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In Memory of Prof. A. L. Graebner, D. D.

The readers of the QUARTERLY are acquainted with the sad fact that it has pleased Almighty God to remove from a wide sphere of activity our well-beloved and highly esteemed colleague, Dr. A. L. Graebner, professor in Concordia Seminary and editor of the THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY. Dr. Graebner was born at Frankentrost, Mich., July 10, 1849, and died at St. Louis, Mo., December 7 last. Funeral services were held December 11 in Concordia Seminary Hall and in Holy Cross Church, the speakers being Dr. F. Pieper of St. Louis, Mo., Prof. A. Pieper of Wauwatosa, Wis., Prof. J. Schaller of New Ulm, Minn., Rev. C. C. Schmidt of St. Louis, Mo., and Dr. H. G. Stub of Hamline, Minn. Dr. A. L. Graebner was a man of rare parts, a character of great firmness, a scholar of universal learning, a church historian of original research, a master of a fluent, dignified, and lucid English, a laborer of indefatigable energy, a Christian humble and grateful, and ever ready to serve his brethren, a valiant defender of the Christian faith, a champion especially of the *sola gratia* and the *sola Scriptura*,—a TRUE LUTHERAN THEOLOGIAN, whose death, in more than one sense, means a great loss to the Lutheran church of America.

F. BENTE.

Dr. ROBERT BARNES.

THE ENGLISH LUTHERAN MARTYR.¹⁾

Robert Barnes was born in 1495 near Lynn, in Norfolk, England, and at an early age became an Augustinian monk at Cambridge. Showing a taste for learning he was sent to the University of Louvain, and on his return was made prior of the convent and "caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned who before were drowned in barbarous ignorance." Among the congenial souls he drew to himself

1) *Authorities*: — Seckendorf's *Commentarius de Lutheranismo*; Works of Barnes, Philadelphia; Fox, *Acts and Monuments*; Froude's *History of England*; Dixon's *History of the Church of England*; Burnett's *History of the Reformation*; Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*; Hook's *Ecclesiastical Biography*; Blunt's *Reformation of the Church of England*; *Dictionary of National Biography*; Jacobs' *Lutheran Movement in England*; Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* I, chaps. 32. 34.

was Miles Coverdale, later so well known as the translator of the Bible and of Luther's hymns. They read Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and the epistles of St. Paul. Thomas Bilney, the Norwich martyr, brought Luther's works to the knowledge of Barnes, and the Prior became an ardent follower of the great German reformer.

These first English Lutherans, twenty-seven of whom are known to us by name, met frequently in "The White Horse," because they could come in privately by the back door. This house came to be known by the name "Germany." Many of these men later became very famous.

A number of Cambridge men were sent to Oxford to form the nucleus of the new Cardinal College, founded by Wolsey, now known as Christ Church College. As a consequence, "Lutheranism increased daily in the University of Oxford." At the University Barnes discussed matters of theology, and in 1523 he was made a Doctor of Divinity.

On Sunday, December 24, 1525, Barnes reproduced Luther's sermon for the fourth Sunday in Advent on Phil. 4, 4 in St. Edward's Church at Cambridge, and also made a bold attack on the extravagance of Cardinal Wolsey. As a consequence he was accused of heresy. He promised to make answer at the next convocation. Dr. Nottoris tried to get him to recant, but Barnes was steadfast. Six days before Shrovetide Master Gibson, a London sergeant-at-arms, came to Cambridge and suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation house, to make all others afraid, and made search for Luther's books and all the German works. But Dr. Forman of Queen's College had sent word to the rooms of the thirty suspected persons, and the books were hid.

The arrest of Dr. Barnes caused a great stir, the Lutheran doctrines were discussed with great heat, "one preaching against another." Barnes was taken to London, and the next day to Westminster, to the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Wolsey.

“Will you be ruled by us,” Wolsey asked him, “and we will do all things for your honesty and for the honesty of your university.”

“I thank your Grace,” Barnes nobly replied, “for your good will. I will stick to the Holy Scripture and to God’s book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.”

“Well,” said the Cardinal, “Thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law.”

Accordingly, Barnes was examined in February, 1526, by the bishops of London, Rochester, Bath, and St. Asaph’s, on twenty-five articles objected to by him. Coverdale and two other Cambridge friends acted as his secretaries in preparing his reply.

As a result of the examination he was called on to turn or burn. Barnes was inclined to burn, but Gardiner, Wolsey’s secretary, persuaded him to abjure his doctrines. Gardiner had known Barnes at Cambridge as “beloved of many as a good fellow in company,” though “of a merry scoffing wit,” and felt the duty to befriend him.

Barnes and four German merchants of the Steelyard, in Thames Street, the home of the German merchants, which enjoyed special privileges, who had been condemned at the same time for spreading Luther’s works, were sentenced to carry fagots at St. Paul’s.

At eight o’clock in the morning of Shrove Sunday, 1526, the Cathedral was crowded; Cardinal Wolsey with thirty-six abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, “in gowns of damask and satin,” sat enthroned on a scaffold at the top of the stairs. Bishop Fisher preached from a new pulpit against Lutheranism. Barnes, kneeling, asked forgiveness of God, the church, and the Cardinal. Hereupon he was led to the Rood of Northen, or crucifix at the north door of the cathedral, where a fire had been kindled, marched around it three times, threw in his five fagots, and thus helped to burn “large basketfuls” of Luther’s books and

Tyndale's New Testament. Finally, absolution was pronounced by Bishop Fisher, and Barnes was restored to the church.

Nevertheless, Barnes was sent back to the Fleet and kept in prison half a year; afterwards he was "a free prisoner" in the Austin Friars in London. On fresh complaints he was sent to Northampton, where he once more stood in danger of burning as a relapsed heretic, most likely for selling a New Testament at Michaelmas, 1526. In the third year of his imprisonment, in 1528, he escaped to Antwerp and spent about three years in Germany under the name of Anthonius Amarius or Antonius Anglus. He lived in Bugenhagen's house in Wittenberg, and made the acquaintance of Luther, even lodged with him, and obtained some influence with the Elector of Saxony and with King Frederick I of Denmark.

In 1531 Barnes published at Wittenberg a defense of nineteen points of Lutheran doctrine, to which Bugenhagen wrote a preface. A copy of this work was sent by Stephen Vaughn for presentation to King Henry VIII of England.

Thomas Cromwell, now the King's chief minister, seeing the need of Protestant help, in the same year had Henry invite Barnes to England, where he was attacked in writing by Sir Thomas More. During this period of his stay in London Barnes lived in the Steelyard, the house of the German merchants. In 1534 he was sent by Henry to Hamburg, from which city he, on July 12, advised the King to ally himself with Christian III, the newly-elected King of Denmark. In the very next month of August we find him back in England, in daily discussion with the bishops, no doubt defending the supremacy of the King over the Pope.

After breaking with the Pope, Henry made efforts to become the head of the Protestants, not only in England but on the Continent as well. In order to further the plan of becoming the leader of the Lutheran Smalcald League, Henry sent Dr. Barnes to Germany to get from the Lutherans

an approval of the King's divorce from Katharine of Aragon and of the marriage with Anne Boleyn. This was not a hopeful attempt, since Luther had, in September of 1531, given an unfavorable reply, even before the marriage with Anne Boleyn. On March 11, 1535, Barnes was once more in Wittenberg, and on his request Melanchthon, on the 13th, wrote a letter to King Henry urging "a simple and sure form of doctrine." To this letter Archbishop Laurence attributes the Articles of Faith published during Henry's reign. Barnes did not succeed in getting the consent of the Lutherans to Henry's divorce and soon returned to England.

In August Melanchthon dedicated his *Loci* of 1535 to Henry VIII, for which the King sent him two hundred crowns; the work was taken to England by Alexander Alane, the Scotchman who had escaped to Wittenberg after Patrick Hamilton's fiery death.

In September Barnes was once more in Wittenberg, with letters from the King to the Elector, asking whether an embassy to confer with Luther would be received, inviting Melanchthon to England to confer with the King, and stating the King's willingness to join the Smalcald League.

On Luther's urging, the Elector, on September 21, granted an audience to the Englishman and told him the King could join the League on accepting the *Augsburg Confession*, and on September 26 gave to Barnes, on leaving, a letter for the King.

In November of 1535 Dr. Barnes and other English legates had more conferences with the Lutheran reformers. Later Edward Fox and Nicholas Heath appeared as ambassadors of Henry to treat more fully with the Lutherans. "Luther lovingly embraces them and is even delighted by their courtesy," writes Melanchthon. The doctrines were discussed for many months at Wittenberg, at Smalcald, and again at Wittenberg, and even at Jena. But the English

King was playing the game of politics: he wanted the Lutherans to endorse his divorce. This they refused to do. Had they done so, England would have accepted the whole *Augsburg Confession*.

Owing to the meddling of the English King, the discussions came to naught. Luther was sorry for the waste of time and angry at the heavy expense to the Elector for the rich entertainment of the ambassadors.

On his return to England Edward Fox, the brilliant Bishop of Hereford, became the enthusiastic champion of Lutheranism. He wrote: "The Lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us. And the Germans have made the Text of the Bible so plain and easie by the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any Glosses, at all, than by all the Commentaries of the Doctors. And moreover, they have so opened these Controversies by their Writings, that Women and Children may wonder at the blindness and Falsehood that hath been hitherto."

After this mission Barnes remained in England for some time. When the Romanist Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had the ear of Henry, Barnes, in June of 1536, wrote Melanchthon not to come to England, as the King had repeatedly and earnestly invited him to do. In this year he also published a *History of the Lives of the Popes*, with which Luther was so pleased that he wrote for it an "Introduction." In 1537 he became executor to Humphrey Monmouth, the noble friend of William Tyndale, who had left a bequest for thirty sermons instead of the usual thirty masses after his funeral. In 1538 he, with a few others, introduced the practice of saying Mass and the *Te Deum* in English.

On January 2, 1538, King Henry wrote the Lutherans of Germany a cordial letter, hoping for an agreement in doctrine, and at the end of February he sent Christopher Mount to the meeting of the Smalcald League at Brunswick, ask-

ing them to send the promised embassy. Francis Burkhard, Vice Chancellor of Saxony, George à Boyneburg, LL. D., a Hessian nobleman, and Frederick Myconius, Superintendent of Gotha, were sent. On May 12 Luther wrote a beautiful letter to Bishop Fox of Hereford, with whom he had been intimate, bespeaking a kind reception for the members of the embassy.

The Germans reached England in June. The King embraced them and greatly regretted the absence of Melancthon. He appointed two bishops and four doctors to confer with the Lutherans, and assigned Dr. Barnes a place on the German side; Cranmer was the President. Henry himself took part in the discussion, for was he not "the learnedest prince in Europe"? On all the doctrinal articles of the *Augsburg Confession* there was full agreement, but when it came to the articles on the abuses in the church, the King again played politics and began to break up the conference. The Germans soon saw through his game. Myconius wrote:—"He wants nothing else than to sit as Antichrist in the temple of God, and that King Harry be Pope. The precious treasures, the rich income of the Church—these are Harry's Gospel."

Had it not been for the meddling of the King a second time, England would have adopted the whole *Augsburg Confession*.

The Saxon Elector had treated the English ambassadors as it became their rank; how did the English King treat the German ambassadors? Cranmer writes:—"As concernyng the Oratours of Germanye, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: For besides the Multitude of Ratts, daily and nyhtly runnyng in their chambers, which is no small Disquietness; the Kechyn standeth directly against their Parlar, where they dayly Dine and Supp; and by reason thereof, the House savoreth so yll, that it offendeth all Men that come into it." Yet, when the embassy left for home in September, 1538, the King was

full of compliments. He presented three horses and a carriage to Francis Burkhard, the Saxon Vice Chancellor, and wrote to the Elector of his "most blameless friends, who have presented arguments so eminent in sound learning, wisdom, uncommon candor, and supreme devotion to Christian godliness, that their intercourse has been in the highest degree charming and agreeable to us, and we entertain the well-assured hope that, with God's assistance, fruit and success will follow the counsels that have been begun."

"Though they failed in their immediate object, yet to their visit may be traced the Lutheran, the Augustan complexion of a considerable part of the present Articles of the Church of England," says Dixon.

The English authorities "preferred the incongruities of Anglicanism to a complete reformation; and a 'midge-madge' [as Lord Burleigh calls it] of contradictory formularies to the simplicity of the Protestant faith," says Froude.

During the conferences between the Protestants and the Emperor at Frankfort, February to April, 1539, Christopher Mount and Thomas Paynel represented the English cause and proposed another embassy to England. The Lutherans showed they were willing to do everything in their power to further the truth of the Gospel and sent Vice Chancellor Burkhard and Ludwig von Baumbach to England; but the conference on May 16 and 18 in Cromwell's residence showed that no agreement with Henry VIII was possible.

Later in 1539 the attempts of Thomas Cromwell to unite all Protestants seemed in a fair way to be successful, and in order to cement the union he planned the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, the Saxon Elector's sister-in-law, and Dr. Barnes was again sent to Germany to make the arrangements, and to comfort the Lutherans with the assurance that Henry had ceased persecuting the Protestants in England under the Six Articles. "There is no per-

secution," wrote a Protestant in London to Bullinger, "the Word is powerfully preached. Books of every kind may safely be exposed to sale."

Though the Elector persistently advised against the marriage and thereby incurred the enmity of his relatives, the marriage was arranged, and it took place January, 1540. But the King was disgusted with his new queen. She was homely, big, and fat, had disagreeable habits, could not speak English, and had no accomplishments; on her trip to England she hurriedly learned to play cards in order to be able to join the King in some amusement. On July 24, 1540, the King formally divorced "the Flanders mare," and on July 28 he executed his minister Cromwell, who had done so much to further Lutheranism in England.

The Romanists, headed by Stephen Gardiner, were again in power. On the first Sunday in Lent Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross and made severe remarks on the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith and on "devils offering heaven without works to sinners." Barnes felt this as a homethrust, and on mid-Lent Sunday he preached from the same text and attacked the Bishop's doctrine and also indulged in some personalities. Complaint was made to the King, who called in Barnes and rebuked him. The offender was willing to submit to the King, but Henry appointed two divines to hear the dispute in private and ordered Barnes to the Bishop's house for further instruction. When Gardiner asked Barnes to sign a recantation, Barnes left the house. Hearing this the King was angry and ordered Barnes and his two friends, William Jerome and Thomas Garrett, to preach again in Easter week at St. Mary's Spital and publicly recant. Gardiner was present at Barnes' sermon, which was so unsatisfactory that the Lord Mayor appealed to the Bishop whether Barnes should not at once be sent to prison. The sermons of the other two were equally unsatisfactory, and by order of the Council all three were sent to the Tower. An act of attainder

was passed against them in Parliament, and they were excepted from the general pardon, because they were "detestable heretics, who had conspired to set forth many heresies." On July 30, 1540, the three were drawn on a sledge through the middle of the streets to Smithfield and burned at one stake without so much as a hearing.

Garrett was an Oxford M. A. and a Cambridge D. D., one of the first English Lutherans, a diligent distributor of Luther's works and Tyndale's Testament. He died with great courage, begging pardon for faults of rashness and vehemence. Cranmer in a letter to Cromwell calls Garrett a "forward and busy Lutheran."

When Dr. Barnes came to the stake to be burned he made a confession of his faith to the people. He believed that our Savior took His body from the Virgin Mary. He believed alone in the work of Christ for our salvation, and not upon good works, because they are always mixed with imperfections. Nevertheless, we must do good works because God commands them, and to prove our faith, but not for any plea of desert or merit. He believed the memory of the saints ought be honored, but they ought not be prayed to, for we have no warrant in the Bible for that.

He asked the sheriff for what false doctrine he was to suffer death, but the sheriff did not know. He asked the people if he had led any person into error by his preaching. Receiving no answer, he said, "I understand I am condemned for heresy by an act of Parliament. I pray God to forgive all those who have been instrumental in this matter, and particularly the Bishop of Winchester, if any way concerned." Then he went on to pray for the King's prosperity, and that his son, Prince Edward, might succeed him. Whereas he had been reproached for preaching rebellion, he told them, they were all bound to obey their King, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake.

Then he requested the sheriff to tell the King to grant these five things:

First, That the lands taken by the King from the monks might in part at least be given to relieve the poor;

Second, That the King would please take care that marriage might be more honorably treated, and those engagements better performed; that men might not be permitted to part with their wives upon slight pretense, and then live scandalously with other women; and that the unmarried might not be permitted in licentious living;

Thirdly, That common swearers might be punished;

Fourthly, That the King advance the reformation according to the Bible;

Fifthly, That the King be not imposed on by unorthodox preachers and ill counsel.

When this confession was attacked by one John Standish, who contemptuously called it "the doctrine of the Germans," Miles Coverdale nobly came out with a vigorous book in defense of his martyred friend and the slandered "doctrine of the Germans."

The confession of Barnes was published in German at Wittenberg the same year, and in the introduction Luther flays Henry VIII and erects a beautiful monument to "our good, pious table companion and guest of our home," "this holy martyr, St. Robert." WILLIAM DALLMANN.
