

RIDLEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS DISPUTATION AT OXFORD.
REPRINTED FROM COVERDALE'S LETTERS
OF THE MARTYRS.

The manner of DR RIDLEY'S handling in the schools at Oxford, and of the impudent, spiteful, and cruel dealing of the papists: which he set before his disputation by way of a preface¹.

SMALLER TREATISES

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

BY

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

I NEVER yet in all my life saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was had with me of late in the schools at Oxford. And surely I could never have thought, that it had been possible to have found any within this realm, being of any knowledge, learning, and ancient degree of school, so brazen-faced and so shameless, as to behave themselves so vainly and so like stage-players, as they did in that disputation.

The Sorbonical clamours which at Paris (when popery most reigned,) I in times past have seen, might be worthily thought, in comparison of this thrasonical and glorious ostentation, to have had much modesty. Howbeit it was not to be wondered at, for that they which should there have been moderators and rulers of others, and which should have given a good example in word, gravity, &c. as Paul teacheth, gave worst example of all; and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to other, to rail, rage, roar, and cry out. By reason whereof, good Christian reader, it is manifest that they never sought for any truth, but only for the glory of the world and a bragging victory. But, besides the innumerable railings, rebukes, and taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, lest our cause, which indeed is God's cause and his church's, should also by the false examples of our disputations be evil spoken of and slandered to the world, and so the verity sustain hurt and hindrance thereby; I have thought good to write my answers myself, that whosoever is desirous

[¹ The original Latin will be found prefacing the disputation in Appendix. Ed.]

to know them and the truth withal, may thereby perceive those things which were chiefly objected against me, and also in effect, what was answered of me to every of them. Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously spoken, and like as of mad men objected of so many, which spake oftentimes huddle^a, so that one could not well hear another; either^b all that was answered of me briefly to such and so diverse opponents. Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly spent in most contumelious taunts, hissings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, *more than tolerable*^c even in stage-plays, and that in the English tongue, to get the people's favour withal. All which things when I with godly grief did suffer; and therewithal did openly bewail and witness, that that company of learned men, and schools which were appointed to grave men and to grave matters, were contaminate and defiled by such foolish and Robinhood pastimes, and that they which were the doers of such things, did but thereby openly shew their vanity; I was so far by my such humble complaint from doing good, or helping any thing at all, that I was enforced^d, what with hissing and shouting, and what with authority, to hear such great reproaches and slanders uttered against me, as no grave man without blushing could abide the hearing of the same spoken of^e a most vile knave against a most wretched ruffian. At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that after the manner of disputations; before I could make an end of my probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, "He speaketh blasphemies, blasphemies, blasphemies." And when I on my knees most humbly and heartily besought them, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, whereat the prolocutor (something moved, as it seemed) cried out, "Let him read it, let him read it;" yet when I again began to read it, there was by and by such a cry and noise, "Blasphemies, blasphemies," as I (to my remembrance) never heard or read the like, except it be one which was in the Acts of the Apostles stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying

^a confusedly.
^b or.

^c intolerable.

^d forced.

^e by.

out against Paul, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians; great is Diana of the Ephesians;" and except it were a certain disputation which the Arians had against the Orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said, that such as the presidents and rulers of the disputation were, such was also the end of the disputation, all was done in hurlyburly, and the slanders of the Arians were so outrageous that nothing could quietly be heard. So writeth Victor in the second book of his history. And thus the cries and tumults of these men against me now so prevailed, that, whether I would or no, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were but short. And of the truth hereof I have all those that were present, being of any discretion or honesty, to be my witnesses. But hereof will I cease to complain any further¹.

Know, gentle reader, that master Prolocutor did promise me in the disputations publicly, that I should see mine answers, how they were collected and gathered of the notaries, and that I should have licence to add or diminish, to alter or change afterwards, as I should think best would make for me to the answering of the propositions. He promised moreover publicly, that I should have both time and place for me to bring in frankly all that I could for the confirmation of mine answers. Now when he had promised all these things openly, in the hearing of other commissioners and of the whole University of Oxford, yet, good reader, mark this, that in very deed he performed nothing of all that he promised: what faith then shall a man look to find at such judges' hands in the secret mysteries of God, which in their promises so openly made, and so duly debt,^f (I^g owing. will not speak of the witnesses of the matter,) are found to be so faithless both to God and man? Well, I will leave it to the judgment of the wise.

And now, for that is left for us to do, let us pray that God would have mercy on his Church of England; that yet once,

[¹ Coverdale, from whom this account is reprinted, divides it at this passage into two portions, and places each separately among Ridley's letters, at the same time apologizing for the division, and stating that it ought not to have been made. See Coverdale's Letters of the Reformers, fol. 112. Ed. 1564. Ed.]

when it shall be his good pleasure, it may clearly see and greedily embrace, in the faith of Jesus Christ, the will of the heavenly Father; and that, of his infinite mercy, he would either turn to him the raging and ravening wolves, and most subtle seducers of his people, which are by them altogether spoiled and bewitched, either^s that of his most righteous judgment he would drive these faithless feeders from his flock, that they may no more be able to trouble and scatter abroad Christ's sheep from their shepherd—and that speedily. Amen, amen. And let every one that hath the Spirit (as St John saith) say, Amen.

Yet further know thou, that when Master Prolocutor did put forth three propositions, he did command us to answer particularly to them all. After our answers neither he nor his fellows did ever enter into any disputation of any one of them, saving only of the first. Yea, when that he had asked us, after disputations of the first, (as ye have heard for my part,) whether we would subscribe to the whole in such sort, form, and words as there are set forth, without further disputation, (which thing we denied^b) by and by he gave sentence against us all; that is, against me, Dr Cranmer, and Mr Latimer, my most dear fathers and brethren in Christ; condemning us for heinous heretics concerning every of these propositions; and so separated us one from another, sending us severally into sundry and diverse houses, to be kept most secretly till the day of our burning; and as before, so still commanded, that all and every one of our servants should be kept from us; whereto he added that at his departure thence, pen, ink, and paper, should depart from us also. But thanks be to God, that gave me to write this before the use of such things were utterly taken away. Almighty God, which beholdeth the causes of the afflicted, and is wont to loose and look mercifully on the bonds and groanings of the captives, he vouchsafe now to look upon the causes of his poor church in England, and, of his great wisdom and unspeakable mercy, with speed to make an end of our misery! Amen, amen, amen.

or.

refused.

He meaneth here that godly and fruitful report of his disputation in Oxford, which he penned with his own hand.

CERTAIN MATTERS WHEREIN STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, VARIETH FROM OTHER OF THE PAPISTS, TOUCHING THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER; REPRINTED FROM FOX'S ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

FOX'S PREFACE.

FORASMUCH, good reader, as our adversaries, that is the Romish Catholics, as Lindanus¹, Pighius, Gardiner, with others more, are wont so greatly to charge us with dissension and repugnance among ourselves; for the same cause I have thought good, especially having here in hand the story of Winchester, to set forth to the eyes of men a brief treatise of Dr Ridley, wherein, as in a glass, you may see, and that by his own words and in his own works, the manifest contrariety and repugnance of the said Winchester: first, with other writers; secondly, with himself, in the matter of the sacrament; thirdly, herein thou mayest see and understand how far and wherein not only he disagreeeth from his own profession, but also granteth and agreeth with sundry of our assertions in the said matter; as by reading thereof thou mayest see and perceive more at large.

*OTHER Catholics say, that the body of Christ is made of bread. *Thomas vult, ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia²*; Winchester saith, that the body of Christ is not made of the matter of bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made present of bread³.

[¹ The following may be mentioned as a specimen of such writings: "De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum varietate opuscula; item Guil. Lindani hereseon tabulæ;" Coloniae, 1579. Ed.]

[* The second references within brackets thus (—) refer to Cranmer's works, Ed. Oxon. by the Rev. Henry Jenkyns, M.A. 1833. Ed.]

² Quest. 75, art. 8.

[³ P. 72, l. 14; and p. 178, l. 10, (vol. iii. p. 145, 303.) Ed.]

Confutation of Winchester against Cranmer.

2. Winchester saith, that Christ called bread his body, when he said, "This is my body¹." And in the Devil's Sophistry². Others say contrary³.

Winchester saith, that "bread is my body," is as much as to say, "bread is made my body." And so he taketh *est* for *fit*⁴. Others say that *est* is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for "is," and not for "is made⁵."

Winchester saith, that "Christ is present in the sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in heaven⁶."

3. Winchester saith also, that when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body which hath both form and quantity⁷. Smith saith, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath not its proper form and quantity, fol. 106. And the contrary he saith, fol. 105⁸.

4. Winchester saith, we believe simply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding⁹. Smith saith, we say that Christ's body is in the sacrament against nature, with all its qualities and accidents¹⁰.

5. Winchester saith, that God's works be all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christ's head from his feet, nor his legs from his arms¹¹. Others say, that Christ's head and feet, and other parts, be not indeed locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that wheresoever one is, there be all the rest.

6. Winchester saith, that Christ's body is in the sacra-

ment sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally¹². Others say contrary¹³.

7. Others say, that Christ's feet in the sacrament be there where his head is. Winchester saith, that whosoever saith so, may be called mad¹⁴.

8. Others say, that corporally Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach, and no further¹⁵. He saith contrary¹⁶.

9. Winchester saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ¹⁷. Others say contrary¹⁸.

10. Winchester saith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but only man¹⁹. Others say clean contrary: Thomas, *Hoc derogat, inquit, veritati corporis Christi*²⁰. Perin²¹, in his sermon of the Sacrament: "What inconvenience is it, though the impassible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beast," &c. *Magister Sententiarum, qui dicit corpus Christi posse a mure manducari aut a bruto*, is condemned²².

11. Winchester saith, that an unrepentant sinner, receiving the sacrament, hath not Christ's body nor spirit within him²³. Smith saith, that he hath Christ's body and spirit within him²⁴.

12. Winchester saith, that of the figure it may not be said, "Adore it, worship it;" and that it is not to be adored

[¹² P. 159, l. 9; (vol. iii. p. 240.) Confutation.

¹³ Smith, fol. 39.

¹⁴ P. 61, l. 34, (vol. iii. p. 115.) Confutation.

¹⁵ Bonaventura, Hugo, Innocent, 3, lib. iv. cap. 15. Glos. de consecrat. dist. 2, cap. "tribus", et in glos. "non iste". Thom. Parte 3, quæst. 80, art. 3. "Tamdiu manet dum est in digestionem." Smith, fol. 64.

¹⁶ P. 52, l. 36, (vol. iii. p. 99.) Confutation.

¹⁷ P. 53, l. 1; p. 56, l. 31, (vol. iii. p. 106.) Confutation.

¹⁸ Smith, fol. 64.

¹⁹ P. 66, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 123.) Confutation.

²⁰ Part 3, q. 8, art. 3.

²¹ "Three godly and notable Sermons, by W. Peryn. Imprinted by Nicolas Hyll;" 8vo. London. 1546. See Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, 4. 230.

²² "A mouse may eat Christ's body," saith the Master of the Sentences. "A mouse cannot eat it," saith Winchester.

²³ P. 225, l. 36, (vol. iii. p. 328.)

²⁴ Fol. 136. "Within him," that is, within his soul. *En.*]

[¹ P. 257, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 369.)

² And in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 27.

³ See Smith, fol. 53.

⁴ P. 295, l. 35, (vol. iii. p. 425.) Confutation.

⁵ Marc. Anton. fol. 171, fac. 2.

⁶ P. 141, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 213.) Confutation.

⁷ P. 71, l. 37, (vol. iii. p. 132.)

⁸ Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart.

⁹ P. 353, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 502.)

¹⁰ Fol. 105.

¹¹ P. 70, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 115.) Confutation. *Ed.*]

which the bodily eye seeth¹: *Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis*. Smith saith contrary².

13. Winchester saith, that reason will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough³. Smith saith that transubstantiation is against reason and natural operation⁴.

14. Others say, that worms in the sacrament be generated of accidents: *Ex speciebus sacramentalibus generentur vermes*⁵. Winchester saith, that they be wrong borne in hand to say so⁶.

15. Winchester saith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, sour, and wax vinegar⁷. But he answereth so confusedly, that the reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. Smith saith, "Thus I say, that the consecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poison, as long as Christ's body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition; and the bread and wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christ's body and blood, and also as long as the host and consecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by God's power, as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, engendereth worms, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth rats and mice, receiveth poison⁸," &c.

16. Winchester saith, "Every 'yea' containeth a 'nay' in it naturally: so as whosoever saith, this is bread, saith it is no wine. For in the rule of common reason the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thoroughly; whatsoever is bread

¹ P. 178, l. 40; p. 339, l. 32, (vol. iii. p. 269;) Marc. Anton. fol. 136, fac. 2.

² Fol. 145, fac. 2.

³ P. 264, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 382.) Confutation.

⁴ Fol. 60.

⁵ Thom. par. 3, q. 77, art. 5.

⁶ P. 355, l. 3, (vol. iii. p. 505.) Confutation.

⁷ P. 265, l. 11; p. 355, l. 3, (vol. iii. p. 182.) Confutation, et Marc. Ant. fol. 168, fac. 1.

⁸ Fol. 64, and fol. 105. Ed.]

is no wine; whatsoever is wine, is no milk; and so forth." So Christ saying, This is my body, saith, It is no bread⁹. Smith saith, that a boy which hath only learned sophistry, will not dispute so fondly¹⁰.

17. Others say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory by the devotion of the priest and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered¹¹. Winchester saith otherwise¹².

18. Winchester saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for the reconciliation of mankind unto the favour of God¹³. Smith saith, "What is it to offer Christ's body and blood at mass, to purchase thereby everlasting life, if the mass be not a sacrifice to pacify God's wrath from sin, and to obtain his mercy¹⁴?" Where he saith further, "Priests do offer for our salvation to get heaven, and to avoid hell."

Matters wherein BISHOP GARDINER varieth from himself.

"The body of Christ in the sacrament is not made of bread, but is made present of bread¹⁵." First proposition.

"Of bread is made the body of Christ¹⁶."

Contradiction.

"The Catholic faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christ's intent to make bread his body¹⁷."

"And of many breads is made one body of Christ¹⁸."

"And faith sheweth me, that bread is the body of Christ, that is to say, made the body of Christ¹⁹."

"Christ gave that he made of bread²⁰."

"Christ spake plainly, 'This is my body,' making demonstration of the bread, when he said, 'This is my body²¹.'" Second proposition.

⁹ P. 256, l. 38; p. 265, l. 5, (vol. iii. p. 369.)

¹⁰ Fol. 77.

¹¹ Thom. par. 3, 9, 79, art. 5.

¹² P. 80, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 150.) Confutation.

¹³ P. 437, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 543.)

¹⁴ Fol. 24, 148, 164.

¹⁵ P. 76, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 145, 303.) Confutation.

¹⁶ P. 344, l. 8, (vol. iii. p. 488.)

¹⁷ P. 26, l. 40, (vol. iii. p. 72.) Confutation.

¹⁸ P. 144, l. 23, (vol. iii. p. 217.) Confutation.

¹⁹ P. 295, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 425.) Confutation.

²⁰ P. 257, l. 50, (vol. iii. p. 371.) ²¹ In the Devil's Sophistry, 27. Ed.]

"The demonstration, 'this,' may be referred to the invisible substance¹."

Contra-
diction.

"The verb 'is' was of his body and of his blood, and not of the bread and wine²."

Third pro-
position.

"*Illis verbis, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua, non aliena, prædicetur*³." "When Christ said, 'This is my body,' the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason⁴."

Contra-
diction.

"What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, than is in these words, 'This is my body⁵?'"

Fourth pro-
position.

"Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man; and when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity⁶."

"And he is present in the sacrament, as he is in heaven⁷."

"We believe simply the substance of Christ's body to be in the sacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding⁸."

Contra-
diction.

"Christ is not present in the sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantities of bread and wine⁹."

Fifth pro-
position.

"In such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally¹⁰."

Contra-
diction.

"The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual¹¹."

[¹ P. 106, l. 42, (vol. iii. p. 178.) Confutation.

² P. 251, l. 8, (vol. iii. p. 364.)

³ Mar. Anton. fol. 24, fac. 2.

⁴ P. 138, l. 19, (vol. iii. p. 210.) Confutation.

⁵ In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 51.

⁶ P. 71, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 132.) Mar. Anton. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105.

⁷ P. 141, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 213, &c.) Confutation.

⁸ P. 353, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 502.) Confutation.

⁹ P. 71, l. 50; p. 90, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 132.)

¹⁰ P. 166, l. 19; p. 173, l. 54; p. 191, l. 47, (vol. iii. pp. 251, 262, 287.)

¹¹ P. 159, l. 17; p. 197, l. 32, (vol. iii. pp. 241, 295.) Confutation. Ed.]

"We receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily¹²."

Sixth pro-
position.

"When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him¹³."

"He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him¹⁴."

"An evil man in the sacrament receiveth indeed Christ's very body¹⁵."

Contra-
diction.

"Evil men eat verily the flesh of Christ¹⁶."

"Christ giveth us to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the Virgin Mary¹⁷."

Seventh pro-
position.

"We receive not in the sacrament Christ's flesh that was crucified¹⁸."

"St Augustine's rule in his book, *De Doctrina Christiana*, pertaineth not to Christ's Supper¹⁹."

Eighth pro-
position.

"St Augustine meaneth of the sacrament²⁰."

"Reason in the place of service (as being inferior to faith) will agree with the faith of transubstantiation well enough²¹."

Ninth pro-
position.

"And as reason received into faith's service doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it, so men's senses be not such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances²²."

Contra-
diction.

"Thine eyes say, there is but bread and wine; thy taste saith the same; thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal man's understanding, which, because it taketh the beginning of the senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually²³."

"The church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of man's senses and understanding²⁴."

[¹² P. 167, l. 9; p. 174, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 252, 262.) Confutation.

¹³ P. 225, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 328.) Confutation.

¹⁴ P. 17, l. 38, (vol. iii. p. 62.) Confutation. ¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ P. 225, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 328.) Confutation.

¹⁷ P. 241, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 348.)

¹⁸ P. 243, l. 16, (vol. iii. p. 351.) Confutation.

¹⁹ P. 117, l. 21, (vol. iii. p. 190.)

²⁰ P. 119, l. 24, (vol. iii. p. 194.) Confutation.

²¹ P. 265, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 382.) Confutation.

²² P. 271, l. 24, (vol. iii. p. 391.)

²³ In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 6.

²⁴ Fol. 15. Ed.]

- Tenth proposition. "It is called bread, because of the outward visible matter¹."
- Contra-diction. "When it is called bread, it is meant Christ, the spiritual bread²."
- Eleventh proposition. "And the catholic faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ³."
- Contra-diction. Twelfth proposition. "That which is broken is the body of Christ⁴."
- Contra-diction. "The inward nature of the bread is the substance⁵."
- Contra-diction. "Substance signifieth in Theodoret," he saith, "the outward nature⁶."
- Thirteenth proposition. "The substances of bread and wine be visible creatures⁷."
- Contra-diction. "Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements⁸."
- Fourteenth proposition. "Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father for the appeasing of his wrath against us⁹."
- Contra-diction. "The act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to have a propitiatory effect¹⁰."
- Fourteenth proposition. "The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reiterate¹¹."
- Contra-diction. "Priests do sacrifice Christ¹²."
- Contra-diction. "And the catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence, that was offered on the cross¹³."
- Fifteenth proposition. "The Nestorians granted both the Godhead and Manhood always to be in Christ continually¹⁴."
- Contra-diction. "The Nestorians denied Christ conceived God, or born God, but that he was afterward God; as a man that is not born a bishop, is after made a bishop. So the Nestorians said, that the Godhead was an accession after by merit, and that he was conceived only Man¹⁵."
- Sixteenth proposition. "Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his apostles¹⁶."
- Contra-diction. "Christ is not said to be conversant in earth¹⁷."

[¹ P. 392.² P. 284, l. 25, (vol. iii. p. 411.)³ P. 144, l. 39; p. 348, l. 21, (vol. iii. p. 218,) and in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 17.⁴ P. 348, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 494.)⁵ P. 348, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 494.)⁶ P. 359, l. 22, (vol. iii. p. 511.)⁷ P. 285, l. 48; p. 286, l. 44, (vol. iii. p. 414.)⁸ P. 363, l. 39, (vol. iii. p. 518.)⁹ P. 81, l. 39, (vol. iii. p. 150.)¹⁰ P. 387, l. 13, (vol. iii. p. 542.)¹¹ P. 368, l. 46, (vol. iii. p. 529.)¹² P. 381, l. 42, (vol. iii. p. 583.)¹³ P. 436, l. 11, (vol. iii. p. 541.)¹⁴ P. 309, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 447.)¹⁵ P. 309, l. 12, (vol. iii. p. 449.)¹⁶ P. 83, l. 54, (vol. iii. p. 152.)¹⁷ P. 101, l. 16, (vol. iii. p. 173.) Ed.]*Certain things that BISHOP GARDINER granted unto.*

- "CHRIST declared eating of himself to signify believing¹⁸." Notes declaring wherein Winchester granted to spiritual use of the sacrament.
- "Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receive the sacrament; or else he cannot receive the sacrament worthily¹⁹."
- "How Christ is present²⁰."
- "By faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body; not the manner thereof²¹."
- "When we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity²²."
- "Although Christ's body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity²³."
- "The demonstrative 'this' may be referred to the invisible substance²⁴."
- "All the old prayers and ceremonies sound, as though the people did communicate with the priest²⁵."
- "The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal nor carnal; not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual²⁶."
- "When the unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him²⁷."
- "We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning²⁸."
- "The word 'transubstantiation' was first spoken of in a general council, where the bishop of Rome was present²⁹." Transubstantiation first spoken of.
- "In the sacrifice of the church Christ's death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of that death; so that Christ's offering on the cross, once done and consummate, is now only remembered³⁰."

[¹⁸ P. 27, l. 7, (vol. iii. p. 72.) Confutation.¹⁹ P. 48, l. 46; p. 140, l. ult.; p. 172, l. 28, (vol. iii. p. 94.)²⁰ P. 61, l. 10; p. 71, l. 41; p. 90, l. 44; p. 57, l. 17; p. 197, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 114.)²¹ P. 61, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 114.)²² Ibid.²³ P. 71, l. 34, (vol. iii. p. 132.)²⁴ P. 106, l. 44, (vol. iii. p. 178.) ²⁵ P. 145, l. 90, (vol. iii. p. 219.)²⁶ P. 159, l. 17; p. 197, l. 32, (vol. iii. pp. 241, 295.)²⁷ P. 225, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 328.) ²⁸ P. 243, l. 32, (vol. iii. p. 351.)²⁹ P. 250, l. 28, (vol. iii. p. 363.) ³⁰ P. 391, l. 5, (vol. iii. p. 549.) Ed.]

ANSWERS TO CERTAIN QUERIES TOUCHING THE
ABUSES OF THE MASS.

“THIS winter (1548), there was a Committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for examining all the offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King Henry’s time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St David’s, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster and Rochester, with Doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Heins, Robertson and Redmayne were appointed to examine all the offices of the Church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.” “The thing they first examined was the sacrament of the Eucharist.”—“Cranmer’s hand is over every one of them (the answers) marking the name of the bishop to whom they belonged¹.”

Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, Ed. 1816,
Ox. vol. ii. part 1. pp. 113, 114, 115.

Question 1.

Question. Whether the sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself?

Answer. Of every man for himself.

Question 2.

Question. Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man, doth avail and profit any other?

Answer. No—but as the receipt of wholesome doctrine, the receipt of the fear of God, the receipt of any godly gift, that is profitable to any one member of Christ’s mystical body, may be said generally to profit the whole body, because there

[¹ The answers of Ridley have been extracted and are here published with the questions, separately. Ed.]

is a mystical communion and a spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness, as there is in the natural body a natural participation of all natural affections both good and evil.

Question 3.

What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass? Question.

The representation and commemoration of Christ’s death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation or immolation of Christ: *non rei veritate* (as learned men do write) *sed significandi mysterio*. Answer.

Question 4.

Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ’s institution? Question.

I am not able to say that the mass consisteth by Christ’s institution in other things than in those which be set forth by the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, in the Acts, and in 1 Cor. x. xi. Answer.

Question 5.

What time the accustomed order began in the Church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament? Question.

Because the Scripture saith, *Panis quem frangimus nonne communicatio corporis est*, &c. likewise *de chalice cui benedicimus*, and also, *bibite ex eo omnes*: and the Canons said to be of the Apostles, 10 and 11. and of the Antiochian council can. 2. Anacletus in an epistle commandeth the sacrament to be received of more than the priest alone: Dyonise also declareth the same, and long after, Chrysostom: St Ambrose and St Augustine both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhort the people to the receipt thereof: therefore I suppose that custom, that the priest should receive it alone where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the Church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred years at least after Christ. Answer.

Question 6.

Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm? Question.

I suppose it were best that the custom should be re- Answer.

formed unto the rule of Scripture, and unto the pattern of the primitive church.

Question 7.

Question. Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed?

Answer. That masses satisfactory should continue to be sung for souls departed by priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Question 8.

Question. Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass to the understanding of the people being present?

Answer. The Annunciation of Christ's death and passion, and the benefit of the same, that [is] the forgiveness of sins to all the true and faithful believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the mass to the edification of the people, which thing cannot be done according to St Paul's mind and meaning, 1 Cor. xiv. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the people's understanding.

Question 9.

Question. Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?

Answer. I think it not only convenient that such speech should be used in the mass as the people might understand, but also to speak it with such an audible voice that the people might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their own, which St Paul teacheth to belong to them, and also that they may answer, as Cyprian saith the people did in his days, "*Habemus ad Dominum.*" Nevertheless as concerneth that part which pertaineth to the consecration, Dyonise and Basil move me to think it no inconvenience that [that] part should be spoken in silence.

Question 10.

Question. When the reservation of the sacrament and the hanging up of the same first began?

Answer. No answer of Ridley's to this query has been preserved.

INJUNCTIONS GIVEN IN THE VISITATION OF THE REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD, NICHOLAS BISHOP OF LONDON, FOR
AN UNIFORMITY IN HIS DIOCESE OF LONDON, IN
THE FOURTH YEAR OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD
KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, BY THE GRACE
OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, &c.
LONDON, A.D. 1550.

FIRST, That there be no reading of such injunctions as extollet and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chauntries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions.

Item. That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or paten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his fore-fingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread, or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacring bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister, in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the holy communion, but such as will, upon request of the curate, be ready with meekness and reverence to confess the articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a mart of the holy communion, by buying and selling the receipt thereof for money, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby

dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's supper, we exhort the curates, church-wardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

Item. That the minister, in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words, or such-like, "Now is the time, if it please you, to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable alms."

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

Item. The common prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the king's grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

Item. That every curate be diligent to teach the Catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holy-day, and at least every six weeks once shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

Item. That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, beadrolls, images, reliques, rubrick primars, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings¹.

Item. That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

[¹ For Gardiner's opinion of Ridley's proceedings, see Appendix IV.]

Item. That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the sermon, communion, or divine service-time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the churchwardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

Item. That the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church-porch, or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.

Item. That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or in open audience of the congregation presume to expound the holy scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf.

God save the king.

REASONS WHY THE LORD'S BOARD SHOULD RATHER BE
AFTER THE FORM OF A TABLE, THAN OF AN ALTAR.

("I AM not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the [Rom. i. 16.] power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.")

Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's majesty's proceedings², but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly for the advancement and sincere setting forward of God's holy word, and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings³).

[² Fox, Acts and Monuments, Edition 1563, p. 727. Ed.]

[³ See Appendix VI.]

First Reason.

The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually to drink his blood (which is the true use of the Lord's Supper), then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

Second Reason.

Answer to certain cavillers who take hold of the term 'altar' in the king's book. How the table may be called an altar.

Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:' to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

Third Reason.

The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion

is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table, than of an altar.

This reason for taking away the superstitious opinion serveth also as well for abolishing other things besides altars, &c.

Fourth Reason.

The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called *θυσιαστήριον*, *quasi sacrificii locus*. But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

The name of an altar, how derived.

Fifth Reason.

Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

Christ used a table, and not an altar.

The altar never used among the apostles.

Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

Sixth and last reason.

It is said in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book.

(After these letters and reasons received, the fore-named Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the

same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof here arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with the Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer (as is before proved), but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by holy Scripture, of the Lord's supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and in the church of Paul brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side. Fox.)

Ridley appointed in his diocese the right form of a table.

The wall by the high altar in St Paul's broken down by Ridley.