

AN HOMILY CONCERNING THE COMING DOWN OF THE
HOLY GHOST AND THE MANIFOLD GIFTS OF THE SAME.

For Whitsunday.

Before we come to the declaration of the great and manifold gifts of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the Church of God hath been evermore replenished, it shall first be needful briefly to expound unto you whereof this feast of Pentecost of Whitsuntide had his first beginning. You shall therefore understand that the feast of Pentecost was always kept the fiftieth day after Easter,¹ a great and solemn feast among the Jews, wherein they did celebrate the memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, and also the memorial of the publishing of the Law, which was given unto them in the mount Sinai upon that day. It was first ordained and commanded to be kept holy, not by any mortal man, but by the mouth of the Lord himself; as we read in Levit. xxiii and Deut. xvi. The place appointed for the observation thereof was Jerusalem, where was great recourse of people from all parts of the world; as may well appear in the second chapter of the Acts, wherein [Acts 2:5–11.] mention is made of Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitors of Mesopotamia, inhabitors of Jewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, and divers other such places; whereby we may also partly gather what great and royal solemnity was commonly used in that feast.

Now, as this was given in commandment to the Jews in the old Law, so did our Saviour Christ as it were confirm the same in the time of the Gospel, ordaining after a sort a new Pentecost for his disciples; namely, [Acts 2:1–11.] when he sent down the Holy Ghost visibly in form of cloven tongues like fire, and gave them power to speak in such sort, that every one might hear them, and also understand them, in his own language. Which miracle,

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¹ See before, p. 438, note 3.

that it might be had in perpetual remembrance, the Church hath thought good to solemnize and keep holy this day, commonly called Whitsunday. And here is to be noted, that, as the Law was given to the Jews in the mount Sinai the fiftieth day after Easter, so was the preaching of the Gospel through the mighty power of the Holy Ghost given to the Apostles in the mount Sion the fiftieth day after Easter. And hereof this feast hath his name, to be called Pentecost, even of the number of the days. For, as St. Luke writeth in the Acts of the Apostles, *when fifty days were come to an end,*² the disciples being *all together with one accord in one place*, the Holy Ghost *came suddenly* among them, *and sat upon each of them, like as it had been cloven tongues of fire*. Which thing was undoubtedly done, to teach the Apostles and all other men, that it is he which giveth eloquence and utterance in preaching the Gospel; that it is he which openeth the mouth to declare the mighty works of God; that it is he which engendereth a burning zeal toward^a God's word, and giveth all men a tongue, yea, a fiery tongue, so that they may boldly and cheerfully profess the truth in the face of the whole world: as Esay was indued with this Spirit. [Isa. 50:[4].] *The Lord, saith Esay, gave me a learned and skilful tongue, so that I might know to raise up them that are fallen with the word.*³ The Prophet David crieth to have this gift, saying [Ps. 50:[51:15].], *Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise*. For our Saviour Christ also in the Gospel saith to this disciples [Matt. 10:[20].], *It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which is within you*. All which testimonies of holy Scripture do sufficiently declare, that the mystery of^b the tongues betokeneth the preaching of the Gospel, and the open confession of the Christian faith, in all them that are possessed with the Holy Ghost. So that, if any man be a dumb Christian, not professing his faith openly, but cloaking and colouring himself for fear of danger in time to come, he giveth men occasion, justly and with good conscience, to doubt lest he have not the grace of the Holy Ghost within him, because he is tongue tied, and doth not speak.

Thus then have ye heard the first institution of this feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, as well in the old Law among the Jews, as also in the time of the Gospel among the Christians.

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^a toward] towards *from* 1563 B. ^b mystery of] mystery in *from* 1563 B.

² Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes. *Vulg.*

³ Dominus dedit mihi linguam eruditam, ut sciam sustentare eum qui lassus est verbo. *Vulg.*

Now let us consider what the Holy Ghost is, and how consequently he worketh his miraculous works towards mankind.

The Holy Ghost is a spiritual and divine substance, the third Person in the Deity, distinct from the Father and the Son, and yet proceeding from them both. Which thing to be true, both the Creed of Athanasius beareth witness, and may be also easily proved by most plain testimonies of God's holy word. When Christ was baptized of John in the river Jordan, we read [Matt. 3:[16–17].] that the Holy Ghost came down in the form of a dove, and that the Father thundered *from heaven, saying, This is my dear and well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Where note three divers and distinct Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which all notwithstanding are not three Gods, but one God. Likewise, when Christ did first institute and ordain the Sacrament of Baptism, he sent [Matt. 28:[19].] his disciples into the whole world, willing them to baptize *all nations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* Also^c in another place he saith [John 14:[16, 15:26].], *I will pray unto my Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.* Again, *When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send from my Father, &c.* These and such other places of the New Testament do so plainly and evidently confirm the distinction of the Holy Ghost from the other Persons in the Trinity, that no man can possibly doubt^d thereof, unless he will blaspheme the everlasting truth of God's word. As for his proper nature and substance, it is altogether one with God the Father and God the Son, that is to say, spiritual, eternal, uncreated, incomprehensible, almighty; to be short, he is even God and Lord everlasting. Therefore he is called the Spirit of the Father; therefore he is said to proceed from the Father and the Son; and therefore he was equally joined with them in the commission that the Apostles had to baptize all nations.

But, that this may appear more sensibly to the eyes of all men, it shall be requisite to come to the other part, namely, to the wonderful and heavenly works of the Holy Ghost, which plainly declare unto the world his mighty and divine power. First, it is evident that he did wonderfully govern and direct the hearts of the Patriarchs and Prophets in old time, illuminating their minds with the knowledge of the true Messiah, and giving them utterance to prophesy of things that should come to pass long time after. For, as St. Peter witnesseth [2 Pet. 1:[21].], *the prophecy came*

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^c Also] And *from* 1563 G. ^d man can possibly doubt] man possibly doubt 1563 C–H, man possibly can doubt *from* 1567.

not in old time by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake as they were moved inwardly by the Holy Ghost. And of Zachary the high priest it is said in the Gospel [Luke 1:[64, 67].] that *he, being full of the Holy Ghost, prophesied and praised God.* So did also Simeon, Anna, Mary, and divers other, to the great wonder and admiration of all men.

Moreover, was not the Holy Ghost a mighty worker in the conception and the nativity of Christ our Saviour? St. Matthew saith [Matt. 1:[18].] that the blessed Virgin *was found with child of the Holy Ghost, before Joseph and she came together.* And the angel Gabriel did expressly tell her that it should come to pass, saying [Luke 1:[35].], *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee.* A marvellous matter, that a woman should conceive and bear a child without the knowledge of man. But, where the Holy Ghost worketh, there nothing is impossible: as may further also appear by the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind.

When Christ said to Nicodemus [John 3:[3–5].], *Unless a man be born anew, of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,* he was greatly amazed in his mind, and began to reason with Christ, demanding *how a man might be born which was old? Can he enter,* saith he, *into his mother's womb again, and so be born anew?* Behold a lively pattern of a fleshly and carnal man. He had little or no intelligence of the Holy Ghost, and therefore he goeth bluntly to work, and asketh how this thing were possible to be true: whereas otherwise, if he had known the great power of the Holy Ghost in this behalf, that it is he which inwardly worketh the regeneration and new birth of mankind, he would never have marvelled at Christ's words, but would have rather taken^o occasion thereby to praise and glorify God. For, as there are three several and sundry Persons in the Deity, so have they three several and sundry offices proper unto each of them, the Father to create, the Son to redeem, the Holy Ghost to sanctify and regenerate. Whereof the last, the more it is hid from our understanding, the more it ought to move all men to wonder at the secret and mighty working of God's Holy Spirit, which is within us. For it is the Holy Ghost, and no other thing, that doth quicken the minds of men, stirring up good and godly motions in their hearts, which are agreeable to the will and commandment of God, such as otherwise of their own crooked and perverse nature they should never have. *That*

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^o have rather taken] rather take 1623.

which is born of the flesh, saith Christ, is flesh, and that which is born of the^f Spirit is spirit. [John 3:[6].] As who should say, Man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught, sinful and disobedient to God, without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds: as for the works of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions, if they have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesu.^g Did not God's Holy Spirit miraculously work in the child David [1 Sam. 17:[33–37].], when of a poor shepherd he became a princelike^h Prophet? Did not God's Holy Spirit miraculously work in Matthew [Matt. 9:[9].], *sitting at the receipt of custom*, when of a proud publican he became an humble and lowly Evangelist? And who can choose but marvel, to consider that Peter should become of a simple fisher a chief and mighty Apostle, Paul of a cruel and bloody persecutor a faithful disciple of Christ to teach the Gentiles?

Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and as it were to bring them forth anew, so that they shall be nothing like the men that they were before. Neither doth he think it sufficient inwardly to work the spiritual and new birth of man, unless he do also dwell and abide in him. *Know he not*, saith St. Paul [1 Cor. 3:[16], 6:[19].], *that ye are the temple of God, and that his Spirit dwelleth in you? Know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is within you?* Again he saith [Rom. 8:[9].], *You are not in the flesh, but in the spirit; for why^A the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.* To this agreeth the doctrine of St. John, writing on this wise [1 John 2:[27].]: *The anointing which ye have received* (he meaneth the Holy Ghost) *dwelleth in you.* And the doctrine of Peter saith the same, who hath these words [1 Pet. 4:[14].]: *The spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.* O what a comfortⁱ is this to the heart of a true Christian, to think that the Holy Ghost dwelleth within him! *If God be with us*, as the Apostle saith [Rom. 8:[31].], *who can be against us?*

O but how shall I know that the Holy Ghost is within me? some man perchance will say. Forsooth, as [Matt. 12:33] *the tree is known by his fruit*, so is also the Holy Ghost. *The fruits of the Holy Ghost*, according to the mind of St. Paul [Gal. 5:[19–23].], are these; *love, joy, peace,*

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^f flesh, saith Christ, is flesh, and that which is born of the] *omitted* 1623. ^g Jesu] Jesus 1623. ^h princelike] princely 1623.

ⁱ what a comfort] what comfort *from* 1570.

⁴ for why: εἴπερ: si tamen, *Vulg.* See before, p. 343, note 3.

longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperancy,^k &c. Contrariwise the deeds of the flesh are these; adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emulation, wrath, contention, sedition, heresy, envy, murder, drunkenness, gluttony, and such like. Here is now that glass wherein thou must behold thyself, and discern whether thou have the Holy Ghost within thee, or the spirit of the flesh. If thou see that thy works be virtuous and good, consonant to the prescript rule of God's word, savouring and tasting not of the flesh but of the Spirit, then assure thyself that thou art endued with the Holy Ghost: otherwise in thinking well of thyself thou doest nothing else but deceive thyself.

The Holy Ghost doth always declare himself by his fruitful and gracious gifts, namely [1 Cor. 12:[7–11].], by *the word of wisdom*, by *the word of knowledge*, which is the understanding of the Scriptures, by *faith*, in *doing of miracles*, by *healing* them that are diseased, by *prophecy* which is the declaration of God's mysteries, by *discerning of spirits*, *diversity^l of tongues*, *interpretation of tongues*, and so forth. All which gifts, as they proceed from one Spirit, and are severally given to man according to the measurable distribution of the Holy Ghost, even so do they bring men, and not without good cause, into a wonderful admiration of God's divine power. Who will not marvel at that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles [Acts 5:[29–32, 41].], to hear their bold confession before the council at Jerusalem, and to consider that they went away with joy and gladness, *rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer rebukes and checks for the Name and faith of Christ Jesus?* This was the mighty work of the Holy Ghost; who, because he giveth patience and joyfulness of heart in temptation and affliction, hath therefore worthily obtained this name in holy Scripture [John 14:[16].], to be called a *Comforter*. Who will not also marvel to read the learned and heavenly sermons of Peter and the other disciples,^m considering that they were never brought up in school of learning, but called even from their nets to supply rooms of Apostles? This was likewise the mighty work of the Holy Ghost; who, because he doth instruct the hearts of the simple in the true knowledge of God and his holy word,ⁿ is most justly termed by this name and title, to be *the Spirit of*

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^k temperancy] temperance from 1563 B. ^l diversity] diversities from 1563 G, except 1595. ^m the other disciples] the disciples from 1567. ⁿ his holy word] his word 1623.

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truth. Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History⁵ telleth a strange story of a certain learned and subtile philosopher, who, being an extreme adversary to Christ and his doctrine, could by no kind of learning be converted to the faith, but was able to withstand all the arguments that could be brought against him with little or no labour. At length there started up a poor simple man, of small wit and less knowledge, one that was reputed among the learned as an idiot; and he on God's Name would needs take in hand to dispute with this proud philosopher. The bishops and other learned men standing by were marvellously abashed at the matter, thinking that by his doings they should be all confounded and put to open shame. He notwithstanding goeth on, and, beginning in the Name of the Lord Jesus, brought the philosopher to such point in the end, contrary to all men's expectation, that he could not choose but acknowledge the power of God in his words, and to give place to the truth. Was not this a miraculous work that one seely soul, of no learning, should do that which many bishops, of great knowledge and understanding, were never able to bring to pass? So true is that saying^o of Bede:⁶ "Where the Holy Ghost doth instruct and teach, there is no delay at all in learning." Much more might here be spoken of the manifold gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, most excellent and wonderful in our eyes: but, to make a long discourse through all, the shortness of time will not serve; and, seeing ye have heard the chiefest, ye may easily conceive and judge of the rest.

Now were it expedient to discuss this question, whether all they which boast and brag that they have the Holy Ghost do truly challenge this unto themselves, or not? Which doubt, because it is necessary and profitable, shall, God willing, be dissolved in the next part of this Homily. In the mean season let us, as we are most bound, give hearty thanks to God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ for sending down this Comforter^p into the world; humbly beseeching him so to work in our hearts by the power of this Holy Spirit, that we, being regenerate and newly born again in all goodness, righteousness, sobriety, and truth, may in the end be made partakers of everlasting life in his heavenly kingdom through Jesus Christ our only^a Lord and Saviour. Amen.

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Margin Notes: By Eusebius: Lib. x, cap. 3. By Bede: Hom 9 super Lucam.

^o that saying] the saying *from* 1567. ^p this Comforter] his Comforter 1623. ^q only] *omitted after* 1563 F.

⁵ See *Eccles. Hist. Lib. X cap. iii Rufino Autore, ad calc. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Rufino Interprete.* Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* I, 18, took the story from Rufinus.

⁶ Nulla quippe in discendo mora est ubi Spiritus Sanctus doctor adest. *Bed. Hom. in Luc.* 1:39–47, In illo tempore exurgens Maria &c., *Aestiv. de Sanct., in Fest. Visitat. B. M. V. (Jul. 2); Opp.* VII, 143, 33, *ed. Basil.* 1563. This is the *ninth* Homily in the Collection, "Homilie hoc est Conciones populares sanctissimorum ecclesie doctorum Hieronymi, ... Bede presbyteri, ... et aliorum," printed at Basle by Frobenius in 1516 in folio; and the sentence quoted occurs in *col.* 1 of *fol.* 7 a.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY CONCERNING THE
HOLY GHOST, DISSOLVING THIS DOUBT, WHETHER ALL MEN DO
RIGHTLY^a CHALLENGE TO THEMSELVES THE HOLY GHOST, OR NO.

Our Saviour Christ, *departing out of the world unto his Father* [John 13:1], promised^b his disciples to send down *another Comforter, that should continue with them for ever, and direct them into all truth*. Which thing to be faithfully and truly performed, the Scriptures do sufficiently bear witness. Neither must we think that this Comforter was either promised or else given only to the Apostles, but also to the universal Church of Christ, dispersed through the whole world. For, unless the Holy Ghost had been always present, governing and preserving the Church from the beginning, it could never have sustained so many and so great^b brunts of affliction and persecution with so little damage and harm as it hath. And the words of Christ are most plain in this behalf [John 14:16–17], saying that *the Spirit of truth should abide with them forever, that he would be with them always* [Matt, 28:[20].] (he meaneth by grace, virtue, and power) *even to the world's end*. Also in the prayer that he made to his Father a little before his death he maketh intercession, not only for himself and his Apostles, but indifferently [John 17:[20].] *for all them that should believe in him through their words*, that is to wit, for his whole Church. Again, St. Paul saith [Rom. 8:[9, 15].], *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his*. Also in the words following, *We have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father*. Hereby then it is evident and plain to all men, that the Holy Ghost was given, not only to the Apostles, but also to the whole body of Christ's congregation, although not in like form and majesty as he came down at the feast of Pentecost.

But now herein standeth the controversy, whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the Holy Ghost, or no. The Bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge

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Margin Note: β John 14:[16, 26] and 15:[26; 16:7, 13]

^a Men Do Rightly] Men Rightly *from* 1563D. ^b and so great] and great *from* 1570.

thereunto, reasoning for themselves after this sort. The Holy Ghost, say they, was promised to the church, and never forsaketh the Church: but we are the chief heads and the principal part of the Church: therefore we have the Holy Ghost for ever; and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities and oracles of the Holy Ghost. That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you first what the true Church of Christ is, and then to confer the Church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together.

The true Church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, *built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone.* [Eph. 2:[20].] And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known; pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the Church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God and also to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith.

Now, if ye will compare this with the Church of Rome, not as it was at^e the beginning, but as it is presently and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd, you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true Church, that nothing can be more. For neither are they *built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets*, retaining the pure and sound^d doctrine of Christ Jesu; neither yet to they order either^e the Sacraments or else the ecclesiastical keys in such sort as he did first institute and ordain them, but have so intermingled their own traditions and inventions, by chopping and changing, by adding and plucking away, that now they may seem to be converted into a new guise. Christ commended to his Church a Sacrament of his Body and Blood: they have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Christ did minister to his Apostles, and the Apostles to other men, indifferently under both kinds: they have robbed the lay people of the cup, saying that for them one kind is sufficient. Christ ordained no other element to be used in Baptism but only water, whereunto when the word is joined, it is made, as St. Augustine saith,¹ a full and perfect Sacrament: they, being wiser in their

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Margin Note: At end of page: Augustine.

^e at] *in from* 1571. ^d pure and sound] sound and pure *from* 1563 G. ^e either] *omitted* 1623.

¹ *Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum. Augustin. in Joan. Evan. Tractat. LXXX, § 3; Opp. Tom. III, Par. II, 703 B.*

own conceit than Christ, think it is not well nor orderly done, unless they use conjuration unless they hallow the water; unless there be oil, salt, spittle, tapers, and such other dumb ceremonies, serving to no use, contrary to the plain rule of St. Paul,^f who willet *all things* to be *done* in the Church *unto edification*. [1 Cor. 14:[26].] Christ ordained the authority of the keys to excommunicate notorious sinners, and to absolve them which are truly penitent: they abuse this power at their own pleasure, as well in cursing the godly with bell, book, and candle,^g² as also in absolving the reprobate, which are known to be unworthy of any Christian society; whereof he that^h lust to see examples, let himⁱ search their lives. To be short, look what our Saviour Christ pronouncedⁿ of the Scribes and the Pharisees^k in the Gospel, the same may we^l boldly and with safe conscience pronounce^m of the Bishops of Rome, namely, that they have forsaken, and daily do forsake, the commandments of God, to erect and set up their own constitutions. Which thing being true, as all they which have any light of God's word must needs confess, we may well conclude, according to the rule of Augustine, that the Bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true Church of Christ, much less then to be taken as chief heads and rulers of the same. "Whosoever," saith he,³ "do dissent

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Margin Note: η [Matt. 15:3, 6; Mark 7:9, 13]. Last line: August. contr. Petil. Donat. Epist. cap. 4.

^f of St. Paul] of Paul *till* 1563 G. ^g candle] candles *from* 1570. ^h he that] they that *from* 1582. ⁱ him] them *from* 1571. ^k and the Pharisees] and Pharisees *from* 1571. ^l may we] may be 1563 B–F, *and from* 1574. ^m pronounce] pronounced 1563 C–F, *and from* 1574.

² To curse "with bell, book, and candle" was to curse formally and solemnly, as appears by the following extract from a rubric which follows the General Sentence or Great Curse (Articuli Generales Majoris Excommunicationis) on *fol.* 157 a of a Sarum *Manual* printed at Rouen in 1510, (Bodl. "4° Z, 12, Th. Seld.") Potest denunciator quotienscunque cam denunciat, si viderit expedire ad terrorem audientium, uti illa debita, solennitate qua ... utitur Ecclesia in aliis articulis majoris excommunicationis sententias fulminando, videlicet, cum cruce erecta, pulsatis campanis, candelis accensis et in terram projectis et extinctis.

That General Sentence included "alle herelikes and alle tho that mayntene heresie," and was appointed to be read to the people four times in the year in the mother tongue. Of it, and of the actual curse with which it ended, Becon has preserved several forms in his *Reliques of Rome*. One of them ends thus: Et sicut extinguitur haec lucerna hominum, ita extinguitur lumen eorum in secula seculorum, nisi ad emendationem et satisfactionem venerint. Fiat, Fiat. Amen. Another, which was found in St. Paul's Church in Canterbury, and which is all in English, ends thus: "They be accursed of God and of holy Church fro the soole of theyr foote unto the crown of her head, sleeping and waking, sittinge and standinge, and in al her words, and in all her workes: and but if they have grace of God for to amende hem here in this life, for to dwel in the payne of hel for ever withouten end. Fiat. Fiat. Do to the boke. Quench the candle. Ring the bel. Amen. Amen." *Becon's Works*, III, 378 a, 382 a, *ed.* 1563.

³ Quicumque de ipso Capite ab Scripturis sanctis dissentiunt, etiam si in omnibus locis inveniuntur in quibus Ecclesia designata est, non sunt in Ecclesia. *Augustin. contra Donatist.* (vulgo *de Unit. Eccles.*) § 7; *Opp.* IX, 341 G.

from the Scriptures concerning the Head, although they be found in all places where the Church is appointed, yet are they not in the Church.” A plain place, concluding directly against the Church of Rome.

Where is now the Holy Ghost, which they so stoutly do claim to themselves? Where is now *the Spirit of truth* [John 16:13], that will not suffer them in any wise to err? If it be possible to be there where the true Church is not, then is it at Rome: otherwise it is but a vain brag, and nothing else. St. Paul, as ye have heard before, saith [Rom. 8:9], *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his.* And, by turning the words, it may be as trulyⁿ said, If any man be not of Christ, the same hath not his Spirit.^o Now, to discern who are truly his and who not, we have this rule given us [John 10:[27].], that *his sheep do always hear his voice.* And St. John saith [John 8:47].], *He that is of God heareth God's word.* Whereof it followeth, that the Popes, in not hearing Christ's voice, as they ought to do, but preferring their own decrees before the express word of God, do plainly argue to the world that they are not of Christ nor yet possessed with his Spirit.

But here they will allege for themselves, that there are divers necessary points not expressed in holy Scripture, which were left to the revelation of the Holy Ghost; who being given to the Church, according to Christ's promise, hath taught [John 16:[12].] *many things* from time to time, which the Apostles *could not then bear.* To this we may easily answer by the plain words of Christ, teaching us that the proper office of the Holy Ghost is, not to institute and bring in new ordinances, contrary to his doctrine before taught, but to expound^p and declare those things which he had before taught, so that they might^q be well and truly understood. *When the Holy Ghost*, saith he [John 16:[13–14].], *shall come, he shall lead you into all truth.* What truth doth he mean? any other than he himself had before expressed in his word? No. For he saith, *He shall take of mine, and shew it unto^r you.* Again, [John 14:[26].] *He shall bring you in remembrance of all things that I have told you.* It is not then the duty and part of any Christian under pretence of the Holy Ghost, to bring in his own dreams and phantasies into the Church; but he must diligently provide that his doctrine and decrees be agreeable to Christ's holy Testament: otherwise, in making the Holy Ghost the author thereof, he doth blaspheme and belie the Holy Ghost to his own condemnation.

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ⁿ be as truly] be truly *from* 1582. ^o not his Spirit] not the Spirit *from* 1582. ^p to expound] shall come 1623. ^q they might] it might 1623. ^r shew it unto] shew unto *from* 1582.

Now to leave their doctrine, and come to other points. What shall we judge or think^s of the Pope's intolerable pride? The Scripture saith [James 4:6], that *God resisteth the proud, and sheweth grace to the humble*. Also it pronounceth [Matt. 5:[3], 23:[12].] them *blessed which are poor in spirit*, promising that *they which humble themselves shall be exalted*. And Christ our Saviour willetth [Matt. 11:29] all his to *learn of him, because he is humble and meek*. As for pride, St. Gregory saith⁴ "it is the root of all mischief". [Ecclus. [10:13].] And St. Augustine's judgment is this, that it maketh men devils.⁵ Can any man then, which either hath or shall read the Popes' lives, justly say that they had the Holy Ghost within them? First, as touching that they will be termed Universal Bishops and Heads of all Christian Churches through the world, we have the judgment of Gregory expressly against them; who, writing to Mauritius the Emperor, condemneth John Bishop of Constantinople in that behalf, calling him⁶ the prince of pride, Lucifer's successor, and the forerunner of Antichrist. St. Bernard also agreeing thereunto saith,⁷ "What greater pride can there be, than that one man should prefer his own judgment before the whole Congregation, as though he only had the Spirit of God?" And Chrysostom pronounceth a terrible sentence against them, affirming plainly,⁹ that "whosoever seeketh to be chief in earth shall find

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Margin Notes: By "Gregory": Lib. iv, Epist. 76, 78. By "Bernard": Serm. 3 de Resur. Dom. Before "Chrysostom": Dialogorum Lib. iii.⁸ After "Chrysostom": Chrysost. sup. Matt.

^s judge or think] think or judge *from* 1567.

⁴ Radix quippe cuncti mali superbia est. *Gregor. I Moral. Lib. 31, § 87; Opp. ed. Paris 1705, I, 1035 D.*

⁵ Humilitas homines sanctis angelis similes facit, et superbia ex angelis daemones fecit. *Paulin. Aquil_i. Lib. Exhort. vulgo De Salutur. Docum c. 18; Augustin. Opp. VI Append. 196 D.* In the *Liber Epistolarum Beati Augustini* published by *Amerbach at Basle* in 1493, in which the treatise is printed as *Epist. CXI*, the last word in this passage is *facit*, not *fecit*; and the passage is so cited in many collections of extracts from the Fathers.

⁶ Doctores humilium, duces superbiae, ovina facie lupinos dentes abscondimus. ... Sed in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur qui, spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, dicens &c. *Gregor. I Epist. V, 20, 21 (al. IV, 32, 34), Opp. II, 747 E, 751 C.* The former only of these Epistles is addressed to Mauritius; the other was written to the Empress Constantia. In the edition of Gregory's Works printed at Paris in 1523, and possibly in others the Epistles are numbered as "Capitula"; and the two here cited are Chapters 76 and 78, as in the marginal reference. On the matter of them see *Jewel's Reply to Harding, Art. IV, Div. iv.*

⁷ Et quae major superbia quam ut unus homo toti Congregationi iudicium suum praeferat, tanquam ipse solus habeat Spiritum Dei? *Bernard. in Temp. Resurrect. Serm. III, 4; Opp. I, 911 A.*

⁸ It does not appear to what the reference "Dialogorum Lib. iii" belongs.

⁹ Quicumque ergo desiderat primatum coelestem sequatur humilitatem terrestrem; quicumque autem desiderat primatum in terra inveniet confusionem in coelo: ut jam inter servos Christi non sit de primatu certamen. *Opus Imperf. in Matth. Hom. 35, ad calc. Chrysost. Opp. Tom. VI, p. CLiii C.*

confusion in heaven,” and that he which striveth for the supremacy shall not be reputed among the servants of Christ. Again he saith,¹⁰ “To desire a good work, it is good; but to covet the chief degree of honour, it is mere vanity.” Do not these places sufficiently convince their outrageous pride in usurping to themselves a superiority above all other, as well ministers and bishops, as kings also and emperors?

But, as the lion is known by his claws, so let us learn to know these men by their deeds. What shall we say of him that made the noble king Dandalus to be tied by the neck with a chain, and to lie flat down before his table, there to gnaw bones like a dog? Shall we think that he had God’s Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Clement the Sixth.¹¹ What shall we say of him that proudly and contemptuously trod Frederic the Emperor under his feet, applying that verse^t of the Psalm unto himself [Ps. 90 [91:13].]: *Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon thou shalt tread under thy foot?* Shall we say that he had God’s Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Alexander the Third.¹² What shall we say of him that armed and animated the son against the father, causing him to be taken, and to be cruelly famished to death, contrary to the law both of God and also nature?^u Shall we say that he had God’s Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Paschal the Second.¹³ What shall we say of

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Margin Note: By “Dandalus”: Sabellie. Ennead. 9, Lib. 7.

^t that verse] the verse *from* 1567. ^u also nature] also of nature *from* 1563 D.

¹⁰ Et opus quidem bonum desiderare bonum est; primatum autem honoris concupiscere vanitas est. *Ibid.* CLii E.

¹¹ This abject submission was made by Francisco Dandolo to Pope Clement the Fifth in 1313. Dandolo, though afterwards Doge of Venice, was then only a private citizen, and came as ambassador to obtain a release from the Pope’s interdict. His wearing of the chain was in some measure voluntary, and it does not appear that he actually had to gnaw bones. But the surname of Dog remained with him. *Sabellie. Rer. Venet. Dec. II, Lib. i. Raynald. Annal. an. 1313, xxxiv.* See *Jewel’s Defence of the Apology, Part IV, Ch. vii, Div. 4, “Franciscus Dandalus.”*

¹² *Carion. Chron.* (really written by Melancthon) *Lib. III, Frid. Barbar.* See *Jewel, ibid. Ch. vii, Div. 1.* The interview between the Emperor Frederic Barbarosa and Pope Alexander III took place at Venice in July 1177; but this story of the Pope’s insolence is rejected by modern historians as a fable. See *Milman’s History of Latin Christianity, VIII, ix, vol. III, p. 536, note p.*

¹³ See *Jewel, ibid. Ch. vii, Div. 6,* and the authorities cited by him. Prince Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry V, revolted from his father Henry IV in December 1104. Milman says there is no evidence to shew that the Pope suggested this unnatural rebellion, but he certainly sanctioned it and gave it his blessing as soon as it was made. *History of Latin Christianity, VIII, i.*

him that came into his popedom like a fox, that reigned like a lion, and died like a dog? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Boniface the Eighth.¹⁴ What shall we say of him that made Henry the Emperor, with his wife and his young child, to stand at the gates of the city in the rough winter barefooted and barelegged, only clothed in linsey woolsey, eating nothing from morning to night, and that for the space of three days? Shall we say that he had God's Holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was Pope Hildebrand,¹⁵ most worthy to be called a firebrand,¹⁶ if we shall term him as he hath best deserved.

Many other examples might here be alleged; as of Pope Jone the harlot, that was delivered of a child in the high street, going solemnly in procession;¹⁷ of Pope Julius the Second, that wilfully cast St. Peter's keys into the river Tiberis;¹⁸ of Pope Urban the Sixth, that caused five cardinals to be put in sacks and cruelly drowned;¹⁹ of Pope Sergius the Third, that persecuted the dead body of Formosus his predecessor, when it had been buried eight years;²⁰ of Pope John, the Fourteenth of that name, who, having his enemy delivered into his hands, caused him first to be stripped stark naked, his beard to be shaven, and to be hanged up a whole day by the hair, then to be set upon an ass with his face backward towards^x the tail, to

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^x towards] toward *from* 1582.

¹⁴ De quo fertur: Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut lupus, mortuus est ut canis. *Paralip. ad calc. Chron. Abbat. Ursperg.* (Conrad von Lichtenau), *Bonif. VIII.* De quo dicitur, quod intravit ut vulpes, vixit ut leo, et moritur ut canis. *Rolewinck, Fasciculus Temporum, an. 1294.* See Jewel, *ibid.* Ch. vi, Div. 1, "Bonifacius VIII."

¹⁵ *Platina de Vit. Gregor. VII. Chron. Abbat. Usperg., Hist. Henr. IV, an. 1076. Sabellie. Rhaps. Hist. Enn. IX, Lib. iii.* Jewel, *ibid.* Ch. vii, Div. 4 and Div. 6. *Milman, ibid.* VII, ii.

¹⁶ There is a coarser allusion to the name of Hildebrand in *Bishop Pikington's Confutation of an Addition on the Burning of Paul's, sect. VIII, p. 565, ed. Park. Soc.*

¹⁷ See Jewel, *ibid.* Ch. I, Div. 1, "Dame Joan the Pope." She was said to have succeeded Leo IV, who died in 855; but the whole story has long been abandoned by historians as a fable. See *Gibbon, Ch. 49, notes 129–132.*

¹⁸ Veniatque in mentem Julii secundi Papae, egregii bellatoris et cruenti; qui aliquando cum exercitu egrediens urbem clavem Petri projecit in Tiberim cum hisce verbis: Quia clavis S. Petri non amplius valet, valeat gladius S. Pauli. *Theod. Bibliandri ad German. Principes Oratio, p. 81, ed. Basil. 4to. s. a.*

¹⁹ *Theodoric. a Niem, Schism. I, 60. Sabellie. Rhaps. Hist. IX, ix.* See Jewel, *ibid.* Part I, Ch. X, Div. 2; and *Milman, ibid.* XIII, ii.

²⁰ Platina and other writers attribute this to Sergius III, but it was really the act of Stephen IV, and Platina himself says that it was related of him. *Baron. Annal. an. 897, ii. Concil. Labbe IX, 502 E; Mansi 18, 223 B.* See Jewel, *ibid.*

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be carried round about the city in despite, to be miserably beaten with rods, last of all to be thrust out of his country, and to be banished for ever.²¹ But, to conclude and make an end, ye shall briefly take this short lesson: wheresoever ye find the spirit of arrogancy and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, cruelty, murder, extortion, witchcraft, necromancy, &c, assure yourselves that there is the spirit of the devil, and not of God; albeit they pretend outwardly to the world never so much holiness. For, as the Gospel teacheth us, the Spirit of Jesus is a good Spirit, an holy Spirit, a sweet Spirit, a lowly Spirit, a merciful Spirit, full of charity and love, full of forgiveness and pity, *not rendering evil for evil*, extremity for extremity, but *overcoming evil with good*, and *remitting all offence even from the heart*. According to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may be safely pronounced, that he hath the Holy Ghost within him; if not, then it is a plain token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain.

Therefore, dearly beloved, according to the good counsel of St. John, *believe not every spirit, but first try them whether they be of God or no. Many shall come in my name, saith Christ, and shall transform themselves into angels of light deceiving, if it be possible, the very elect. They shall come unto you in sheep's clothing, being inwardly cruel and ravening wolves.* They shall have an outward shew of great holiness and innocency of life, so that ye shall hardly or not at all discern them. But the rule that ye must follow is this, to *judge them by their fruits*. Which if they be wicked and naughty, then it is impossible that the tree of whom they proceed should be good. Such were all the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appear in the story of their lives; and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of *false prophets and false Christs* which deceived the world a long while.

The *Lord of heaven and earth* defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into his vineyard again to the disturbance of his seely poor flock, but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all parts of the world. And he of his great mercy so work in all men's hearts by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Son Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of sin, death, the pope, the devil, and all the kingdom of Antichrist; that, the scattered^y and dispersed sheep being at length gathered into *one fold*, we may in the end rest all together in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be partakers of eternal and everlasting life, through the merits and death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

Margin Notes: By italics in order: [1 Pet. 3:9; Rom. 12:21; Matt. 18:35]. 1 John 4:[1]. Matt. 24:[5, 24; 2 Cor. 11:13–15.]. Matt. 7:[15–20.]. Luke 6:[43–45.]. [Matt. 24:24]. [Matt. 11:25.] [John 10:16.]. Last lines: [Luke 16:22; Matt. 8:11].

^y the scattered] like scattered *from* 1571.

²¹ This vengeance was taken on Peter, Prefect of Rome, by the Emperor Otho the Great and Pope John XIII, whom Platina reckons as John XIV. *Baron. Annal. an.* 966, ii.