they understonde not."

⁷'Certain Godly, Learned, and Comfortable Conferences', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 86.

⁸Dedication to 1535 Bible, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 5.

Thowgh I seme a shepe, I can play the suttle foxe:
I can make Latten to brynge this gere to the boxe.
Tushe, Latten ys alone to bryng soche mater to passe;
Ther ys no Englyche that can soche profyghtes compass.
And therfor we wyll no servyce to be songe,
Gospell nor pystell, but all in Latten tonge.' (Act 1, ll. 715-9)

The 'priesthood of all believers' was becoming a powerful concept; it set the members of Christ's true church on an equal footing, and emphasised the communal aspect of religion. Unnecessary earthly authority was done away with, as demonstrated by Joye's assertion that lay people were able to hear confession. John Foxe had written both of his tracts in Latin, Joye responded in English. The choice of language was deliberate, as the account of the circumstances leading up to its composition relates:

After that a certayne lytle boke was putte forthe in latyn, to sustayne the publyque iudgement of them, that know the tongue entytled. The counsel geuyng, that adultereis should or ought not to be punyshed: I was desyred to wryte a contrarye consultacion. That Adulterers ought to be punyshed, and that in Englyshe, that all men myght knowe, howe parellous was the tyle of the latyne boke... (A2r)

Foxe's Latin work was intended for a limited audience; the intention of Joye and his supporters was to disabuse the people of the 'truthfulness' of the book, denoted by its clerical language. Joye, however, did not respond to the first edition, and the tract was reissued in 1549:

Which monstrose boke hauynge yet so manye false argumentes, nothyng now correspondynge the newe tyle, when it was reade, I was the more importunelye of manye desyred to confute it, and to put forthe my boke in Englyshe. All be it some there were, whiche semed to be offended, that I answered not in latyne, whyche ought rather to have bene offended wyth so false and unlearned a boke to be put forth of any of their famylie... (fol. A2)

The choice of language was an important factor; the fact that Joye's tract was in the vernacular offended some, perhaps because it was opening up a highly theological matter to the common people, or simply because it was seen to lower the tone of the piece. The notion that the English

language was incapable of mediating such discussion was common: Stephen Gardiner wrote to Paget in 1547 protesting the vernacular service, since English had been 'formed not more than two centuries before and [was] still immature, when Latin and Greek had served religion well for the past 1500 years.'⁹ As David Norton remarks, during this period 'Truth, power and the possession of Latin seemed inseparable.'¹⁰ Men such as Bishop Nicholas Ridley countered the association of English with primitivism, asking: 'to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?'¹¹ Discernible in one of the publications of John Gough is a conscious attempt to raise the status of the English language: the editor asks the reader 'not to blame my rude and playne sententious wrytynge for default of fine eloquente termys as oure master Chancer [sic] & Gower haue had in tymes paste, who toke great paynes & study in theyr tyme to reduce our olde Englyshe into fyne Retorike and eloquente Englysh'.¹² The debate showed no signs of abating, and was still under discussion in the 1580s, when William Fulke and Gregory Martin argued if the English language was as 'fruitful of words' as Latin.¹³

John Foxe's Latin had deceived the people, who presumed the tract to be 'safe' because it was in the language of the clerics. Joye associates the abuse of the clerical and university languages with a lack of commitment to the Word and to the spiritual welfare of the people of England. To him, Foxe, thanks to 'his blynde loue to him selfe in pleasinge him selfe hath openly for a shewe of his latyne tongue and greke set forthe his boke more to exercise his stile, then to geue us any godly doctrine'.(B1r) The ungodly substance of the work could not remain hidden, despite the author's skill in language: 'Suerly all the rethryke ye haue, can not defende youre Adulterers from the iuste punishment with deathe, but to folis and to man corrupte with the same filthy scabbe, perchaunce your boke may seme somewhat plausible and pleasaunt'.(E2r) The ironically disparaging references to Foxe as 'this great learned oratore' and 'this poete'(B3r) associate him with the sophistic use of language, with fiction

⁹Quoted in W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 156.

¹⁰D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 73.

¹¹'A Farewell to all his Friends', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 39.

¹²*The dore of holy scripture*, A4r.

¹³Quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 133.

and deceit. For John Fisher, the reformers had a similar association: 'The fair speech, the eloquence, the knowledge of languages/ these be but the veray hull of the scriptures. This hull these heretics have: But the veray pithe and substance of the seed is piked out of their hearts by these evil spirits/ that keep them in this carnality.'¹⁴ Another accused the reformers as seeking only 'to abolishe with their fine tongues, their rhetoricall argumentes, their exclamacions and outcries'.¹⁵ Yet conversely the argument was used against conservative Catholics by Nicholas Ridley, who asked: 'But what can crafty inventions, subtilty in sophisms, eloquence or fineness of wit, prevail against the unfallible word of God?'¹⁶ In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* Tyndale warned his readers of John Fisher: 'And marke I praye you what an Oratoure he is...' (fol. 65r) In *Refutation* Joye associates the Roman church with the 'wresting' of language: 'The symple playne truthe knoweth no deceytful coloured sophems ne any perplexed persuasions wherby as the serpent deceiued Eue, so wold you deceiue the simple...' (f6v) The simple style, resembling 'the olde breife and playne speche of the scriptures', could appeal to an unlimited audience, and as it imitated the Word, so it was by its very nature the more truthful.¹⁷ Finally, Joye's choice of language provides a circular pattern for his career: he had responded to Ashwell's Latin with plain English, and he did likewise with John Foxe's.

As with the language and the rhetorical devices, so with the quoting of scriptures: none of these provided proof of a learned, Christian discourse. The surviving texts of the English Reformation abound with accusations of quoting out of context; it became a staple allegation of both factions in the religious debate, and continued to resonate through the centuries: in 1687 John Dryden asked: 'Have not all heretics the same pretence,/ To plead the Scriptures in their own defence?'¹⁸ William Blake's 'The Everlasting Gospel' (c. 1810) states: 'Both read the Bible day and night,/ But thou read'st black where I read white.' James Hogg in 1824 remarked: 'There is not an error into which a man can fall, which he may not press Scripture into his service as proof of the probity of'.¹⁹ Like

¹⁴J. Fisher, *A Sermon had at Paulis*, F3r.

¹⁵J. Bullingham, *A Notable Oration*, C3v.

¹⁶'A Brief Treatise upon the Lord's Supper', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, pp. 188-9.

¹⁷*Refutation*, Bb3r.

¹⁸'The Hind and the Panther', pt. 2, ll. 154-5.

¹⁹J. Hogg, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, p. 138.

so many arguments of the early Reformation, both sides had recourse to the same belief. In his 'A Replicacion' of 1527 Skelton taunted the (ignorant, vainglorious) reformers: 'Ye cobbles and ye clout/ Holy scripture so about...'²⁰ The gossellers mirrored the same argument, asserting that the Catholic clergy did not actually deny God's word, instead 'after their imagination ... They make there of an interpretation/ Unto the texte clene contrary.'²¹ Bishop Tunstall asked: 'For what heretike was there euer, that woulde not sette before him for a buckler and defence some parte of the scripture, wrested from the true sence and meaning.'²² Hugh Latimer preached that the pope used the Bible 'to make what laws him listed, clean contrary unto God's word'.²³ Roger Hutchinson, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, declared that the conservative clergy was attempting 'to make the Scripture a nose of wax, a tennis ball, and to wrest them to every purpose.'²⁴

George Joye was no exception. In *Ashwell* he had condemned the prior's 'violent wrestinge of holy scripture'(A4v); in his conflict with Tyndale he claimed that his opponent was eager to 'wrest the words from their natyue sense to serue for hys error'; writing against Thomas More he sought to expose More's 'pestelent purpose and false peruerting of the scripture'; and Joye said of Stephen Gardiner that 'gods holy wordes he violently wresteth unto his false doctryne.'²⁵ The major controversies of Joye's life were semantic controversies, concerned with what and how the Word of God meant: if 'resurrectio' had only one signification; if 'This is my body' was meant literally or figuratively; if there was any scriptural basis for clerical marriage. The semiotic meanings of the Bible had not been miraculously rendered static by 1550: in *Contrary* Joye remarked of Foxe's tract: 'howe ungodly the autor therof had peruerted and wrested the holy scriptures to make them seme to serue his detestable error.'(A2r) John Dryden sums up the impossibility of resolution:

²⁰'A Replycacion', V.J. Scattergood (ed.), *John Skelton: The Complete English Poems*, p. 380.

²¹'A proper dialoge', in E. Arber (ed.), *English Reprints*, p. 148.

²²From preface to Bishop Tunstall's *De veritate corporis & sanguinis Domine in Eucharistia*, quoted in J. Bullingham's *A Notable Oration*, B2r.

²³G. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, pp. 30-1.

²⁴Quoted in J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, p. 40.

²⁵*Apology*, A8v; *Subuersion*, B1r; *Refutation*, A3r.

As long as words a diff'rent sense will bear,
 And each may be his own Interpreter,
 Our ai'ry faith will no foundation find:
 The word's a weathercock for ev'ry wind:²⁶

The translation of the Bible into English had not rendered the medieval scholastic glosses and commentaries redundant, but instead made necessary a new type of gloss and commentary, not concerned with allegorical interpretation but with the correct spiritual interpretation: the First Helvetic Confession of 1536 declared that the 'holy, divine Scripture is to be interpreted in no other way then out of itself and is to be explained by the rule of faith and love.'²⁷ George Joye had started out in his biblical scholarship led by the doctrine: 'Gather grete frute without any great glose'; his dispute with Tyndale had given him the opportunity to reconsider. He argued that the word 'resurrectio' 'hath mo significacions then one', and that he translated it according to its context, 'as the v. worde signifyeth'.²⁸ Joye's belief that 'Many words in dyuerse places of the scripture haue diuerse/ ye some contrari significacions'²⁹ is communicated in *Daniel*, where he admits: 'There be verely in Daniel many stories which require and interpreter.'(A4v) The belief is still discernible in 1550. Writing against John Foxe, Joye accuses him of quoting Luke 13 out of context. He shows himself aware of the semantic shifts in meaning, commenting:

Nomerual though this man erreth so muche in the uocables, testantum & lex. For I herde him once saye: It is but a friuole curiose thinge in readinge of the scriptures to expoune and declare the termes. But al learned wruters wyl saye, that the termes or wordes not known what they properly signifie, the sentences shal neuer be truly understanden.(C7v)

Joye's progression in thought follows a logical course, moving from the semantic idealism underlying *Isaye* and *Jeremy*, to the maturity of *Daniel* and *Contrary*. While the Church Fathers had never been dismissed by the early reformers, their writings were certainly deprioritised, in favour of the 'pure' Word. D.R. Leader remarks that the 'reliance on *traditio* -

²⁶'The Hind and the Panther', pt. 1, ll. 462-5.

²⁷A.C. Cochrane (ed.), *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 100.

²⁸*Apology*, B2r, B1r.

²⁹*Ibid.*, B3r.

the councils, popes, and early Fathers - was, and remains, the shibboleth separating Catholic and reformed hermeneutics.³⁰ What William Tyndale had realised from the outset, the others soon learned: the Word had of necessity to be mediated to some degree, men were needed 'to expoune and declare the termes', to complete the process of signification. Joye's *Daniel*, amalgamating myriad commentaries on the Biblical text, reveals his change of view. His *Contrary* demonstrates the formation of a new group of *autores*, from which one could draw without compunction and whose authority was not questioned (at least, not by the brethren). This group includes 'Erasmus, Mar. Luth. Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, Melanchton, Pellicane, Bullinger, Bibliander, Bucer, Caluine' and other 'grete lerned and godly men' who 'haue begun to write, teach, and preache'.³¹ Despite considerable gulfs in theology, the writings of these men commanded equal respect and reverence; it was these that men such as Joye drew on in their attempt to set forth the significations of the Word.

John Foxe's transgression against the Word and the divine will translated into one against the state. The issue of punishment inevitably invoked that of obedience, both on earth and in the hereafter. In a world fallen into idolatry and sinfulness, drawing close to its end, it was crucial to obey the will of God. The urgent tone of the apocalyptic discourse is manifest in *Contrary*: 'Insomuche that as we may coniecture by the scriptures, it pronostiketh the world to drawe faste to an ende, and prouoketh the hasty wrath of God sodenly to destroye all, and to come to iudgement.'(A3v) The argument for retaining the Old Testament death penalty drew much of its strength from this discourse, which was so conscious of the spread of chaos and the need for authority. As a private person, John Foxe was free to forgive adulterers without punitive measures, but the law, which pertained 'to the publique tranquillite of Christes church and conseruecion of the comon wealth ... is bothe profitable and necessarye.'(A4v) If society merely forgave the transgressors of its laws then the workings of civil justice would be disempowered: 'We are bound verely to forgeue our detters toward our selues, but the comon dette requyred by the law, & they worthy to pay it for their open murther or adultery, I being a priuate man, can not dispense with it, or

³⁰D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 184.

³¹*Coniectures*, fol. F5.

els wherfore are lawes and magistrates ordained?'(F4v) To suggest that God's commandment to judge and punish without mercy (set forth in Deuteronomy 19), should give way to Foxe's new law ('that is to say, to haue thre slappes with a fox tayle for breakinge holye wedlocke'(C8v)) sought to undermine both secular and divine authority. The crime of adultery affected not merely the sinners involved, but had ramifications for the entire realm: 'What an offence it is to take the membres of an whore to violate holy wedlocke, to pollute the temple of God, to dishonour his high maiestye, to sclaunder his holy churche, to separat that as God ioyneth, to poyson the whole comon wealth...'(B2r)

The duty owed to the common wealth recurs as a theme throughout the polemic of this time. In *The Book named The Governor* Thomas Elyot remarks on the importance 'that the general and universal estate of the public weal ... be preferred in consultation before any particular commodity.' He asserts that 'undoubtedly the best and most sure governance is by one king or prince, which ruleth only for the weal of his people to him subject', and goes on to mention 'the gentle wits of noblemen's children, who, from the wombs of their mother, shall be made propise or apt to the governance of a public weal.'³² In viewing society as a complete entity, one could not help but focus on the diseased areas of the body politic. For Robert Crowley, the problem lay with appropriators of land, who rack-rented the people. Speaking before parliament in 1547 he attested: 'I thynke ther is no one thyng more nedfull to be spoken of then the great oppression of the pore communes by the possessioners, as wel of Clergie as of the Laitie.'³³ For Joye, it was the sin of adultery which threatened 'to poyson the whole comon wealth'. Although the punishments appeared 'to some fonde pituouse persons, hard and cruel' they were just and necessary, for 'except suche cruell sharpnes be executed, all men are lyke to fele more harde and crueller plages.'(C6v) He continues: 'To take awaye, and to cut of putryfyed and corrupte membres from the whole body, lest they poyson and destroye the body, is the lawe of loue to the whole body to be preserued'.(fol. A5) This over-riding concern with the greater good is central to Joye's thinking in *Contrary*: 'Greater is the charite, that extendeth her [self] to many, then to one man or woman: and which

³²T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governor*, p. 240, p. 7, p. 15.

³³R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 153.

extendeth her self to the preseruacion and tranquillite of the whole churche and comon weales then it ... whiche hurteth the whole comonaltie.' (fol. G5)

Foxe, by his flagrant dismissal of a beneficial law, had revealed his lack of concern 'for the preseruacyon of comon wealthes, and publique tranquillite' (C6v-C7r): 'Belyke ye fauoue them [whordomes and adulterers] greatly, and loue synne more, then Godlynes, or els haue ye but a could zele to the Christen religion, comon wealth and honesty.' (G4v) In particular, Foxe (like Stephen Gardiner) had dishonoured his monarch, erring 'especially agaynst that godlye homilie sette forthe by the Kynges Maiestie agaynst whordome and adultery'. (D4r) In brief, Foxe's hope 'is not els but to abolish the ciuile lawes, and al Magistrates. Such a licenciousse common weale dreame the Anabaptists this day.' (E8v) In 1526 John Fisher launched a similar complaint against Martin Luther, that 'he dispiseth kings/ princes/ popes/ bishops/ and all authority both spiritual and temporal.'³⁴ Instead of being a matter of scriptural interpretation, the punishment of adulterers was now bound up with questions of obedience, sedition, and patriotism. *Contrary* responds to these issues, Joye believing it his duty 'to excyte all christen magistrates to cut of thys contagyose kanker of adultery from amonge us.' (A7r) In the past, Joye had appealed solely to the person of the king. Since the death of Henry VIII, however, there had been dramatic rearrangements in the site of power in England.

II

True is the text which wee in scripture reade,

Vae terrae illi, cuius rex est puer,

Woe to that land whereof a child is head...³⁵

With the new reign came new difficulties. The last monarch had sought to centralise all the power in the realm in his person; his legacy to his country was that until 12 October 1555, when the young king would reach his eighteenth birthday, England would be ruled by 'the sixteen regents

³⁴J. Fisher, *A Sermon had at Paulis*, F3r.

³⁵*The Mirour for Magistrates*, fol. 161a.

who replaced Henry VIII on 28 January 1547'.³⁶ This was discovered to be a practical impossibility, and it was first Somerset and then Warwick who led the council, which remained in a state of flux throughout Edward's reign. Although the power enjoyed by the leaders was 'in fact regal', it did not emanate from the divine right of kings; their time was limited, since (in theory) the true king would one day rule.³⁷ The reign of Henry's son echoed the threats of the Lord set forth in *Isaye*: And I shal set babes (saith the lorde) to be your princes/ and wyllye effeminate skorners shalbe your rulers.'(B5v) Joye's approach reflected this new power base. His advice to princes could not ignore the sites of real power, nor could it rebuke the child-king as it had done his father. His writings from the time of Edward devote considerably more space to the obligations of magistrates than of kings.³⁸

Joye responded to the instability of the state with an abstracted, simplified approach: the 'common good' was to be the deciding factor in all things. Heavily drawn upon was the belief that each person had their own position within God's scheme for the world. Ideally, all should 'seke /In all thyngis to profite all men', working harmoniously towards the goal of the common good.³⁹ Since humans could not encompass the diverse responsibilities of Christ, who 'him selfe was and is bothe prieste and kinge preacher and iudge', (C3r) each person was assigned their own duty. In *Contrary*, the main foci are upon the preachers and the secular authorities, and the way in which their obligations serve to uphold a divinely-stratified society. The magistrates, for example, were ordained by God to judge and punish the wicked. Joye argues this point with John Foxe, who had cited Saint Paul's absolution of the Corinthians as an example of the new law. Joye points out that 'Paule was no seculare magistrate, he was a priuate preacher, hauing power to edifye and not to destroy with deathe', (D7v) and concludes that the apostle's forgiveness did not cancel out the 'comon dette requyred by the law'. (F4v) The delineation of these various social roles was important for Joye: with

³⁶D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, p. 1.

³⁷W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 73.

³⁸Joye's use of the word may well descend directly from Thomas Elyot's, who considered its meaning in *The Book named The Governor*. Discussing the necessity of 'wise men' to advise princes, he writes (p. 13): "They which have such authorities to them committed may be called inferior governors, having respect to their office or duty, wherein is also a representation of governance. Albeit they be named in Latin *Magistratus*. And hereafter I intend to call them magistrates, lacking another more convenient word in English..."

³⁹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 125.

certain strict secular-clerical distinctions (such as lay people hearing confession and interpreting scripture) having been blurred by the idea of the 'priesthood of all believers', people had to be shown their place and function. The 'private man' was to be separated from the public citizen, and clerical authority from the secular.

According to Joye, God revealed his ten commandments in order to inhibit the sinful natures of humankind. Without 'the bridles of feare, fayth and loue of God and of our neighboures', human nature, which 'naturallye be prone to slyde from labor to luste ...will folowe the libertie of the fleshe, and headlongs fall into al voluptuousnes & mischief wrapped in the mier of errorrs and al flithines.'(G1r) It was in case the ten commandments failed to inhibit sin that God 'constituted the Magistrates wyth his lawes to punish the transgressors with death, whiche is the last remedy to destroye the offender.'(E5v) The division between ecclesiastical and secular magistrates was emphatically set forth in *Contrary*. The power of punishing with death was annexed only to the latter authorities, whom 'God ordained ouer euery church'(A6v), and who bear the sword 'to correcte and cut of them, whom goddes worde can not refrayne from their open wikednes'.(E5v) Joye warned the clerical authorities against acting outside of their jurisdiction: 'In dede there ought no ecclesiastik Magistrate take the office of the seclare rulers upon him in putting the malefactor to death'.(C3r) Once it was clear who had the power, there remained the question of how to wield it wisely.

'No man can better nor more godly execute the office of a magistrate, then a godly man...'⁴⁰ Henry Bullinger's view was shared by Joye. In *A very godly defense* (1541) he asserts that although separated from the purely religious rulers, the secular authorities should be guided by the Bible in all things:

But I woulde, as teacheth us goddes worde, that all seclare iudges, rulers, kinges, and Magistrates were fathers, pastors and Gods preachers, and under stode the scriptures as wel, as did Dauid and Salomon, and the other good iudges, and kinges, whose example we haue in the Bible, to whome of eleccion and vocacion, it was enioyned of God fatherly to teache, to fede and to gouerne his people.(C4r)

⁴⁰H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, D8r.

The view was common: the Geneva Confession of 1536 regarded kings and magistrates 'as vicars and lieutenants of God', which sentiment was echoed by Bullinger: 'Verely it is you [kings] whyche be heare in the earthe lyeutenautes and vicayrs of god, that shoulde revenge the wronges and iniuries of the people'.⁴¹ The preacher Edward Dering, speaking before Queen Elizabeth on 25 February 1559, cited the example of King David as a moral, religious king, who 'knew that obedience was better then sacrifice, and that Gods people were never better ruled, then when their Princes brought into captiuity their owne vnderstanding, and ... were obedient onely to the wisdome of almighty God.'⁴²

From the perspective of many reformers, the religious cleansing of the rulers of England was motivated by obedience to and faith in the 'true' church of Christ; the 'lawes that procede from his grace in thys hys mynoryte and chyldhed' were 'holsom and holy'.⁴³ Certainly, reformist thought infused the religious legislation enacted during the Edwardian era. During the first parliament the Henrician treason and heresy laws had been repealed. It was no longer treasonous to deny the royal supremacy by the spoken word, action would be taken only if the denial took the form of the written word, or an overt seditious act. In effect, the act deprioritized preached doctrines by supporting solely the authority of the printed text. The reforming spirit behind this measure had been vocalised by Joye in 1534: *Subuersion* asserted that written letters 'were the most faithful and suerest kepers' of the doctrines of the apostles, which 'shulde not onely be herde/ but also offred to mennis eyes the most suereste sense of al'.(H5r) In legislating thus, the state avoided recognition of much dissension, since the pulpit had long stood as the most effective device for communicating propaganda, and as Jordan argues, the 'religious sentiments' of the brethren in England at this time 'tended to be expressed not so much in writing ...but in overt and often violent actions against the symbols of the old Roman Catholic liturgy and worship'.⁴⁴ Yet the legislation had not the same tyrannical spirit which infused that of the Henrician reign, and this may also be viewed as being motivated by reformist thought, more specifically that of Somerset, who

⁴¹A. C. Cochrane (ed.), *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 126; H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, B7r.

⁴²J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 75.

⁴³H. Stafford, *The true dyfferens between the regall power and the Ecclesiasticall power*, A2v.

⁴⁴W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 145.

felt that one's subjects 'should be moved to obedience by love rather than by terror'.⁴⁵ The obedience to rulers demanded of subjects, like that the obedience to God required of all, should ideally derive from love. Henry's Old Testament law, which ruled by fear of wrath, had been surpassed. In reality, Somerset's philosophy did not withstand practical application, and the tolerance of the laws was answered by violent insurrections, which recurred throughout 1549. The preaching of conservatives and the 'rowlynge tongues' of the reformers were first checked, then banned; plays and interludes in the vernacular followed.⁴⁶

However, in the face of widespread civil unrest, and despite the impression of compromise communicated by the legislation, significant reforms continued. As early as February 1549 the Privy Council ordered the commissioners in every shire to make a 'true inventory of all church ornaments, plate, jewels, bells, vestments &c. and to forbid the sale and embezzlement of any part of the same.'⁴⁷ By Christmas, when hopes were raised (in the wake of Somerset's arrest) that the Latin service and traditional ceremonies were to be restored, the bishops received orders from Westminster to command all Roman church service books to be handed in, and to enforce obedience to the King's ordinances.⁴⁸ In January 1550 an Act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images was passed. All 'unofficial' service books, in Latin or in English were to be destroyed, or at least rendered unusable.⁴⁹ A similar fate was planned for the images of England. Following the initiative of Bishop Ridley, in November 1550 an order went out for the altars to be taken down, and in their place 'set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table decently covered'.⁵⁰ The stocktaking and freezing of church assets was of course to result in their seizure, and in March 1551 the Council ordered all the remaining Church plate to be relinquished to

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁶From preface to Bishop Tunstall's *De veritate corporis & sanguinis Domine in Eucharistia*, quoted in J. Bullingham's *A Notable Oration*, A7v. P.L. Hughes & J.F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, [344]. Because of the number of plays containing "matter tending to sedition", from 9 August it was forbidden for anyone "openly or secretly [to] play in the English tongue any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter set forth in form of play, in any place, public or private".

⁴⁷*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 6, [25].

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 9, [57].

⁴⁹See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 469. The types of books specified were "antiphoners, missals, scrayles, processionalis, manuals, legends, pyes, portuyses, primers in latin or English, cowchers, journals, or other books".

⁵⁰J.R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, pp. 116-7.

the King's Majesty. The following year saw the publication of the second *Book of Common Prayer*, revised by Cranmer and Ridley, which was 'by the standards that England had known till 1552 ... drastic in the extreme.'⁵¹ In 1549 the country had remained 'in a quavering quiet', now the voices of dissension were raised once more, and none but the (reformist) bishops were allowed to preach in the dioceses.⁵² On 20 October 1552 were issued 45 'Articles concerning an Uniformite in Relligion', which provided the basis for the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church.⁵³ The reformers could fervently attest of Edward VI: 'it is euydent to the world that god is his guyd directyng his passage to the perfectyon of al vertue and godlynes.'⁵⁴ As always, there was an opposing view:

We Englisshemen beholde
Our auncient customs bolde,
more preciouser then golde,
be clene cast away...⁵⁵

Yet despite the relentless reforming measures, and contrary to John Foxe's claim that the Reformation served to 're-edify the desolate ruins of religion; to subvert the see of the pope; to abolish the abuses and pride of Antichrist, which so long had abused and deceived the simple flock of Christ's church', dissatisfaction abounded.⁵⁶ That of the traditionalists is easily explained, for the wants of the few were outweighing those of the many. Margaret Aston remarks: 'The militant iconoclasts who, in the course of a century, managed to annihilate so much of England's artistic heritage ... may only have been a small minority of activists. Their influence was none the less for that.'⁵⁷ Eamon Duffy also comments that 'There can have been few if any communities in which Protestants formed anything like an actual numerical majority.'⁵⁸ But reformers were likewise displeased with the state of the (new) church. An editor of

⁵¹E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 473.

⁵²Letter from Henry earl of Arundel to Petre (29 June 1549), *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 7, [44]; vol. 14, [39, 40].

⁵³*Ibid.*, vol. 15, [28].

⁵⁴H. Stafford, *The true dyfferens betwen the regall power and the Ecclesiasticall power*, A2v.

⁵⁵'Now a Dayes', *Ballads From Manuscripts*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 93.

⁵⁶*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 253.

⁵⁷M. Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600*, p. 288.

⁵⁸E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 479.

Robert Crowley's works comments: 'Things were bad enough before the Reformation ... but surely they must have appeared worse after it, when men had the Bible in their own hands, and were unable to lay all the odium at the door of "the Pope and his shavelings." Religion and the Bible were not to blame for this state of things.'⁵⁹ Indeed, the dissatisfaction continued unabated through the following decades: 'Almost every grievance that was being urged against the church in the 1520s was still being urged against it by the Elizabethan Puritans at the end of the century.'⁶⁰ In 1531 Elyot had spoken with confidence: 'Albeit it is not to be despaired, but that the King our sovereign lord now reigning, and this realm alway having one prince like unto his Highness ... it shall be reduced (God so disposing) unto a public weal excelling all others in pre-eminence of virtue and abundance of things necessary.'⁶¹ Yet reformers continued to espy papistry: Robert Crowley complained that 'the ignorant people ... wyll not be perswaded that theyr forfathers superstition was not the true fayth of Christ'.⁶² But the state of affairs could no longer be attributed to Rome's influence, and the complaints which emerge from the Edwardian reign harken back to those of the early decades of the sixteenth century, when the humanist zeal for reform was as yet untainted by any association with heresy. Clerics were once more satirised and complained of, not as papists or gospellers, but as unworthy spiritual men. The legislation had not put an end to the 'strawberry preachers', those 'that come but once a year, and tarry not long, but are soon gone', who were condemned by Hugh Latimer in 1548.⁶³ Nor had it halted the commercialisation of the Christian faith - in 1547 Robert Crowley set forth the faults of the clergy, who

differ nothyng from the craftes man whyche applye an occupacion to get theyr lyuyng vppon, and not to the intent to profite the common weale. ... The sacramentes they styll abuse, vseing them as matters of merchaundyce, and chiefly the most worthy memorie of our redemption ... None shall receyue it at theyr handes wythout he wyll paye the ordinarie sholte, and so are they redy to serue euery man. Thei loke vppon the monei onely and nothyng vppon the mynde.

⁵⁹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, Intro., xxi.

⁶⁰C. Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments*, p. 68.

⁶¹T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governour*, p. 12.

⁶²R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 154.

⁶³G. Corrie (ed.), *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, p. 62.

Whether it be taken to comfort of conscience or iudgement, they pas not; thei tel the monei, thei loke for nomore.⁶⁴

This situation did not change: in 1559 one preacher proclaimed: 'Of all miseries wherewith the Church is griued, none is greater than this: that her Ministers be ignorant, and can say nothing.'⁶⁵ A reformation of the Church had been attempted, with the result that the *Ecclesia Anglicana* appeared more secular than ever.

For Joye, the relationship between state and clergy ideally functioned symbiotically. According to the divine will, they shared a 'fellowship of one bodye bothe with lawes ecclesiastik and politike'; each supported and protecting the other from the anti-christian elements of society.⁶⁶ The obligation 'to cry & not to cease to tell euery state their offences' (*Contrary*, F4v) irrespective of social position, had long been attested to by Joye; included among the duties of the ministers was 'excitinge and exhortynge all estates to their abounden dutyes and offices'. (A3r) Indeed, Cuthbert Tunstall felt similarly: on assessing the dangers of his situation, he asked himself: 'And yet thou beyng a shepe herde of Christes flocke, wilt not defend the veritie? Wilt thou not drive the wolues from the shepefolde of Christe to thy power?'⁶⁷ The figures of Isaiah and Jeremiah still held power over the reformers, and instilled the courage necessary for righteous admonition of secular rulers. Robert Crowley's experience was common: 'For euen the same Spirit that sayd vnto Esaie, "Crye and sease not, declare vnto my people theyr wyckednes"; cryeth also in my conscience'.⁶⁸ Bullinger states: 'To an ungodly and wicked magistrate, his faultes and wicked dedes are to be shewed. That he may turne from them, to a better life',⁶⁹ and Hugh Latimer explains that 'a prince ... must have his duty told him but it must be done with humbleness'.⁷⁰ Joye returns to this theme often in *Contrary*, asking 'Yf it be lawfull for the Magistrates to execute death upon them, why is it not as lawfull for the preacher to exhorte them to

⁶⁴R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 155.

⁶⁵Sermon by Edward Dering. J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 73.

⁶⁶*Unite and Scisme*, A2r.

⁶⁷From preface to Bishop Tunstall's *De veritate corporis & sanguinis Domine in Eucharistia*, quoted in J. Bullingham's *A Notable Oration*, B3v.

⁶⁸R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 159.

⁶⁹H. Bullinger, *A most necessary & frutefull Dialogue*, E3r.

⁷⁰From Latimer's seventh sermon before Edward VI, 19 April 1548. J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 25.

their lawful office, yf they neglecte it?'(E6r) and 'Yf the Magistrates be negligente and ceasse from their office, shoulde not the publyke ministers of the worde exhorte and warne them, of their dutye?'(fol. F4) As Crowley advises:

Winke not at faltes that thou shalt se,
 Though it be in thy Souerayne;
 But so as it becometh the:
 Exhort hym all vice to refrayne.⁷¹

Foxe's argument that the law for adulterers had been abrogated was not merely concerned with theology, it touched upon the foundations of Christian society, taking from the divinely-appointed monarchs their rightful duty to punish, and removing the preacher's duty to admonish wrongdoing. Joye reacted to this reduction of the minister's role with biting sarcasm: 'Therefore we may not exhorte and moue the Magistrates to take away open acustomed obstinat horemongers, whiche sclaunder and poyson both the churches of Christ and the whole comon weal. No syr!'(G3v-G4r) Edward Dering attempted to follow Joye's example when preaching before Queen Elizabeth in 1559:

O that our Christian Princes had so great measure of Gods holy Spirite: how many and grieuous burthens should then be taken from vs, that now Christian eyes & eares can hardly beholde and heare? how many sinnes should be extinct and buried, that now vaine policy doth maintaine and strengthen?⁷²

III

It is only when considering the fate of men such as Dering - whose license was immediately suspended, the queen being unimpressed with his political philosophy - that Joye's good fortune becomes clear. His appointment to Blunham was followed in 1551 by an election to the living of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire. The records of the church of St. Mary's show that a vicar George Joye B.D. was instituted on 21 March 1552, upon the resignation of Barnard Sandeford. Joye presumably held

⁷¹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 78.

⁷²J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 75.

both Blunham and Ashwell concurrently, for it would make little sense for him to give up the living of Blunham for the more meagre position at the vicarage in Ashwell, which in 1534 was valued at £22 3s. 6d.. This benefice (ironically sharing the name of the prior who condemned the young fellow of Peterhouse a quarter of a century before) was in the gift of the Bishop of London Nicholas Ridley. Butterworth & Chester comment: 'There can be no doubt that Joye owed his appointment to Ashwell to the friendship and good will of Ridley.'⁷³

With his two appointments, Joye returned to carrying out his priestly duties in his native land, activities prohibited to him for over twenty years. The institution of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* to which he found himself reinstated was markedly different to that from which he had been expelled over twenty years previously. The opulent days of 'that gloriouse Cardinel Thomas wolsaye' (or 'Wolfsee') were over.⁷⁴ So too had waned the humanist renaissance of John Fisher, and the devotion with which men such as Erasmus, Wolsey and Henry Hornby had set about educating the new scholars. The interim witnessed the tainting of the universities and of the quest for knowledge; they became associated with heresy, sedition, rank rebellion and spiritual damnation. Joye, whose concern for education and moral instruction had been clear from the first of his writings, must have felt dismay at the degeneration of the school and university systems. Thomas Elyot bewailed the primary school system in 1531: 'Lord God, how many good and clean wits of children be nowadays perished by ignorant schoolmasters!'⁷⁵ Over 25 years later the complaints remained unaltered: 'Yow scolemasters have a good order in your scoles for breaking Priscian's head or syngyng out of tune. I wold yow wold take the same order for breakyng of God's commandementes and ontunyng of Godes harpe, which soundeth in all his wordes.'⁷⁶ When the monasteries had been dissolved, there had been 'no general attempt ...to save the public schools associated with them'.⁷⁷ The dissolution of the chantries and guilds had also taken its toll. Many maintained (free) schools, and 'there were yet others where the priests were not expected to teach but did so voluntarily in order to increase

⁷³George Joye, p. 255.

⁷⁴*Subuersion*, A1v; 'Wolfsee' was used by William Tyndale in *The Practice of Prelates*, see D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 203.

⁷⁵T. Elyot, *The Book named The Governor*, p. 57.

⁷⁶Sermon written by Richard Ramsay in 1558, J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 51.

⁷⁷N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, p. 259.

their often meagre stipends. The seizure of all these foundations thus involved a large number of local schools as well ... the crown, though conscious of the need to foster the study of grammar, was indifferent to the fate of elementary schools.⁷⁸ As with the dissolution of the monasteries and the seizure of the shrines, monetary gain was seen to provide the motivation: 'Yea and in the cuntry manye Grammer Scholes founded of a godly intent to brynge up poor mennes sonnes in learnynge and vertue, nowe be taken awaye by reason of the gredye covetousnes of you that were put in trust by God and the kinge to erect and make grammar scholes in manye places'. According to Thomas Lever, instead of erecting schools the funds 'be now turned to maynteyne worldly, wycked covetouse ambicion'.⁷⁹ And the schools were not the only institutions to suffer, as Margaret Aston relates: 'One of the vast, irretrievable and long-bewailed losses of the Reformation years was the wanton dispersal of monastic libraries.'⁸⁰ The Guildhall Library in London was closed down in 1548, when the college of priests at the Guildhall (who staffed it) were dissolved. Similar libraries at Bristol and Worcester closed with the dissolutions: the former was a chantry-maintained library (closed in 1548); the latter a monastic library which was scattered in 1539.⁸¹

With the dissolution of the chantry system, which was 'central to the existence of the colleges', it was inevitable that the universities would suffer.⁸² 'From 1529, the Reformation and the rise in prices strained the financial resources of the University [of Cambridge]. The number of students declined, and the disappearance of monks and friars was a serious blow.'⁸³ In theory, the religious houses were obliged to send monks to university, but they often failed to do so, denying the universities potential income. A Royal Injunction of 1535 attempted to enforce the obligation, but within a matter of months the Crown had evaded the problem altogether by closing down the religious houses

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 272, pp. 274-5.

⁷⁹ From two sermons given by T. Lever in 1550, quoted in A.F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, record series, vol. 33, 1899-1903), vol. 2, p. 358, p. 363.

⁸⁰ M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, pp. 326-7. For the decay of learning see F.A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 45-9.

⁸¹ See N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, p. 84, and for further examples see pp. 259-61.

⁸² D.R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, p. 59.

⁸³ F.A. Reeve, *Cambridge*, p. 50.

instead, denying Oxford and Cambridge far more student fees. Ten years later the colleges of Cambridge were to share 'the fate of the monasteries, but Henry VIII was persuaded to allow them to keep their possessions after a commission of enquiry had reported that they were so poor that they could scarcely meet their expenses.'⁸⁴ In 1544 there were but 12 students in addition to the Master and 11 fellows of Peterhouse.⁸⁵ The college had been under financial strain for some time: 'In 1537, to meet a demand for First Fruits, the Master and Fellows were constrained to sell, besides other plate, two great silver basins formerly employed for the ornamentation of Solemn Feast Days of the High Altar in Little St. Mary's...'⁸⁶ By 1546 it was complained that the University of Oxford 'is poor and miserable, and hath scant 5*l.* by the year'.⁸⁷ In the September of that year Stephen Vaughan wrote to Paget, enlisting his help to find employment for his humanist schoolmaster: 'I have had him now one year teaching my children; and the world, brought now into such a hatred of good learning, and into such a deep suspicion of all manner of teaching, as it thinketh whatsoever is taught is heresy, moveth me to draw my children from learning and to set them to some other thing.'⁸⁸ The following month Paget received a letter from Richard Cox, who lamented 'the great lack in this realm of schools, [and] preachers'. Cox warned that 'there is such a number of importune wolves that be able to devour colleges, chantries, cathedral churches, universities and your lands, and a thousand times as much ... The realm will come into foul ignorance and barbarousness when the reward of learning is gone.'⁸⁹ One preached concerning the dire state of the educational system: 'if man do not make restitution, God wyll take vengeaunce...'⁹⁰

The Henrician dissolutions deprived England of a great portion of the buildings, the people, and the funds on which the educational system of England depended. There were no graduations from the University of

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸⁵See T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 45. The numbers revived later in the century: by 1572 there were 78 names (excluding poor scholars and servants), and in 1582 there were 154 people listed. See *ibid.* pp. 45-6.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁸⁷*L&P*, vol. 21, pt. 1, [321].

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, [52].

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, [260].

⁹⁰Sermon given by T. Lever in 1550, quoted in A.F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, record series, vol. 33, 1899-1903), vol. 2, p. 359.

Oxford in 1547 or 1550.⁹¹ As early as 1538 Miles Coverdale had appealed to the rulers 'that at last ye would do but your duty, and help, as well with your good counsel, as with your temporal substance, that a perfect provision may be made for the poor, and for the virtuous bringing up of youth'.⁹² Certainly, compensatory efforts were considered. Henry VIII realised what would be lost through the dismantling of the libraries, and in 1533 hired John Leland to catalogue their contents 'before their utter destruction', and assess the worth of 'Englandes Antiquities', which had been 'tyed vp in cheanes, and hydden vndre dust in the monkes and fryres libraryes.'⁹³ In the summer of 1549 the universities were visited, and attempts were made to amalgamate institutions in order to save them.⁹⁴ There was also Cranmer's initiative to revive the flagging state of education through offering asylum to Lutheran scholars (in the wake of Germany's defeat by the Emperor Charles).⁹⁵ The most famous of these were Peter Martyr, who was brought to Oxford, and Martin Bucer, who arrived at Cambridge in 1549 with his wife and children. These men were, however, of limited influence; none could preach in English, nor could they affect the crucial changes necessary at local levels from their position within the isolated universities.

A more effective approach lay in trying to restore what the reforms had destroyed, namely the chantry and monastic schools. Henry endowed 12 grammar schools, and of the chantries dissolved under Edward VI, those whose schools were part of their original foundation had lands set aside to allow for maintenance of the school.⁹⁶ The state tried to get the Church to pay yet again for education: in 1547 Injunctions ordered 'that every cathedral lacking a free grammar school should provide one out of its common lands and revenues'.⁹⁷ However neither the reading nor the song schools supported by chantries were to be continued, and the people were left to provide for themselves. Robert

⁹¹See F.A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, p. 45.

⁹²Prologue to 1538 New Testament, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 30.

⁹³J.H. Chandler (ed.), *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, p. 3, p. 4.

⁹⁴For example, Trinity Hall was to be merged with Clare Hall, which was in "a destitute condition". This venture met with much opposition. See *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 7, [11, 15, 16, 22].

⁹⁵For an examination of Cranmer's views on education see M. Dowling, 'Cranmer as Humanist Reformer', in P. Ayris & D. Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar*, pp. 89-104.

⁹⁶See N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, pp. 262-8, p. 290.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 275.

Crowley's 'Lesson to Scholars' encouraged the men to found their own schools:

To haue their countrei furnyshed
 Wyth all poyntes of honest learnynge,
 Whereof the publyke weale had nede.⁹⁸

Crowley's hope was partially successful: on 8 October 1548 the school at Bedford (previously run by Newnham Priory) was re-opened by Edmund Grene, a fellow of New College, Oxford, who had left his studies to teach in the town. It was not until three years later that the corporation of Bedford received its license to establish 'a free and perpetual Grammar School ... for the education institution and instruction of boys and youths in Grammar, literature and good manners'.⁹⁹ This was a common process: the chantry school at Sedbergh, founded by the provost of Eton Roger Lupton in 1525, had been confiscated with the Chantries Act. It was re-endowed in 1551, with the new name of 'Edward VI's School'.¹⁰⁰

There is no recorded school in either Ashwell or Blunham, therefore the responsibilities of teaching may well have fallen to Joye. For Joye (as for Crowley) the role of teacher was inextricably annexed to that of minister. It remained one of his fundamental concerns throughout his life, as can be seen from texts such as the *Ortulus to Our sauour Jesus Christ*, which declares that the ministers of the church have their place as 'the techers of the trwth the goydes of the congregacions/ the interpretours of scripturs/ prechers/ the masters of lyuing and good manners.'¹⁰¹ His belief was shared with Coverdale, who considered negligence in the education of children to be 'the very decay of all realms.'¹⁰² For Joye, 'the presence of God is most clerely beholden in the generacion formacion & byrthe of the childe.'¹⁰³ In 1558 Richard Ramsay voiced a similar concern, exhorting the schoolmasters 'that have the youth under your handes to make or marr, marr them not by your neglygence, but make them to God ward with your diligence ... for your

⁹⁸R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 72.

⁹⁹See *VCH: Bedford*, vol. 2, p. 156.

¹⁰⁰See *ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰¹*Our sauour Jesus Christ*, C3r.

¹⁰²Prologue to 1535 Bible, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 21.

¹⁰³*A very godly defense*, C6v.

scole is your cure'.¹⁰⁴ In May 1553 Edward ordered the bishops to 'cause the catechism to be taught by all schoolmasters within their respective dioceses': if Joye was teaching at that point one can imagine him fulfilling the edicts with customary zeal.¹⁰⁵

It was during these later years that Joye was at last granted more than a few halcyon days in which to gather his thoughts, help to raise his son, and carry out his duties as a minister of Christ's true church without fear of reprisal.¹⁰⁶ His writings give ample indications of his type of ministry. His concerns for the education of the laity are analogous to that of the humanist John Fisher, who sought his own reformation of the church, with the 'ordinary parishioners' in mind; 'he was not thinking of academic scholarship as an end in itself, but he hoped that, gradually, the secular clergy would be more fitted for their higher calling.'¹⁰⁷ For Joye, the 'office of a trewe precher' lies in 'not sekinge his owne/ but gods glory & other menis profyt/ euen the helthe of the congregacion by confessyng the trewth'.¹⁰⁸ Miles Coverdale voices a similar belief: 'If thou be a preacher ... seek not thyself, and beware of filthy lucre; but be unto the flock an ensample in the word, in conversation, in love, in ferventness of the spirit, and be ever reading, exhorting, and teaching in God's word'.¹⁰⁹ Likewise the translators of the Geneva Bible said of ministers: 'For it is their office chiefly to vnderstand the Scriptures & teache them.'(iir) Ministers were to be 'ardent not in yre and wrath but in the vehemence of the spirit of god/ let them be shamfaste modeste in a iust severite tempred with holy devocion'¹¹⁰ Although Crowley placed the responsibility for the poor state of England at the feet of the clergy

¹⁰⁴Sermon written by Richard Ramsay in 1558, J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁵*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 18, [25].

¹⁰⁶George Joye Jr. followed in the footsteps of his father, graduating B.A. from St. John's in 1564, M.A. in 1567, and B.D. in 1575. He was an active minister until his death in 1600. See J. Venn & J.A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, pt. 1, vol. 2.

¹⁰⁷E.E. Reynolds, *Saint John Fisher*, p. 15. Joye's concern with education is characteristic of the time: see N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (p. 253) for his discussion of education in the sixteenth century: "There was a greater determination than before to improve the standard of religious life and to build a more truly Christian society. This meant educating the clergy so that their work of celebrating divine service, preaching and pastoral care might be better discharged. It also meant educating the laity, primarily in the elements of the faith but also in literacy, so that they might reform and elevate themselves by the reading of good works."

¹⁰⁸*Daniel*, K2v.

¹⁰⁹Prologue to 1535 Bible, G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, p. 21.

¹¹⁰*Unite and Scisme*, B6r.

(who were 'not shepeherdes but butchars'),¹¹¹ in *Contrarye* Joye located the fault in a higher source: 'The cause why trwe iudgement is peruerted and iustice and equite is not truely ministred is. The iudges and rulers are not fathers but tyrants ignorant of God and his lawes, they are not true feders ...but poysonners with menis tradicions'.(C4r) He may well have been risking his still-tenuous status, but Joye, certain of both his duty and the imminent End, did not shy away from cautionary statements filled with the 'vehemence of the spirit of god'. As moral teachers, no-one was exempt from their flock, and if the rulers were true Christians, then they would listen to his words:

Since all governmental power is from God, its highest and principall office ... is to protect and promote the true honor of God and the proper service of God by punishing and rooting out all blasphemy, and to exercise all possible diligence to promote and to put into effect what a minister of the Church and a preacher of the Gospel teaches and sets forth from God's Word.¹¹²

For Joye, any price paid on earth was negligible compared with the reward awaiting him in the afterlife. His later writings exhibit the characteristically apocalyptic belief 'that the mythic End of history represents the perfection of the cosmos through the purgation of the principle of evil in a final eschatological Judgement through which the divine sufferance of evil will be justified.'¹¹³ The chosen would not suffer the damnation awaiting men such as Stephen Gardiner and the other 'blynde buzerds and wealy vepers whelps'.¹¹⁴ The certainty that 'we shall haue that moste ioyouse lyfe perpetuall' was for Joye his source of steadfastness, 'the moste present concolacion in this owr persecucion in these laste dayes. And greter is our counforte for that we knowe it and see it now at hand. ...the shortnes of the tymes and ages of the worlde and the rypenes of iniquite these warres and the crueltye of anticristes persecucion declare it to be at hande.'¹¹⁵ The same spirit infuses the advice of Miles Coverdale:

¹¹¹R. Crowley, *Select Works*, p. 154.

¹¹²From 'The First Helvetic Confession' of 1536. Quoted in A.C. Cochrane (ed.), *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 111.

¹¹³S. O'Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, p. 51.

¹¹⁴*Present Consolation*, A5r.

¹¹⁵*Daniel*, G4v-G5r.

Let not, therefore, reason be judge in this matter, but faith and God's word; in the which if we set before our eyes the shortness of this present time wherein we suffer, and consider the eternity to come, we shall find it most certain that our enemies and persecutors shall be helpless in intolerable pains, and we ... shall be dangerless in such felicity and joy.¹¹⁶

Henry Bullinger also shared Joye's perspective, declaring: 'we are companions and fellow-heirs with the saints from Adam unto the end of all worlds, and God's household. And this contains the greatest comfort in all human life.'¹¹⁷ Bishop Nicholas Ridley, awaiting his own death, affirmed the same: 'Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay, forsooth.'¹¹⁸

In this schema, a certain subjectivity emerges in Joye's discussion of the fate awaiting the brethren, for on the final day a special place would be reserved for the preachers and teachers who had suffered injustice on earth. The words of Daniel had impressed themselves upon the exiled, hunted Joye: in the afterlife 'the techers shall shyne lyke the brightnes of the firmament. And thei which bringe many to the knowlege of the rightwysemakinge shall shyne perpetually lyke the starres.'¹¹⁹ In *The Apocalyptic Imagination* Collins argues that 'shining like the stars should not be dismissed as a mere metaphor'.¹²⁰ Considering that the stars were often representative of the heavenly host, 'shining like the stars' bore with it the connotation that the teachers would actually join the angelic host. Consolation such as this, which was focused upon by Joye in the 1540s, maintained the steadfastness of the exiled ministers of the Reformation:

Here is declared the vertew and powr of the prechers before the iugement and of their rewards of bodies and soules aftir the resurreccion. These prechers be thei whiche bringe forthe the newe and olde store that is/ the lawe and gospell ... Thei shall shyne/ not onely here as syghtes in the middis of the euil anticrysten nacion/ but also for euer ... And what so euer these teachers here lese or suffer for

¹¹⁶'An Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross', G. Pearson (ed.), *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, pp. 238-9.

¹¹⁷'Of the Holy Catholic Church', in G.W. Bromiley (ed.), *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 291.

¹¹⁸'Another Farewell', *The Fathers of the English Church*, vol. 4, p. 68.

¹¹⁹*Daniel*, G5r.

¹²⁰J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, p. 90.

their techinge/ thei shal bothe here and there recayue an hondred folde for it. Wherfore then shuld thei be afraid or troubled? The more thei here suffere for teachinge the trothe the greater ioye abydethe them: let us not therfore desiste/ nor be afraid/ let us not neglecte our office for crystis sake (good crysten brethern) but speke & wryte as longe as we maye.¹²¹

It was well that Joye did not seek or expect any earthly glory, for none was forthcoming. Whatever other issues were touched upon by *Contrary*, transmitted clearly was the author's fundamental disagreement with and obvious dislike for John Foxe and his 'false and unlearned' book, filled with his 'false argumentes, weake reasons and his vayne probacyons'.(A2r) At best Foxe was 'this yong and newe orator'(A5v), at worst a 'patrone and defender of adultery'(F3v), motivated by 'his blynde loue to him selfe'.(B1r) The writings of John Foxe's son Simeon emphasise the gentle, forgiving nature of his father: 'Master Fox was by nature so ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times with much adoe confesse himself wronged, even then, when he had in his hands ability to revenge.'¹²² The image is not supported by reality: when he came to write his *Actes & Monuments*, Foxe did not forget the attack on his character. He used his text as the instrument of revenge.

It would be difficult not to notice the biased view of Joye which appears in *Actes & Monuments*. Through the centuries the book has come under attack from various perspectives, and although the early criticism affected the three editions that came out during Foxe's lifetime (in 1563, 1570, and 1576), George Joye's presence (or lack thereof) was unaffected. One of its earliest critics was the Catholic Thomas Harding, who in 1565 wrote against Foxe, attacking 'that huge dongehill of your stinking martyrs'.¹²³ The following year Nicholas Harpsfield's *Dialogi Sex* was printed, launching his offensive against the Protestant martyrs. Published under the name 'Alan Cope', the book reserved special condemnation for Foxe's volume. The Jesuit Father Robert Parsons was another who took up his pen against Foxe; his *A Treatise of the Three Conversions of England* was issued in 1603. In 1868 Dominic Trenow described Foxe's volume as 'a work which was condemned from the first by the unbiassed judgment [sic] of contemporary opinion, was

¹²¹Daniel, G5v.

¹²²Quoted in V. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 3.

¹²³Quoted in V. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 8.

subsequently convicted as full of the grossest misrepresentations, and in the present day has been rejected as worthless by all those who possess, in the smallest degree, the virtue of literary honesty.¹²⁴ In support of his argument Trenow quotes Parsons, who attested that Foxe's story 'is falsified and perverted one way or other, either ...by adding, cutting off, concealing, false translating, wrong citing, or cunning juggling and falsification'. It is ironic that this most extreme, biased Roman Catholic argument can be understood from the Joye's perspective. Parsons accused John Foxe of 'wilful corruptions, and falsification that cannot be excused', and indeed, the man's sustained refusal to acknowledge either the life or the works of George Joye is startling in its contumacy.¹²⁵ In recent years, the view that Foxe had a specific agenda shaping his interpretation of historical events has been reached once more by scholars, and now the idea of 'the 'Foxe version' of Reformation' is generally recognised.¹²⁶

Foxe was preparing his text from c.1554, by which time the importance of Joye's religious handbooks, biblical translations and polemical tracts was apparent and undeniable. Apart from their widespread influence on the writings of other reformers, the texts of Joye were still valued in their own right. *Ashwell* and *Rekening* had been reprinted as recently as 1548, and two editions of *Daniel* went to press in 1550. Judging from John Foxe's accounts of the other early reformers of the sixteenth century, one expects great detail to be provided on Joye, who had the added 'advantage' of being known personally to Foxe. Suspicions begin when the name of Joye does not appear in connection with the evangelists and theologians of Cambridge. Foxe writes of the 'diligent travail' of Thomas Bilney 'in teaching and exhorting others, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ.'¹²⁷ Yet Joye must have held similar status in Bedford, or else why did Prior Ashwell fear the loss of 'the favour of many in my country'?¹²⁸

¹²⁴D. Trenow, *The Credibility of John Foxe, the "Martyrologist."*, p. 4.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 7, p. 8.

¹²⁶C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 3.

¹²⁷*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 656.

¹²⁸*Ashwell*, A3r.

Although those of Arthur and Bilney are detailed, Joye's subpoena to appear at Westminster in 1527 goes unmentioned, as does his flight from England. Indeed, his exclusion from the 'encyclopaedic' *Actes & Monuments* is almost absolute. We may infer his presence in the reports that 'such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from Antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion', but direct references to the reformer are more scarce.¹²⁹ On the rare occasions when his name does occur (I count ten references) its inclusion has been unavoidable. For example, the name of Joye must be mentioned in the account of James Bainham, for he was charged with possessing 'the epistle of George Gee'. Similarly the name occurs in the account of Thomas More's questioning of (the relatively minor figure of) George Constantine, and Joye was also mentioned in two of Tyndale's letters reproduced in *A&M*.¹³⁰ Finally, as he was considered a significant threat, his name crops up in lists of forbidden books, which Foxe reproduced in their entirety.¹³¹

Many potential references to him have been avoided: men found in possession of Joye's texts (such as Walter Key, John Mel, and Richard Bayfield) are described as owning 'a' primer or 'the' psalter in English; the author is not given.¹³² The initial publications of Joye's 24 texts, including the *Supper*, are all ignored. There is only one direct reference to George Joye in the eight volumes of *Actes & Monuments*, and this functions only as a footnote to the biography of Robert Barnes. Foxe relates his debate with Stephen Gardiner in 1540, reproducing all of the articles drawn up by the bishop against Barnes. He then concludes his account:

These articles, forasmuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joye, in his joinder and rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see the matter enough to answer to these popish articles.¹³³

¹²⁹*A&M*, vol. 4, p. 657.

¹³⁰See *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 700, p. 671, and vol. 5, pp. 132-3.

¹³¹See *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 565, p. 566, p. 568.

¹³²See *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 38; vol. 4, p. 685.

¹³³*Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 433.

This, according to Foxe, is the extent of Joye's contribution to the English Reformation. Father Parsons' grandiose claim that 'The volume is put forth with the evident intention to deceive' appears to ring true, from the perspective of George Joye.¹³⁴ Speculations that *Actes & Monuments* 'may well have been, the Tyndale rendering of the New Testament aside, the most influential book in the English language' simultaneously dishearten and help explain the low status accorded the reformer.¹³⁵ In *The Stripping of the Altars* (p. 525) Duffy refers to 'the persistence of a Protestant historiography, authoritatively shaped by John Foxe' and refers to 'the limitations and presuppositions of this historiographical tradition'. If Joye's career had ended in martyrdom, Foxe would have had no option but to at least grant him a second mention. To quote another Protestant historian, writing of the 'frutefull auntyent authors' of England: 'A fylthy bastarde is he to Englande, and a moste cruell enemy to all good lernyng, that wyll now obscure their names and destroye their workes, to the landes perpetuall dyscommodyte. As some vnnaturall chyldren haue done now of late, to serue their pryuate affeccyons more then the commen welthe.'¹³⁶ In his conclusion to *A&M*, Foxe addresses himself to Queen Elizabeth, and affirms: 'I take not upon me the part here of the moral or of the divine philosopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compass of a historiographer.'¹³⁷ The personal motive of John Foxe was not widely known, and his exclusion of George Joye was presumably seen as being motivated by sound judgement by the historians and theologians that followed, resulting in such as statements as: 'To Fox, all prominent Protestants were lovable and heroic...'¹³⁸

Joye could not have realised the impact that *Contrary* would have upon his name and his body of work. The man continued in his pastoral duties, and would have been immersed in the commotion which continued in the parishes. The altars were razed, the 'unnecessary' plate and vestments were sold off, and the remnants of the medieval laity's

¹³⁴Quoted by D. Trenow, *The Credibility of John Foxe, the "Martyrologist."*, p. 23.

¹³⁵W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King*, p. 27. See also V. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 1, where he comments: "During its early history it was considered second only to the Bible."

¹³⁶J.H. Chandler (ed.), *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, p. 6.

¹³⁷Quoted in V. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 49.

¹³⁸J. Chandos (ed.), *In God's Name*, p. 35 (Introduction to a sermon).

Conclusion

"This," you will say, "I remember, is my native land,
Here I was born, here shall I halt my step."¹

According to Thomas Fuller, George Joye died and was 'peaceably buried' in his home county of Bedfordshire in 1553.² There is no record of him being called to account for his faith (which had been declared heretical once more), therefore it is likely that he died before the machinery of suppression was turned away from conservatives and directed back towards reformers. Crowned on 19 July, the new queen's proclamation of 18 August 1553 'opened the floodgates of Catholic restoration'.³ The Master of Peterhouse Ralph Aynsworth was expelled in this year for having married.⁴ Another contemporary of Joye's Edward Staples, who had risen to the position of Bishop of Meath, was deprived of his see in June 1554 on the same grounds. Nicholas Ridley was stripped of his bishopric in August 1553, and the see of London was restored to Bonner, who was (with Stephen Gardiner) released from prison. Also released was the old Duke of Norfolk, grandfather to John Foxe's pupils. Norfolk promptly dismissed the reformist tutor, and Foxe fled to the Continent, where he began to gather materials for a martyrology. Ridley's deprivation marked for him the beginning of the end. Accompanied by Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cranmer (who had been deprived of his see for treason on 13 November 1553), he was brought to Oxford to debate sacramental theology. All were judged to be heretics, and the three Cambridge men were burned at Oxford on 16 October 1555.

In January 1557 the body of Martin Bucer, whose writings had provided the templates for Joye's early works, was exhumed in Cambridge and consigned to the flames, joined by a cartload of heretical texts.⁵ The wind changed yet again in November of 1558, when Mary died, and the daughter of Anne Boleyn was crowned queen, inheriting the (papal) title of *defensor fidei*. *The Actes and Monuments of John*

¹Boethius, 'The Consolation of Philosophy', bk. 4, *The Loeb Classical Library*, vol. 74, p. 317.

²T. Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, P. Austin Nuttall (ed.), p. 170.

³E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 528.

⁴T.A. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 42.

⁵H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, p. 56.

Foxe was published on 20 March 1563, and Convocation later ordered that every parish church was to be furnished with a copy of the godly book.⁶ Although the name of Martin Bucer was restored to honour once more in 1560, that of George Joye was never to recover. *Foxe* lived until 1587, during which time his writings actively ensured that Joye's name became less and less familiar. After his death *Foxe's* view of history was read as truth, only (??) challenged by marginalised Roman Catholics.

The English language continued to develop, with the relationship between rhetoric and the Bible changing drastically in the course of the century. The early reformers had deliberately translated into the language of the common people, but as the century progressed, and the potential of the English language began to be realised, an elevated style came to be preferred:

Base argument a base style ever yields:
But, of itself, a lofty subject raises
Grave stately words...
Then, consecrate me rather your wit's miracles
To sacred stories: spend your eloquence
In singing loud those holy heavenly oracles...⁷

Richard Waswo comments: 'If language stands for things, then the language that stands for the most prestigious things ... will become that which literature is obliged somehow to reproduce.'⁸ Therefore the newly-elevated Biblical language became that which was worthy of emulation, and a new era of English prose was ushered in. By January 1604, when John Reynolds proposed a new English translation of the Bible, the dominant ideology of style had changed, although the same semantic concern continued: Reynolds and his associates reiterated the fears of both George Joye and Thomas More, asking: 'is the kingdome of God become words or syllables?'⁹ The physical, printed text took on tremendous significance over the course of the Reformation: in the 1520s books were simply cast upon the flames, but by the time of *Stile's*

⁶See D. Trenow, *The Credibility of John Foxe, the "Martyrologist."*, p. 3; V. Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, p. 1.

⁷From Joshua Sylvester's translation of Guillaume Du Bartas' poem 'Urania, or the Heavenly Muse', quoted in D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 192.

⁸R. Waswo, *Language and Meaning in the Renaissance*, p. 79.

⁹*The Holy Bible: The Authorized or King James Version of 1611*, xxv.

martyrdom, chained to the stake beside him was the book of the Apocalypse, having the same presence and representing the same threat as a sentient, preaching heretic.

The men working on the KJB 'were not pioneers but revisers', and they acknowledged the debt owed to those who gone before, to the translators of the early reformation, who worked in a time when the 'religious responsibility of translating had never been higher.'¹⁰ The preface to the 1611 Bible reads:

[to those] that travailed before us in this kind, either in this land or beyond sea, either in King Henry's time, or King Edward's ... we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of his Church, and that they deserve to be had of us and of posterity in everlasting remembrance. ... Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured be their name, that break the ice, and give the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls.¹¹

The name of George Joye was not honoured. He has been mislabelled for centuries. There is nothing in the extant evidence to suggest that his own zeal sprang from being 'vain, foolish, touchy', 'small-minded, mean and rather hypocritical', while that of William Tyndale came directly from the Holy Ghost himself.¹² He was not Tyndale's collaborator, and to pigeonhole Joye as Tyndale's 'former assistant', or as 'first Tyndale's helper, then his antagonist' misrepresents entirely their relationship.¹³ The moralising attitude of scholars has limited the scholarship: the consideration of Joye in terms of (a constructed) character has eclipsed the man's contribution and his legacy, and ultimately it is we, seeking to comprehend the doctrinal morass of the sixteenth century, who suffer.

It is only in this century that a significant reassessment of the man and his work has been attempted, and condemnations deriving solely from his supposed evil nature are thankfully becoming more rare. In 1927 T.A. Walker declared that George Joye 'was active and laborious and

¹⁰D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 144, p. 74.

¹¹*The Holy Bible: The Authorized or King James Version of 1611*, xvi.

¹²J.F. Mozley, 'Tyndale's "Supper of the Lord"', in *N&Q*, vol. 183 (1942), p. 306; G.E. Duffield, *The Work of William Tyndale*, Intro., xxix.

¹³F.A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, p. 257; G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*, p. 235.

deserves a place of distinction amongst early reformers.¹⁴ In 1942 J.F. Mozley announced: 'it is high time that Joye's biblical translations received more thorough study.'¹⁵ By 1964 William Clebsch could assert: 'The religious character of Joye's work was incalculably important to English Protestantism.'¹⁶ The full extent of Joye's contribution to the English Bible - '*the cultural event of the sixteenth century*' - has yet to be traced, but even at this early stage it is evident that his place among the men who laid the foundations for the Protestant Church through their translations and their polemic, is too great to overlook any longer.¹⁷

The religious conflict so manifest in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary did not end with the accession of Elizabeth. As Christopher Haigh remarks: 'The Reformation did not produce a Protestant England: it produced a divided England.'¹⁸ The same beliefs persisted, each side assured that divine truth lay with them. In his *Commentary on Galatians* (1535) Martin Luther explained 'why our theology is certain': 'it [faith] snatches us away from ourselves and places us outside ourselves, so that we do not depend on our own strength ... [but] on the promise and truth of God, which cannot deceive.'¹⁹ Similarly Thomas More was absolutely certain that the Church, founded on and maintained by the same promise of Christ, could not err. Both factions were utterly convinced of the justness of their cause, which they were willing to 'stoughtly defende with fyer & fagets.'²⁰ An impasse was created which four hundred years have not managed to overcome.

One of the most classical and deadly malign inversions has given birth to the idea of purity.

Purity is the malign inversion of innocence. Innocence is love of being, smiling acceptance of both celestial and earthly sustenance, ignorance of the infernal antithesis between purity and impurity. Satan had turned this spontaneous and as it were native saintliness into a caricature which resembles him and is the converse of its original. Purity is horror of life, hatred of man,

¹⁴T.A. Walker, *A Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men, Part 1*, p. 113.

¹⁵J.F. Mozley, 'George Joye, or Gee', *N&Q*, vol. 185 (1943), p. 253.

¹⁶W. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, p. 209.

¹⁷D. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, p. 205.

¹⁸C. Haigh, in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised*, p. 209.

¹⁹J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4, pp. 149-50.

²⁰*Daniel*, E4r.

morbid passion for the void. A chemically pure body has undergone barbaric treatment in order to arrive at that state, which is absolutely against nature. A man hag-ridden by the demon of purity sows ruin and death around him. Religious purification, political purges, preservation of racial purity - there are numerous variations on this atrocious theme, but all issue with monotonous regularity in countless crimes whose favourite instrument is fire, symbol of purity and symbol of hell.²¹

²¹M. Tournier, *The Erl-King*, p. 70.

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RSTC 2370

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(Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 28 Feb 1531). RSTC 20036.

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(Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, "Balthassar Beckenth at Straszburg", 10 May
1531). RSTC 2777.

The letters which Iohan Ashwel ,
(Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 10 June 1531). RSTC 845.

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(London: Thomas Godfray, c, 1532). RSTC 20036.5.

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(2 Feb 1533), not extant.

The Souper of the Lord
(Antwerp: "Nornburg by Niclas Twonson", printer unknown as yet, 5
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preface written by Robert Crowley, and one edition bears Crowley's
name. The dates and printers are not yet known.

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(Antwerp: Martin de Keyser(?), "at Emdon by Jacob Aurik", 1534).
RSTC 14829. Although Butterworth & Chester ascribe the printing to G.
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Keyser include 'Aurik in Emdon', which makes it likely that this text
infact came from the press of de Keyser. See P.V. Blouw, 'Early protestant
publications in Antwerp, 1526-30', *Quaerendo*, vol. 26/2 (1996), pp. 94-110.

Jeremy the Prophete,

(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven?, May 1534). Butterworth and Chester suggest Van Endhoven as the publisher, but the opening initial 'T' is as used by M. de Keyser and M. Crom. RSTC 2778.

Dauids Psalter ,

(Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, "Martine Emperowr", Aug 1534). Same title block as 1530 Psalter, RSTC 2372.

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(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, 9 Jan 1535). RSTC 2827.

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(London: Thomas Godfray, c. 1535). Same title block as Thomas Godfray's reprint of the 1530 Psalter, RSTC 2752.

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(London: John Byddell, Sept 1535). RSTC 14821.

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(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven "at Grunning", 27 April 1541). RSTC 24217.

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(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, "Prynted at Lipse by Ubryght Hoff", August 1541). Same title block as *Unite and Scisme*. RSTC 17798.

The defence of the Mariage of Preistes: Agenst Steuen Gardiner bisshop of Wynchester...

By 'James Sawtry'. (Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, "Prynted at Auryk by Jan Troost", Aug 1541). Same title block as *Frutefull* and *A very godly defense*. RSTC 21804.

Reprint of *The Psalter of David in Englysshe*, with collects added

(London: Edward Whitchurch). The dating of the work is problematic: the authors of *George Joye* give the date as c. 1541, while the RSTC suggests c. 1554. RSTC 2374.

Our sauioir Jesus Christ hath not ouercharged his chirche with many ceremonies,

(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, "At Zijrik", Feb 1543). RSTC suggests Van Endhoven as the printer, which is confirmed by her use of the same title block as *Unite and Scisme*. RSTC 14556.

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(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, Mar 1543). RSTC 26138.

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(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, "Wesill in Cliefe lande", June 1543). RSTC 14826.

The vnite and Scisme of the olde Chirche,

(Antwerp: Catherine Van Endhoven, June 1543). The title is in the compartment of *Our sauioir Jesus Christ*. RSTC 14830.

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(Antwerp: S. Mierdman, Sept 1544). RSTC 14828.

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(Michael Wood?, "Emprinted at Geneue", Aug 1545). For the printer see K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain* (p. 53): 'Michael Wood, the printer for Joye's work on Daniel, also printed in the same year Bale's *A mystery of iniquyte*.'. RSTC 14823.

The Refutation of the byshop of Winchester's derke declaration of his false articles, once before confuted by George Joye.

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(London: Richard Wyer, May 1548). RSTC 26139.

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(May 1548). Various printers have been suggested: the RSTC ascribes it to the Antwerp press of S. Mierdman, but the type corresponds to that used

by John Cawood. Butterworth & Chester claim the printer to be Richard Jugge. Shares a part of title block from Martin de Keyser's editions of Joye's psalters. RSTC 18877.

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(T Raynold & W. Hill?, c. 1548) RSTC 846.

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(c. 1550). As with *Coniectures*, the RSTC ascribe the work to S. Mierdman, but Butterworth & Chester name Richard Jugge. RSTC 14822.

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