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John Rogers, Melanchthon's English Friend

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WHEN IN 1948 John Rogers translated a brief from Wittenberg regarding the Augsburg Interim, he did so partly, he said, "for the defence of his [Melanchthon's] moste named and knowen fames sake (which he hath yet hitherto kepte undefiled, so that even the greatest enemyes of the Gospell neither coulde nor have saied otherwise of hym)."¹ It was an act of friendship and respect for a highly cherished mentor and guide. The brief was only partially Melanchthon's; it was issued by the theologians of the University of Wittenberg;² however, Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) was almost certainly its author.³

John Rogers is remembered first of all as Protestantism's proto-martyr under Mary I.⁴ He was burnt at Smithfield on 4 February 1555. His name has been honored for four centuries since that date.⁵ He is remembered, too, as Thomas Matthew,⁶ for completing and editing an English translation of the Bible,⁷ authoring a general commentary on the Bible,⁸ and compiling an English concordance of the Bible.⁹

A few additional details of his life may be recalled. John Rogers was born in Deritend, Birmingham, in the parish of Aston. Although the place of his birth has been fixed with a considerable degree of certainty, the date has not. The best that the biographers can come up with is "circa 1500." The date seems early; 1505 would fit known facts of his life better.¹⁰ Nothing can be said either about Rogers' early schooling or the influences that led him into scholarly pursuits and caused him to take holy orders. He attended Pembroke Hall of the University of Cambridge, and in 1525-1526, according to the Grace Book, he received his Bachelor of Arts degree.¹¹ Thomas Cranmer proceeded for the doctorate that year.¹² Rogers' Cambridge years are shrouded in obscurity. Perhaps, in 1526, he went to Oxford as a junior canon of Wolsey's foundation, now Christ Church, and entered holy orders at that time.¹³ If so, it is not known how long he remained in Oxford. A slight, but very slight, argument for the plausibility of an Oxford stay is the fact that in 1560 Daniel Rogers, son of John Rogers, received an A.B. and a M.A. from

(In a few instances throughout, modern equivalents have been substituted for the more archaic spelling and orthography.—Ed.)

Oxford.¹⁴ Neither John Foxe nor John Bale report that John Rogers went to Oxford.

There are questions that cannot be answered about John Rogers' life in the 1520s. Was he associated with the "Germans" who met to read Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers in the White Horse Inn in Cambridge?¹⁵ How intimately did he know Barnes, Bilney, Coverdale, Latimer, Cranmer? What were his connections with Thomas Garret?¹⁶ Not until 1532 do details about his life assume any degree of certainty. In December of that year John Rogers became Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, St. Trinity the Less, in London. Within less than two years he was in Antwerp, chaplain for the Company of the Merchant Adventurers.

At this juncture, according to John Foxe, Rogers began "to recognize the purer brightness of the Gospel light."¹⁷ This has generally not been disputed. It may be questioned, however. In 1534 came Henry VIII's final break with Rome. By 1534 the Merchant Adventurers had long since abandoned a concern for strict adherence to Romanism; for perhaps a decade already they had been engaged in an illicit trade in Protestant books.¹⁸ With good business acumen they would appoint a "safe" chaplain, not a radical Gospeller, who would run afoul of the authorities, yet one who favored the New Learning. Rogers, it seems, was known to Tyndale and to Coverdale.¹⁹ In spite of Foxe's testimony it is not likely that Tyndale played Bilney to Rogers' Latimer. Rogers himself ascribed his repudiation of Rome to Stephen Gardiner and the clergy who made Henry VIII supreme head of the church in England. He told the Privy Council (22 January 1555):

Ye yourselves all be they that brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacie of the b. of R., when I was a younge man, xx. yeares agoe, & wyll ye now, without collation, have me to say I do the contrarye? I cannot be so persuaded.²⁰

The passage, of course, does not speak of a conversion to Protestantism, merely of a renunciation of the primacy of the Pope. In 1536 that Rogers began his work as the editor or proof-reader, perhaps better "house editor," of Thomas Matthew's Bible.

In 1538 John Rogers went to Wittenberg²¹ with his bride Adriana de Weyden, an Antwerp girl. She was "more richly endowed with virtue and soberness of life, than with worldly treasure," says Foxe.²² How he provided for himself and his wife after leaving Antwerp is not evident. The statement that he was pastor in Wittenberg²³ may mean perhaps that he assisted Johann Bugenhagen (Pomeranus) in his pastoral duties sometime between 1538 and 1543. He was active in some ecclesiastical offices in or near Wittenberg during those years.²⁴ On 25 November 1540 he matriculated in the University of Wittenberg; John Maccabaeus of Scotland matriculated with him on the same day.²⁵ Rogers very likely attended some of Melancthon's lectures as well as some of Martin Luther's. On

18 September 1543 Melanchthon recommended him to John Schneck, pastor of the church in Heide, Ditmarsch.²⁶ Melanchthon wrote:

Since we truly wish to show a concern in this for your church by our advice, we have exhorted Master John Anglus to go to you. This Master John Anglus is an erudite man, and perceives correctly the doctrine of Christ's church, and is not infected with wrong opinions. And we know that he is gifted with great natural ability, which he adorns with the most upright character; and since he will be most zealous of the public peace, he will cherish harmony [*concordia*] with his colleagues. Because of these distinguished virtues, we hope that he will serve the Church of God advantageously, wherever he is called. He has been invited at this very time to the governing of a church in this neighborhood. But for the sake of tranquility he chooses to go to you. At the beginning allow for a faulty pronunciation, which he, nevertheless, will correct according to the usage of our people. By my and N.'s [Luther's?] council he was persuaded to accept this course. And we have exhorted him with good and earnest consideration to this course for the sake of his usefulness to your church. He is an Englishman, but he has lived for a long time among the Germans, and has shown integrity and faithfulness and constancy in every office, that he adorned, so that all good men love and respect him. Therefore we pray you most earnestly for the sake of Christ, the Son of God, that you will receive this stranger lovingly and commend him to your citizens, that they may entrust to him an ecclesiastical office. It is of the greatest good in the church that colleagues live in harmony. Since this John knows this well, and since by nature he himself loves peace, he will study earnestly with you to uphold the common tranquility. It is of maximum worth to you therefore that you desire such a colleague.²⁷

The letter is flattering, but sincere. It was not an effort to get Rogers away from Wittenberg, but a move to put a partisan of the "peace party" into a district that had experienced religious strife. Meldorf was in the archdiocese of Bremen, which embraced Luther's cause in 1525; it remained Lutheran.²⁸ Elements of religious instability persisted during the period between 1525 and 1560 and there are evidences of discontent and disharmony in the area. Rogers' predecessor in Meldorf, Nicolaus Boie, published a book, possibly only of a sermon's length, against ceremonies and ritualistic practices in the church.²⁹ He could have, in his own words, adopted Christ's advice, shaken the dust from his feet and departed,³⁰ but he'd remained there until his death. Perhaps Anabaptists' teachings had invaded the territory; an exhortation to parents to have their children baptized testifies that infant baptism was being neglected in Ditmarsch.³¹ During Rogers' incumbency in Meldorf forty clergymen

of Ditmarsch protested to the civic officials about their administration of justice; they wanted the banns to be read in the churches on three consecutive Sundays and baptism to be administered in the churches, not in the homes.³²

The unrest there is illustrated also by a letter which Rogers wrote in 1547 (the only letter by him still extant)!

Most Gracious Sir Master, I pray that by this messenger you will send me the worthy writing or article of Master Nicolas of pious memory *Concerning the Handling Of Guiltless Murder* (*De moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*). I shall return it to you again by the next Sabbath. For they want to hear this article from us. They also want to determine in the future (as soon as it is possible in these things), about so-called guiltless murder. And because they do not understand this on account of ignorance of the law or they cannot determine it, they have committed it to the Superintendent or the jurisdiction of the councilmen [*primarum*]. Certainly, they do not wish one, who tried to defend himself against harm by force, to suffer the same punishment as one who willingly murdered. For they wish this to be punished capitally; for the other, either money is to be paid or all punishment is to be set aside outright, as it will seem proper by the foremost or of the whole province. With these few words farewell and added to them the best wishes. In these most perilous times and these dregs of the world or ragings of the Devil may God excite in all of us through His Spirit frequent and ardent prayers, sighings and lamentations for the Church. Amen.³³

The letter breathes Rogers' pastoral concern for the problems of his people. Foxe points out that Rogers was a superintendent in Meldorf;³⁴ this may mean that he was bishop there; with him were associated two *sacellani*, chaplains.³⁵ Foxe also affirms that here "he, with great danger to his life, did very much good."³⁶ The exaggeration in the "great danger" is evident on a moment's reflection—it is one of Foxe's literary flights of fancy. That Rogers did much good there need not be doubted. About eighty-five years later a local chronicler recorded that with sobs and tears the people of Meldorf bewailed Rogers' leave-taking.³⁷

Rogers' initial recommendation came from Melanchthon because the Wittenberg professor sensed in him a kindred spirit. He was learned; his linguistic abilities can be deduced from his activities. He knew English and Latin, of course; he was at home with the Biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek; he could preach in Low German and converse in Flemish, and he understood the Middle Saxon of Luther's Bible. Melanchthon valued such men. Rogers, Melanchthon testified, was of sound doctrine. Besides that, Rogers had the traits of a good "team man," hard-working, agreeable, conscientious, peace-loving. Rogers, to generalize from the one extant letter he wrote,

was a man of prayer and a man deeply concerned about the welfare of the Church. On all of these respects he was not unlike Melanchthon.

Already by 1538 Melanchthon had become the great advocate of *concordia et tranquillitatis ecclesiae*. The dedicatory epistle of the 1535 *Loci*, made to Henry VIII, asks the king to promote peace in the church, her welfare, sound doctrine, the correction of abuses, and the true worship of God.³⁸ To Thomas Cranmer he wrote on 30 March 1539: "We pray God at the same time, that He both kindle the light of the Gospel in the hearts of many and vouchsafe peace to the Church. The enemies of the Gospel threaten us no less fiercely than in Britain. But we do not doubt that the church of the godly is in God's care."³⁹ And to Nicholas Heath, the then archdeacon of Canterbury, he wrote on the following day: "If Germany is quiet, I am optimistic both about studies and about the points of dispute among the churches. Pious and learned men shrink back from the wickedness and barbarity of the adversaries. May God defend and govern us."⁴⁰

Imbued with this man's spirit Rogers could write: "In these most perilous times and these dregs of the world, or ragings of the Devil may God incite in all of us through His Spirit frequent and ardent prayers, sighings and lamentations for the Church."⁴¹ Rogers wrote this on 8 June 1547; six weeks before, on 24 April 1547, the Emperor had crushed the Lutheran forces in the battle of Mühlberg.⁴² No wonder that the days were very evil to John Rogers, who seems to have had a strong eschatological orientation, to judge also from the chronicler's remark that this "blessed and zealous man . . . preached with particular piety about the end of the world and the nearness of Judgement Day."⁴³ The political circumstances were as inauspicious for Protestantism in Germany as they were auspicious in England.⁴⁴ Edward VI (1547-1553) was now King of England; both the triumph of the Emperor and the accession of Edward brought on John Rogers' resignation as pastor in Meldorf, Ditmarsch, and his return to England.

Rogers returned to London in 1548, very probably before the 1st of August. During the remaining six and a half years of his life he was Vicar of St. Sepulchre's and Rector of St. Margaret Moyse before becoming Prebend of St. Paul's and Rector of Chigwell. An act of Parliament naturalized his wife and eight children. The three youngest of his eleven children were born in England. He was appointed Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's, as an indication of the regard in which his scholarship was held. On the death of Edward VI he was confined to his house, imprisoned, tried, and executed. His literary activities, resumed when he returned to London in 1548, continued until the time of his death.

Those literary activities consisted largely in translating Melanchthon;⁴⁵ this is the main reason for calling him "Melanchthon's English friend." Of his translations only one is extant, already noted, *Awaying and considering of the Interim*.⁴⁶ He translated

some of Melanchthon's sermons, a commentary on Daniel written by Melanchthon, Carion's *Chronicle* which Melanchthon had edited, and the *Locos communes*.⁴⁷ George Joye also wrote a commentary on Daniel for which he also used Melanchthon.⁴⁸ Since Rogers' translation of Melanchthon is not extant some doubt has been expressed about the unnamed author of a Commentary of Daniel in one of John Foxe's list.⁴⁹ Walter Lynne also translated the *Chronicle*;⁵⁰ it is very probable that Rogers' translation was independent of Lynne's. Which sermons Rogers translated in the *Homelias*, we do not know; his choice might throw an interesting sidelight on his theology. The translation of the *Locos Communes* has vanished completely. John Bale, whose work was printed only two years after Rogers' death, is the only authority for their existence. Unhappily Chester, Rogers' best biographer, seems to have been ignorant of these works; at least, he ignored them altogether. They form an arresting selection of the Wittenberger's contribution to theology: sermonic materials (practical theology); a doctrinal treatise (systematic theology); a chronicle (historical theology); a commentary (exegetical theology). Rogers' translations were lost to posterity because of Mary's efforts to repress Protestant writings and likely because they were printed in a limited edition, if, indeed, they were printed. Nonetheless, Rogers wanted to make Melanchthon's writings available in English.

To that end he stimulated others to translate Melanchthon. That statement is based on circumstantial evidence only, but the evidence seems strong enough to warrant making it. He most probably encouraged Bradford in this direction. Rogers and Bradford were close associates; both held prebencies at St. Paul's.⁵¹ Bradford's translation of Melanchthon on prayer⁵² was printed by John Wight perhaps for Richard Jugge as *A Godlye treatyse of Prayer*.⁵³ This is locus XIX, "De invocatione Dei, sev de precatione," of Melanchthon's 1550 *Loci Praecipvi Theologici*.⁵⁴ There is no evidence, except the propinquity of Roger and Bradford, to warrant the statement that Roger stimulated Bradford's interest in Melanchthon.

Bradford was a faithful translator. He rendered Melanchthon's characteristic emphasis on the church: "But suerlye it is moost profitable, that the church should be diligently & amplye instructed, how she ought to pray, & how that prayer is the propre worke of the churche alone."⁵⁵ A carefule page by page check of Bradford's rendition verifies his faithfulness as a translator. The marginal notes are his own, but they serve only to emphasize Melanchthon's presentation. Melanchthon stressed prayer for and in the Church, prayer for the remission of sins and all spiritual gifts as well as prayer for temporal goods. He gave a brief exposition of the Lord's Prayer, which Bradford rendered accurately and pleasingly in English. Melanchthon's wholly Christ-centered prayer, moving in its strength, is rendered by Bradford: "Sanctify and governe me with thy holy spirit, preserve and rule thy church and the common

weales, whyche give harborough to thy people, helpe the studies of such as learne the doctrine of thy church, & other honest artes. &c."⁵⁶

Bradford also translated other parts of Melanchthon's *Loci*, hoping to complete the work, "yf," he said, "I shall perceave anye commoditie by thys to come to the Church of Christe," doubting not the worth of the *Loci* but his abilities as a translator.⁵⁷ Bale recorded that Bradford translated the *Locos communes Melanchthonis*.⁵⁸ Perhaps he was referring to Bradford's incomplete manuscript; perhaps the reference is to the part taken from the *Loci* on prayer. That both Bradford and Rogers were translating Melanchthon's *Loci* argues for competition, collaboration, or ignorance of what the other was doing. The latter can be ruled out by Bradford's printed statement and their close association. On the same score competition does not seem likely. To say that Bradford and Rogers were collaborating is a good conjecture but saying more than the evidence warrants.

The evidence is also tenuous for linking Nicolas Lesse with Rogers. Of Lesse little is known.⁵⁹ He was John Bale's friend.⁶⁰ Bale labelled him "a citizen and merchant of London, a Greek and Latin scholar."⁶¹ Lesse called himself Lady Anne, Duchess Somerset's "most fayethfull and daylye Oratoure."⁶² To Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the Lord Proctor, he dedicated a work by Melanchthon in translation and his one original work, *The iustification of man by faith only: made and vrritten by Phyltyp Melanchton and Translated out of the Latyn in to this oure mother touge* by Nicholas Lesse of London. *An apologie or Defence of the worde of God, declaringe what a necessary thyng it is, to be in all mennes handes, the want wher of is the only cause of al vngodlines committed thorowe the whole earthe*, made by the sayde Nicholas Lesse.⁶³

Melanchthon's work is taken from the *Loci*,⁶⁴ dealing with Law and Gospel, sin, justification, grace, faith, and good works.⁶⁵ It is a prime document of the Lutheran Reformation, which does not seem to have become very popular. That Lesse busied himself with *sola gratia* and *sola fide* and wrote a treatise on *sola Scriptura* is an indication of his Wittenberg *Tendenz*.

He also translated a work on man's will, which set forth Melanchthon's doctrine as he expounded it in the 1521 *Loci*, teaching that in spiritual matters man's will was bound. It was written by Francis Lambert of Avignon, late professor at Philip of Hesse's University of Marburg.⁶⁶ Lambert's dependence on Melanchthon is readily seen.⁶⁷ Lesse did not indicate whether he was aware of this or not. Nevertheless, Lesse was one of the men actively engaged in the late 1540s in translating Continental reformers, of whom Melanchthon was one of the most highly regarded. This favorable image, it can be postulated, was due in part to John Rogers.

One can almost identify an informal group, which never seem to have had meetings of any kind as a group, or any kind of formal structure, which promoted the translation and dissemination of the

writings of German reformers.⁶⁸ Rogers, it seems, was near the center of this group. Bradford, Lesse, Lynne, Somerset, perhaps Cranmer, John Day, Jugge, and others were involved. The activities might have been inspired by Somerset. The printers fostered these activities and John Rogers was rather closely associated with the printers.

However, Rogers was not responsible for the most popular of Melanchthon's tracts in English. It did not come from the group postulated, although Richard Jugge printed three editions after the first edition printed perhaps in Zurich.⁶⁹ It dealt with the reception of the Eucharist *sub utraque* by the laity.

If it is too hazardous to suppose that a group existed in the late 1540s to propagandize England with anti-Roman religious writings, it is not too much to say that a group of Protestant divines became a closely knit group in prison during 1554. John Rogers, John Bradford, John Ferrar, and Rowland Taylor were in that group and had been more or less closely associated in pre-Marian days. John Philpot, Laurence Sanders, and John Hooper were part of that company in prison.⁷⁰ Yet only Rogers and Bradford were intimates. In prison, knowing that they all were doomed to die for the faith, they were drawn together by these cords. About the middle of December 1554 these seven friends directed a petition to Queen Mary and the Parliament, asking for an opportunity to be heard, saying ". . . That your said subiectes are true and faithful christians, and neither heretikes, neyther teachers of heresie, nor cut of [f] from the true catholike vniversall church of Christ . . ."⁷¹ This was the protest of the Augsburg Confession,⁷² and the general contention of those who left the church of Rome. During his trial Rogers contended most earnestly that he was a member of Christ's church.

These seven men, with four others (two of these four by initials only), signed a "Declaration" on 8 May 1554, in which they set forth eight articles of faith: the authority of the Scriptures; the church; the ancient symbols; justification by faith only; church services in the vernacular; no invocation of saints; no purgatory; two Sacraments only, with a denial of the Roman doctrines and practices of the Eucharist.⁷³ They offered to "proue out of the infalible veritie, even the very word of God, and by the testimonie of the good and moste aunciente fathers in Christe his church, this our faythe and every peece thereof." They say: ". . . we confess and beleve the catholyke church (whiche is the spouse of Christe,) . . ."⁷⁴

By 1554 this was a general contention among Protestants and the phrases had been well learned. John Bradford is generally regarded as the author of the "Declaration";⁷⁵ Rogers (it may safely be conjectured) collaborated with him. They had no books with them in prison and they could not have copied Melanchthon. But their words echo Melanchthon's 1539 "De ecclesia et de autoritate verbi Dei,"⁷⁶ which was known in England.⁷⁷ In it Melanchthon

wrote (this one quotation is enough by way of illustration without going to the *Confessio Augustana* or the *Apologia* or the *Loci*):

However, after I have defined what the true Church is, and it is agreed that we faithfully retain and preserve the doctrine of the catholic Church of Christ, transmitted in the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures and in the Symbols, it is evident that we truly agree with the catholic Church of Christ.⁷⁸

The English reformer-prisoners refer to the Council of Nicaea, misdating it for 324 as did Melanchthon, and to the Councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toledo. They give wrong dates and so did Melanchthon, but they do not agree in their errors.⁷⁹

The "Declaration" used a characteristically Melanchthonian definition for justification. Justification, Bradford, Rogers, and their fellows say, "commeth onelye from Goddes mercye throughe Christ . . . by faith only, which fayth is not an opinion, but a certain perswasion wrought by the holy ghost in the mynde and heart of man, . . ." This justification is to be distinguished from sanctification or "an inherent ryghteousnesse"; it is the "forgeuenesse of synnes and Christes iustice imputed to us . . ."⁸⁰ In the 1551 *Confessio Saxonica* one article is headed "De remissione peccatorum et de iustificatione."⁸¹ By faith, Melanchthon said, "remission of sins, reconciliation, and imputation of righteousness are given because of that merit of Christ."⁸² Faith to Melanchthon is *fiducia*, trust, confidence, reliance awakened by the Holy Spirit; the English prisoners called it "a certayne [sure, confident] perswasion wrought by the holy ghost."

Melanchthon used the phrase *nova obedientia*⁸³ and does not speak of "inherent righteousness," which Bradford, Rogers, and the others coupled with "regeneration." They did not differ in this doctrine. Both Melanchthon and the Englishmen discount man's free will.⁸⁴ If Bradford and Rogers had not worked so closely with Melanchthon's writings, these parallels would not adequately support a contention of a dependency on Melanchthon. However, since Melanchthon seems to have been Rogers' and, to a somewhat more limited degree, Bradford's theological mainstay,⁸⁵ the contention must be given serious consideration.

The "Declaration" of the seven martyrs did not agree wholly with Melanchthon's *De coena Domini*. They agreed that the laity should receive the Lord's Supper under both kinds; they opposed transubstantiation, and the doctrine that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice. They were not dependent on Melanchthon or Melanchthon alone, perhaps not chiefly on Melanchthon for these doctrines. It is true, as stated above, that Melanchthon's polemic on *sub utraque* was widely circulated in England.⁸⁷ The English reformers in prison did not agree on the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament. They are silent on this point. They emphasized the use of the

Sacrament; this emphasis is Melancthonian to the core. Bradford, Rogers, and the others declared:

Eightly, we confesse and beleue the Sacramentes of Christe, which by Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, that they ought to be minystered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantiall partes of them. And that they be no longer Sacramentes, then thei be had in vse, and vsed to the ende for the which they wer instituted.⁸⁸

Melancthon in the *Aunswere to the Interim*, which Rogers translated,⁸⁹ wrote:

There shall no Gods seruyce be ordered or done in the Church that is not ordeyned and commaunded in the worde of God. And the vse of the Sacramente is so ordeyned and not otherwyse, that the dealyng oute and the vse by kepte and done, as the Sonne of God sayeth. Take it and eate it. &c. And drynke all thercof. &c. And, doe this in my remembraunce. And it was also thus holden many hundreth yeares in the fyrste church.

Therefore is this fyrste vse agreyng with the wordes of Chryste, surely the ryght and true vse, and shalbe mayntened vpholden and kepte, and there shall no other workes be set vp therein, which are not commaunded.⁹⁰

The proper use of the Lord's Supper in the midst of the congregation was emphasized by Melancthon also in the 1551 *Confessio Saxonica*.⁹¹ His emphasis on the right use of the Sacrament, however, is not separated from his belief in the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament.⁹² Melancthon urged the frequent use of the Sacrament. In it the remission of sins is given to the believers, he said.⁹³

Did Melancthon influence Rogers on the Lord's Supper? John Rogers was examined, he tells us, what he

meante concerninge the sacramente? . . . whether I beleved in the sacramente to be the very body & blowd of our saviour christe, that was borne of the virgin marye & hanged on the crosse, really, substantially, etc.?

I answered [he writes] that I had ofte tymes tolde hym that it was a matter in which I was no medler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion: but seynge the falsehod of their doctrine in all other poyntes, & the defence therof only by force & crueltie, thoughte their doctrine in this matter to be as false as the reste; for christe could not be corpallye there, & I could not otherwise vnderstand really & substantially to signifie them corpallye, & so could not christe be there & in heaven also.⁹⁴

Rogers evidently was loathe to state his position. He was suspected by his brethren because he held "contrary opinions." These

may have held the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence, sometimes erroneously labelled "consubstantiation." At any rate, he was not a "medler," in this matter. "I have many grave reasons why I have not meddled (*admiscuerim me*) in such a hateful strife," Melanchthon told Oecolampadius in 1529. "I am very grieved that a disagreement has arisen about that thing, which was instituted by Christ for a gluing-together love."⁹⁵ Rogers very probably shared these sentiments. Now in prison the reformers discussed their views and Rogers was suspect by his brethren. When forced to give an answer to Stephen Gardiner and the Council he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, completely and wholly in terms his fellow prisoners would have endorsed to show his agreement with them. Melanchthon had praised Rogers because he sought harmony with his colleagues.⁹⁶ Rogers gave weight to the argument that he had testified against transubstantiation, rather than defended another position.

"I was sayd to have denyed the sacramente," he wrote. But, he insisted that he said "that your doctrine of the sacramente is false."⁹⁷ Yet he was condemned, in the words of the sentence: "Item quod in Sacramento altaris non est realiter et substantialiter naturale corpus et naturalis sanguis Christi."⁹⁸

The second heresy for which Rogers was condemned was his doctrine of the Church: "Quod Ecclesia Romana Catholica, est Ecclesia Antichristi."⁹⁹ While it is true that he repeatedly referred to the Church of Rome as anti-Christian, it is also true that he had a very positive and dynamic doctrine of the Church. He refused to acknowledge the bishop of Rome, because he maintained that Christ is the Head of the Church.¹⁰⁰ The King is not head of the Church in spiritual things, "as the forgiveness of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the supreme authority of the Word of God."¹⁰¹ These phrases are Melanchthonian.¹⁰² Melanchthon's accents rang out still more clearly when Rogers contended that he is a member of the one, holy, catholic Church, that he never dissented nor will dissent from the Church catholic, that he was never out of the true Church, but always taught the true and catholic doctrine.¹⁰³

Rogers appealed to the authority of the Word of God and "the doctrine of the old & pure catholic church 400 yeares after christe."¹⁰⁴ He affirmed that "Credo Ecclesiam sanctam catholicam" referred to the universal church, "the consente of all true teachinge churches of all tymes & of all ages."¹⁰⁵ He firmly insisted, to use his own words, "that I had bene & wold be able, by godes grace, to prove that all the doctrine that ever I had taughte was true & catholic, & that by the scriptures & the authoritie of the fathers that lyved 400 yeares after the death of Christe, etc."¹⁰⁶ He repeated his demand that he be refuted "bringinge the worde of god, & the consente of the old catholic church of the moste pure tyme. that is 400 yeares after christe."¹⁰⁷

Enough has been said above,¹⁰⁸ to underline the orientation that Melanchthon gave to this doctrine of the authority of the Church and the authority of the Word. Melanchthon and Rogers were not schismatic. In the *Aunswere* Melanchthon wrote (in Rogers' translation): "It is truthe that the churche is a congregacion or company gathered together of the right beleuing, and that no man shal deuide and disseuer him selfe from the Church."¹⁰⁹

For these two doctrines Rogers died—the denial of transubstantiation and his contentions about the Church. Rogers in his convictions was valiant and steadfast and gave an example to those who would suffer after him. He admired Melanchthon for his loyalty and steadfastness. Melanchthon is usually not cast in a heroic mold or thought of as being made of the stuff from which martyrs come.¹¹⁰ Yet in 1548 John Rogers hailed his friend as a witness of the truth and an example for the faithful.

He translated *The aunswere of Phil. Melanchthon to the Interim* for the comfortyng of many godly and christen hertes, whiche have been not alytell dismayed and discouraged thorow suche lyes [that Melanchthon denied the truth]. And verely not without a cause, for his denying would do more harme to the trueth in these last and most perelouse tymes, than any tongue or penne can express. And God of his goodnesse, bountefull mercye and great power, graunt that the neuer chaunce.¹¹¹

Rogers' words presaged and justified his own and his companions' attitude and actions in those dark days of February 1555 when one by one at Smithfield, Coventry, Gloucester, they were led to the stake.¹¹²

Before Rogers went to the stake a petition was drawn up on his behalf. Perhaps the plea that Rogers be returned to Ditmarsch never reached Mary. It came from the "Forty-eight" to the city fathers of Hamburg, asking that they intercede for Rogers. These officials of the Ditmarsch district were anxious that Rogers serve again as pastor in that region.¹¹³ Perhaps the Hamburg Council did not write to Mary.¹¹⁴ Rogers went to his death.

Soon after John Rogers suffered martyrdom his oldest son, the seventeen-year-old Daniel (1538?-1591) returned to Wittenberg to study under Philip Melanchthon, his father's friend.¹¹⁵ In 1584 he gratefully acknowledged the help he received from Stephen Degner, a Doctor of the Civil Law, Counsellor to the old Baron of Anholt, "which Doctor," Daniel wrote, "twenty-seven years past [1557], had been my school-fellow under Melanchthon, at Wittenberg."¹¹⁶

Daniel Rogers commemorated both his father and Philip Melanchthon, among the two hundred seventy plus short poems he wrote. Of the fifty-two epigrams dedicated to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, there is an "Epitaph on Philip Melanchthon."¹¹⁷ In Book 2 of his Epigrams, sixty-seven in number, there is one "On a

portrait of Melanchthon by Durer." Others include: "Tumulus of his brother Samuel Rogers"; "To his father John Rogers"; "Cenotaph Rogers"; "Tumulus of Hester Rogers"; "Hester Rogers"; "Tumulus of his brother Samuel Rogers"; "To his father John Rogers"; "Cenotaph of John Rogers the Martyr (2)".¹¹⁸ Then in Book 3, in which there are one hundred fifty-three poetic pieces, Daniel wrote "On the death of John Rogers" again. Also among the tumuli is one "The Martyr's crown of Thomas Cranmer" and one "Of Susanna Rogers."¹¹⁹ Among the thirty-four "Sylvae" (also in Book 3) is a "Tumulus of P. Melanchthon."¹²⁰ Scattered throughout these three books are seven epigrams or tumuli to John Jewel.¹²¹ There are none about Martin Luther or John Calvin or Heinrich Bullinger. One poem, dedicated to the memory of John Jewel, in nineteen lines named Calvin, Melanchthon, Luther, Bucer, Zwingli, Bullinger, A Lasco, Hus, Hemming, and Knox. "The German lands call out and extol Melanchthon," Daniel wrote.¹²²

These data do not say a great deal about a friendship between Philip Melanchthon and Daniel Rogers. However, there was more in these poems, one may suppose, than the recollections about a university lecturer. They were tributes, among those to many others, to Melanchthon, John Rogers, his father's, German friend.

APPENDIX I

Honorable, Most Wise, and Esteemed Lord Mayor and Councilmen of the City of Hamburg, Our Especially Dear and Good Friends.

Our friendly greetings with the wish of all good for you.

Honorable, most wise, and esteemed lords, our especially dear and good friends.

We would not hide from you esteemed, good, most wise men that about four years ago¹²³ one of the Superintendents of our land, named Master Roger [Rogerus], went from here to England for weighty reasons, there to preach the divine, only-saving Word to the late young King.

Now we have learned that after the death of the said young lord the present Queen of England again embraced Popery and afterwards arrested and imprisoned many learned, brave men (may God be beseeched). Among them is also the afore-mentioned Master John Roger, about whom we have received a trustworthy report from faithful friends.

Since, then, the said Master John Roger served us nobly in his vocation and otherwise headed the parish in Meldorf with all modesty, and without learned men like him we cannot be a blessing in the highest degree nor to many people, this well-esteemed man ought to be freed from prison and be permitted to go his way freely that he might again come into this place for the consolation and comfort of many harassed consciences.

Therefore we pray and beseech you most kindly that you Honorable Gentlemen would address the present Queen of England

through the proper ways and means to the intent that the aforementioned Master John Roger be freed from imprisonment without conditions and be permitted to go his way. Thereby he may be granted his life and preserved, that he might again reside in this place and that he might again teach and preach the Christ whom he professes, whom he has hitherto served so faithfully.

In this you Honorable Gentlemen will be permitting us to find preachers who are particularly well-pleasing to us for holding fast to the Word of God.

Then God Almighty to whom we commend you Honorable Gentlemen for continued blessing will not let you be without reward. We on our part will also be most friendly disposed to you Honorable Gentlemen.

Dated, Heide, under our seal, Saturday before the Day of Vitus and Modestus, Martyrs, [15 June] Anno etc. '54.

Respectfully,

The Overseers
of the Land of
Ditmarsh

FOOTNOTES

1. *A waying and considering of the Interim by the honour-worthy and highly learned Philip Melanchthon*, translated into Englyshe by John Rogers (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1548), Sig. Aiiir. Br. Mus. press-mark 1019.b.3.(3.).

A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, And of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926), no. 17799. Cited as S.T.C.

Joseph L. Chester, *John Rogers: The Compiler of the First Authorized English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and Its First Martyr* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), p. 386. See pp. 386-406 for Rogers' translation of Melanchthon's tract.

2. "Bedenken der Theologen zu Wittenberg über das Interim dem Churfürsten Herzog Moritzen gestellt in Wittenberg im Junio des 48.," *Das Augsburger Interim, ein Bedenken Melanchthons und einige Briefe desselben in Bezug auf das Interim, die Bulla reformatoris Paul III. und die Formula reformationis Caroli V., als Grund für den Religions-Frieden von 26. September 1555*, ed. M. K. Th. Hergang (Leipzig: B. H. Teubner, 1855), pp. 156-197.

Both the Latin and the German texts are given. They were signed by Johannes Bugenhagen, Johannes Pfeffinger (the German text only), Caspar Creutziger [Cruciger], Georgius Major, Philippus Melanchthon [sic], and Sebastianus Fröschel [Froschelius].

John Rogers did not say whether his translation was from the German or the Latin text.

Chester did not recognize, it seems, that the document was issued by the Wittenberg theologians, not by Melanchthon alone.

"Iudicium IV. de libro Interim," *Corpus Reformatorum: Philippi Melanthonis opera suae supersunt omnia*, ed. C. G. Bretschneider (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1838), VI, 924-942, no. 4259. The editor noted the English translation, col. 924. Cited as C.R.

3. Hergang, p. 156n, indicates that Melanchthon wrote the "Bedenken." The present writer has come to the conclusion on the basis of its style that the text is Melanchthon's.

4. E.g., Thomas H. Aston, *John Rogers, the Proto-Martyr of Mary's Reign* (Birmingham: Birmingham Protestant Association, 1873), p. 3.

A broadside, published in 1679, *A Catalogue of . . . those only Martyrs who were burned in Queen Mary's Reign* lists the names of the Marian Martyrs with Rogers' name heading the list. However, it incorrectly gives the place of his martyrdom as Coventry. Br. Mus. press-mark T.88*.(10.).

The best biography about Rogers is by Chester. J. F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), brings new materials. John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley (New and complete edition; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Bumside, 1838), VI, 591-612.

5. Chester, pp. 443-445, gathered tributes to Rogers. Thomas H. Aston greatly admired him. In Birmingham the John Rogers Memorial Library is named in his honor.

6. Mozley, pp. 131-141.

7. It was delivered in England by the latter part of July 1537; Chester, p. 52.

Thomas A. Aston, *John Rogers: The Martyr of Birmingham* (Birmingham: T. Medlicott, 1863), p. 9; eadem, *John Rogers, the Proto-Martyr of Mary's Reign* (1873), pp. 13, 14. Aston follows Chester.

8. S[idney] L[ee], "John Rogers, (1500?-1555)," *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1897), XLIX, 126; Chester, p. 48.

9. Ibid., pp. 49-51; *D.N.B.*, XLIV, 126, 127. Lee's article is largely dependent on Chester. Both Chester and Lee would make it the first concordance of the English Bible. However, Mozley, Appendix F, pp. 336-339, and *S.T.C.*, no. 3046, show that Coverdale compiled the first English Bible concordance.

10. John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1924), I, iii, 479, give the date of his birth "c.1509 (?1500)." The year 1509, however, seems late; this would make Rogers only fifteen when he received his B.A.

The date suggested by the present writer is purely conjectural. However, it would make him twenty when he became a Bachelor of Arts, instead of twenty-five according to the more usual reckoning.

11. *Grace Book* [*Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1501-1542*, ed. William G. Searle (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1908), p. 221: "Item conceditur Johanni Rogeres vt duodecim termini in quibus ordinaria audiuit licet non secundum formam statuti cum opposicionibus et responsibus requisitis sufficient sibi ad respondendum questioni."

C. H. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge, 1858), I, 121. 546; Venn, I, iii, 479; *D.N.B.*, XLIV, 126; Chester, p. 2.

Grace Book B, Part II, Containing the Accounts of the Proctors of the University of Cambridge, 1511-1544, ed., for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society by Mary Bateson, Lourd Memorial Series III (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1905), p. 131 (from p. 478).

12. *Grace Book* [, p. 225.

13. Chester, p. 2; however, he places the events in 1526. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, Early Series (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891), III, 1274, no. 6, credits a John Rogers with a B.A. from Oxford on 1 February 1523-4. M.A., 27 February 1526-7, a schoolmaster in 1525; "one of these names rector of St. Trinity-the-less, London, 1532, Vicar-choral of St. Stephen.

- Westminster 1545, rector of St. Margaret Moses 1548, vicar of St. Sepulchre 1550, and canon of St. Paul's 1551." He seemed to confuse John Rogers and John Rodgers, conflating their careers.
14. Chester, p. 258; Sidney Lee, "Daniel Rogers (1538?-1591)," *D.N.B.*, XLIV, 116, 117; Foster, III, 1273, no. 2. Chester, pp. 258-271, has a sketch of Daniel's life, which Lee has followed. I am indebted to Miss Norah Fudge of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, for making available to me the manuscript biography prepared there.
 15. For the Cambridge group see Foxe, A. and M., V, 415; A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), pp. 68, 69; N. S. Tjernagel, *Henry VIII and the Lutherans: A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 34-47; William A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants, 1520-1535* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), pp. 47, 48; E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Mainly in the Reign of Henry VIII)* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1947), pp. 18, 19.
 16. Dickens, pp. 75-77, for Garret; also Clebsch, pp. 79, 80.
 17. In the 1559 Latin edition of his work as given by Chester, p. 10. Lee, *D.N.B.*, LXIX, 126, said that when Rogers went to Antwerp in 1534 "he was an orthodox catholic [i.e., Roman Catholic] priest."
 18. See, e.g., Dickens, pp. 69-71.
 19. The connections among the three and their connections with the merchant-printer Richard Grafton are most comprehensively, but in a poorly organized fashion, presented by J. A. Kingdon, *Incidents in the Lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, Two Citizens and Grocers of London, Who Suffered Loss and Incurred Danger in Common with Tyndal, Coverdale, and Rogers, in Bringing out the Bible in the Vulgar Tongue* (Privately printed in fifty copies only; London: Rixan and Arnold, 1895), *passim*.
 20. Br. Mus. Lansdowne mss., vol. 389, fol. 191; Chester, p. 298.
 21. Bale, with some degree of plausibility has Rogers going to Wittenberg. He says: "Vuitenbergiam inde ad aliquot annos commoratus, multo esse coepit eruditior, in diuinis illis scripturarum sanctarum misterijs: cotulitq; industriam totam his in natiua regione propagandis. Grande Bibliorum opus, Tindalum sequutus, à uertice ad calcem à primo Geneseos ad ultimum Apocalypseos uocabulum, uisitatis Hebraeorum, Graecorum, Latinorum, Germanorum, & Anglorum, exemplaribus, fidelissime, in idioma uulgare trastulit. Quod opus laboriosum, excellens, salubre, pium ac sanctissimu, adiunctis ex Martino Lutero praefationibus & annotationibus utilissimis, Henrico octauo Anglorum regi, sub nomine Thomae Mathevu, espistola praefixa, dedicauit." John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustriū maioris Brytannie . . . Catalogus* (Basle: John Oporimus, 1557), p. 677. Br. Mus. press-mark C.28.m.6.
 22. From the Latin edition of 1559 as quoted in translation by Chester, p. 14.
 23. Foxe, VI, 591, 592, puts him in Wittenberg from 1538 to 1548. He has been followed by Chester, e.g., p. 16. Foxe, IV, 354, noted that Rogers went to Dietmarsch, which later he forgot or, not knowing his geography, regarded as a village in Saxony. Mozley, pp. 131, 132, correctly observes that Rogers' ministry in Dietmarsch "has been almost universally disregarded."
 24. Melancthon to John Schneck, 18 September 1543, C.R., V, 178, no. 2758; Mozley, p. 132. Melancthon speaks of "every office, which he adored" (*in omnia tanta praeditus*).
 25. *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. Carl E. Foerstemann (Leipzig: Carl Tauchnit, 1841), I, 186a, lines 24 and 25: "D. Joannes Maccabaeus Scotus. D. Joannes Roggerus Anglus." Preserved Smith, "Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, XXXVI (July 1921), 428. Neither Lee in the *D.N.B.* or Chester noted this matriculation.

Maccabaeus or John Macalpine (died 1557) married Agnes Macheson, a sister of Miles Coverdale's wife. He went to Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1542, where he remained until his death. Mozley, p. 8, and references given there.

26. C.R., V, 178, no. 2758; Mozley, pp. 132, 133; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer and J. Gairdner (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863ff.), XVIII, ii, 201, p. 103.

27. Translated from C.R., V, 178, no. 2758. That Rogers accepted the call is told in *Johann Adolfs genant Neocorus, Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen*, ed. F. C. Dahlmann (Kiel: Königlichen Schulbuchdruckerei, 1827), II, 83: "M. Johannes Rogerius. Iss dieser Tidt [1543] im Lande tho Meldorp ock noch Ao. 47 gewesen, . . ."

In Hans Detleff of Windtbergen's "Dithmarsische Historische Relation," (1643), *ibid.*, II, 502, a sketch of Rogers' life occurs. It begins: "Johannes Rogier, Anglus, is von Wittenberch ordentlich an der Parre Meldorf gefardert, ein godtseliger iveriger Mann, de der Gemeine aldar vargestanden 2 Jahr, . . ." Detleff is wrong about the number of years Rogers spent in Meldorf. He was there about four and a half years.

28. Johann Hellmann, *Kurtz-verfasste Süder-Ditmarische Kirchen-Historie* . . . (Hamburg, Thomas von Wieringen Erben, 1735), pp. 60-67; Dahlmann, II, 103-107. In 1556 its pastors signed the "De Coena Domini Confessio Ecclesiae Ditmariensis plane Lutherana." It emphasized the Real Presence in the Sacrament.

29. Dahlmann, II, 571, Appendix XXII, gives the title: *Orsake, Grund und Bewys uth der hilghen Schrifft, dat gewyhet Solt, Water, Kruth, Luchte, Palmfuyr, unde andere Creaturen und Ceremonyen &c., (darinnen Gades Dienst und der Selen Salicheyt, ja von den Schympelen [Simpeln, Einfaltigen] unwetens gesocht) nicht got, noch gotlick, sondern mehr bose, afgodesck, und den Christen schetlik synt, gepredigt dorch de Kerkheren tho Meldorpe und Brunssbuttel yn Dytmerschen. Myssbruck der Vigilien und Seelemysen vor de Entofoldigen. MCXXVIII.*

Listed in Conrad Barchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der Niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1931-1936), I, 420, no. 939. The publisher and place of publication of Boje's work are unknown; the work has been lost. The compilers raise the question whether or not it was actually printed. References are given to Rolfs in *Beiträge und Mitteilungen des Vereins für Schleswig-Holsteins Kirchengeschichte*, II, i, 1897, and Degering in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 37, 233.

Boie's name is spelled various ways, Boie, Boje, Boye.

30. Dahlmann, II, 146. He died in Meldorf in 1542. Hellmann, p. 57.

31. Dahlmann, II, 147.

32. *ibid.* II, 147-149.

33. *Ibid.*, II, 149, 150; Mozley, p. 319, Appendix B, reprints the letter from Dahlmann. He suggests that the letter is addressed perhaps to John Schneek. There is no reason to challenge this conjecture; it is plausible. The author of the tract, Nicolas, Mozley states is Nicolas Boie; he cites no evidence.

34. Foxe, IV, 354. See footnotes 23 above.

35. Dahlmann, II, 149. They were John Zeger and Bernhard Richman. For the office of Superintendent see Martin Luther's "Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony, 1528," in *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, "Church and Ministry II," ed. by Courad Bergendoff (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958) 313-14. The superintendent performed some of the functions of a bishop in the Roman Catholic Church.

36. See footnote 34.

37. Detleff in Dahlmann, II, 502, ". . . derhalren [to England] mit der Thohorer velen Suchten und Trahnen af gescheden, . . ."

38. C.R., III, 920-930, no. 1311.

39. C.R., III, 679, no. 1790; *L. and P.*, XIV, i, no. 631, pp. 245, 246.

40. C.R., III, 681, no. 1791; *L. and P.*, XIV, i, no. 667, p. 334.

41. See footnote 33.

In his preface to Melanchthon's tract (cf. footnote 1), he spoke of "these last and most perelouse tymes." Sig. A.ii^r.

42. See, e.g., Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, ed. Ralph F. Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tübingen, & Co., Ltd., 1912), XII, 359.

43. Detleff in Dahlmann, II, 502: ". . . ein godtseliger iveriges Mann . . . mit sonderlicher Andacht gepredigt vam Ende der Weldt und Naheit des jungesten Dages, . . ." See also Mozley, p. 133.

44. It is difficult to understand why, e.g., Chester, p. 62, or Mozley, p. 134, make Edward's accession the only factor in Rogers' return to England.

45. There was also his work on "Matthewe's Bible." He is also credited with publishing eight sermons on the necessity for divine revelation, the preface to which is directed against Chandler's *Te (sic) Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, a work called *Vindication of the Civil Establishment of Religion*, and twelve sermons held on various occasions. *Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste* . . . (Leipzig und Halle: Verlegts Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1742), XXXII, 519, 520. I have not been able to control the references given there or to find Chandler's book or the *Vindication* or the two volumes of sermons. I have not been able to establish any contemporary evidence for the supposition that Rogers wrote such works.

46. See footnote 1 above.

47. John Bale, *Index Britannicae Scriptorum Quas ex variis bibliothecis* . . ., ed. Reginald L. Poole and Mary Bateson (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1902), p. 244. Cited as Bale, *Index*.

John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum maiores Brytannil* . . . *Catalogus* (Basle: John Oporinus, 1557), p. 676. Br. Mus. pressmark C.28.m.6. Cited as Bale, *Catalogus*.

At both places Bale states that Rogers wrote a book *Aduersus Interim*, which is undoubtedly the *Bedenken* drafted by Melanchthon. He neglects on p. 676 of the *Catalogus* to mention the *Chronicle*, but adds "Et ali plura Germanorum opuscula."

48. Bale, *Catalogus*, p. 721.

Charles C. Butterworth and Allan G. Chester, *George Joye, 1495?-1553: A Chapter in the History of the English Bible and the English Reformation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), p. 274, no. 24; see also pp. 235, 236; Clebsch, p. 327.

49. Mozley, p. 346; see Foxe, V, 566.

50. S.T.C., 4626. *The Thre bokes of Cronicles Whyche Iohn Carion . . . Gathered wyth great diligence of the beste authours* . . . (London: [John Day] for Walter Lynne, 1550). Br. Mus. press-mark G.5931.

51. A. H. B[ullen], "John Bradford (1510?-1555)," *D.N.B.*, II, 1065-1067. His works were published by the Parker Society in two volumes, edited by Aubrey Townsend. A good biography of Bradford is needed.

52. "Preface to a Translation from Melanchthon by John Bradford, 1553," *The Writings of John Bradford Containing Sermons, Meditations, Examinations, &c.*, ed. Aubrey Townsend (Parker Society; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1848), pp. 16-24.

53. S.T.C., no. 17791; Br. Mus. press-mark C.25.a.12.

54. Published by Valentinus Papa in Leipzig. Br. Mus. pressmark C.28.e.6. Cited as *Loci* (1550). See pp. 598-649 for Locus XIX.

55. Bradford, *Godlye treatyse*, Sig., B.iv, from *Loci* (1550), p. 599: "Vtilissimum est autem recte, diligenter, & copiose erudiri Ecclesiam de Inuocatione, quae proprium solius Ecclesiae opus est."
56. Bradford, *Godley treatyse*, sigs. B.iii^v-B.v^r, from *Loci* (1550), p. 602. Melanchthon has "sunt hospitia Ecclesiarum," which Bradford translated "giue harborough to thy people." Melanchthon used the technical term "politas," which Bradford translated correctly as "common weales."
57. Bradford, *Godlye treatyse*, Sigs. A.iii^v-A.iii^r.
58. Bale, *Catalogus*, p. 681.
59. Charles Welch, "Nicholas Lesse (*fl.* 1550)," *D.N.B.*, XXXIII, 12.
60. See the parenthetical aside in Lesse's dedicatory letter in his translation of Augustine's *The twelwe steppes of abuses* (London: John Day and William Seres, 1550), Sig. A.iii^r. S.T.C., no. 84; Br. Mus. press-mark 3805.aaa.14.
61. Bale, *Index*, p. 305.
62. Lesse's dedicatory letter in his translation *The minde and iudgement of maister Frauces Lambert of Auenna of the wyll of man, declarynge and prouynge howe and after what sorte it is captyue and bonde, and not free: . . .* (London: John Day and William Seres, 1548), heading; S.T.C., no. 15178; Br. Mus. pressmark 4256.a.46.
Also in his dedicatory letter to *A Worke of the predestination of saints wrytten by the famous doctor S. Augustine . . .* (London: John Herford for Walter Lynn [1550]), heading; S.T.C., no. 920; Br. Mus. pressmark 3670.aaa.1.
63. S.T.C., no. 17792; Br. Mus. pressmark C.21.a.47. Published in London by William Powell in 1548.
64. Melanchthon's *Werke in Auswahl* [Studienausgabe], ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1951), II, 1, 1-114. Cited as *Werke*, StA.
- The Loci Communes of Philip Melanchton*, trans. Charles L. Hill (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1944), for a modern translation.
65. See the summary of *The iustification of man by faith only*, fols. vii^r-viii^r.
66. See footnotes 60; S.T.C., no. 15178.
67. Gerhard Müller, *Franz Lambert von Avignon und die Reformation in Hessen, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck*, 24, 4, *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte des Phillipp des Grossmütigen* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag (Kommissions-verlag), 1958), p. 22.
68. More bits of evidence must be found before the existence of such a group can be affirmed unequivocally. Walther Lynne's role needs wider investigation. See W. A. J. A[rchbold], "Walter Lynne (*fl.* 1550)," *D.N.B.*, XXXIV, 344, 345, for the only biographical sketch about him.
69. *A newe work coccerning both partes of the sacrament to be receyued of the lay people* ([Zurich: C. Froschauer], 1543); S.T.C., no. 17793; Br. Mus., pressmark C.25.d.16.(6).
S.T.C., no. 171794, no. 17795, no. 17796.
Another edition by Richard Juge appeared in 1560. Br. Mus. press-mark C.21.a.33.
70. Foxe, VI, 550-700; VII, 605-685; *passim*. The pertinent article in the *D.N.B.*, besides those already cited on Rogers and Bradford, are:
T. F. T[out], "Robert Ferrar (d. 1555)," XVIII, 380-382; W. A. J. A[rchbold], "John Philpot (1516-1555)," XLV, 226-227; A. F. P[ollard], "Rowland Taylor (d. 1555)," LV, 463, 464; W. A. S[haw], "Laurence Saunders (d. 1555)," L, 327; G. G. P[erry], "John Hooper (d. 1555)," XXVII, 304-306.
71. "Petition of the Preachers in Prison," Chester, p. 416; see pp. 415-417 for the entire petition copied from the 1576 edition of *A. and M.* It is

not in the 1563 edition. It has only the initials, not the names.

Bradford, *Writings*, PS, I, 403-405.

72. The Augsburg Confession and the Apology were translated into English in 1536 by Richard Taverner. *The confessyon of the fayth exhibited to the most victorious Emperour Charles the V. in the Council or assemble holden at Augusta the yere of our lorde. 153. [sic] to which is added the apologie of Melanchthon who defendeth with reasons. inuincible the aforesayde confessyon . . .* (London: Robert Redman, 1536). Br. Mus. press-mark C.37.c.9. S.T.C., no. 908. The S.T.C., entry here needs correction.
 73. "Declaration of the Preachers in Prison, with Their Confession of Faith," Chester, pp. 407-414; the signatures are on p. 414. Chester reprints this from the 1563 edition of A. and M. It will be found in the nineteenth century editions of Foxe, VI, 550-553. Bradford, *Writings*, I, PS, 367-374.
 74. Chester, p. 410.
 75. Ibid., p. 127; Townsend's editorial comments in Bradford, *Writings*, I, 366.
 76. Werke, StA, I, 323-386. *Melanchthon: Selected Writings*, trans. Charles L. Hill (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1962), pp. 130-186.
 77. It was translated in 1548 as *Of the Trewe Auctoritie of the Churche; compyled by the excellent learned man, Ph. Melancthon, and dedicate vnto the Noble Duke of Prussia: newly translated out of Latyn into Englyshe.* (Ipsiv. 1548, 16 mo.). The translator is not given. See Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica: or A General Index of British and Foreign Literature* (Edinburgh, 1824), II, 663 a. It is not listed in the S.T.C. or the catalog of the British Museum.
 78. Werke, StA, I, 375, 34-38; *Selected Writings*, p. 176.
 79. Chester, p. 411; Werke, StA, I, 340-344; *Selected Writings*, pp. 145-149.
- | Comparison of Melanchthon's Dates and The "Declaration's" Dates | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Council | Melanchthon | Declaration | Correct Date |
| Nicaea | 324 | 324 | 325 |
| Constantinople | 383 | 384 | 381 |
| Ephesus | 433 | 432 | 431 |
| Chalcedon | 452 | 454 | 451 |
80. Chester, p. 411.
 81. Werke, StA, VI, 93-105; C.R., XXVIII, 381-392.
 82. Werke, StA, VI, 98, 35-99, 4: "Hac fide cum eregitur, certum est donari remissionem peccatorum, reconciliationem et imputationem iusticiae propter ipsius Christi meritum et Christus in nobis efficacem esse voce Evangelii et spiritu suo sancto vivificare credentes et ex aeterna morte nos liberare et focere nos siniul haeredes vitae aeternae."
 83. Ibid., VI, 100, 16-22, especially lines 20 and 21; C.R., XXVIII, 387.
 84. Werke, StA, VI, 106-108; C.R., XXVIII, 393-395.
 85. Werke, StA, VI, 106; Chester, p. 411.
 86. Rogers translated only Melanchthon, it seems. Bradford ranged wider and wrote more. See also footnotes 45 and 51 above.
 87. See p. 31 above.
 88. Chester, p. 412.
 89. See footnote 1 above. *The Aunswere to the Interim* is the running title at the top of each page.
 90. *Waying and considering of the Interim*, Sig. C. iii.^{ir}.
 91. Werke, StA, VI, 127-135; C.R., XXVIII, 415-424.

92. *Werke*, StA, VI, 130, 7-17; C.R., XXVIII, 418: "Docentur etiam homines Sacramenta esse actiones divinitus institutas, et *extra usum* institutum res ipsas non habere rationem Sacramenti, sed *in usu institutio* in hac communione vere et substantialiter adesse Christum et vere exhiberi summentibus corpus et sanguine Christi, Christum testari, quod sit in eis, et faciat eos sibi membra, et quod abluerit eos sanguine suo. . . .
- In ipso autem ritu servamus moram usitatum universae Ecclesiae veteris, Latinae et Graecae." Italics added.
93. *Loci* (1550) pp. 444, 445.
94. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 191. Chester, p. 308. Foxe wrote in the 1563 edition that Rogers said, according to Chester, pp. 348, 349: "For I cannot understand (really) substantially to signify otherwise there corporally: but corporally Christ is onely in heaven, and so can not Christ be corporally also in your sacrament." So also in the nineteenth century editions, VI, 598, except for differences in spelling and orthography.
- In 1556 the clergy of Ditmarsch adopted a thorough Lutheran statement about the Lord's Supper. See footnote 28 above. This, of course, does not say that this, too, was Rogers' position in 1555. It suggests that Rogers agreed with this doctrine while in Meldorf and that he may well have continued to hold this view as late as January 1555.
95. *Werke*, StA, I, 297, 18-23; *Selected Writings*, p. 125.
96. See above page,
97. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 201. Chester, pp. 316, 317.
98. Chester, p. 418.
99. "Officium Dni contra Johannem Rogers, alias Mathewe," Br. Mus. Harl. MSS, 421, fol. 40^r; Chester, p. 423.
100. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 183 and fol. 184; Chester, p. 295 and p. 297.
101. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 183; Chester, p. 296.
102. *Loci* (1550), p. 236; *Werke*, StA, I, 335, 39; and many other places.
103. Melancthon contended for this especially in the *Apology of the Confessio Augustana*, which has appeared in many editions. The standard modern translation is in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1959), pp. 97-285.
104. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 183; see also passim, especially fols. 190, 201, 204-206; Chester, pp. 295, 296; also pp. 306, 314, 315, 321, 325.
105. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 1185. Chester, p. 299.
106. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 190; Chester, p. 306.
107. Br. Mus. Lansdowne MSS, vol. 389, fol. 204; Chester, p. 321.
108. See especially pp. above.
109. *Waying and considering of the Interim*, Sig. B. iiiir.
110. E.g., Ludwig von Pastor, XII, 484, records the hopes expressed at the time that Melancthon would be regained for the Roman Catholic Church.
111. *Waying and Considering of the Interim*, Sig. A. iir^v.
112. Chester, pp. 63, 64, likewise remarked: "In the first paragraph of the Preface, Rogers would seem to have foreshadowed the constancy and firmness which he himself was afterwards to manifest, . . ."
113. C. Rolfs, *Urkundenbuch zur Kirchengeschichte Ditmarschens besonders im 16. Jahrhundert* (Kiel: In Kommission bei Robert Cordes, 1922), pp. 325-327, no. 76. I owe this reference and a xerox copy of the

- published letter to Dr. Rudolph Nissen, Director of the Museum in Meldorf. The original manuscript in the Staatsarchiv of Hamburg was destroyed by fire according to Dr. Nissen. Since this letter has not been translated into English and has not been cited by any writer, I am submitting a translation of the letter as Appendix I to this essay.
114. I have not been able to uncover a letter to Queen Mary on this subject.
 115. Chester, pp. 259-271, has a biographical sketch of Daniel Rogers; Sidney Lee, "Daniel Rogers (1538?-1591)," *D.N.B.*, XLIV, 116, 117. There is no entry in the *Album Academiae Vitenbergensis* (cf. footnote 25) of Daniel Rogers' matriculation.
 116. Chester, p. 265.
 117. Royal Manuscript Commission, *Fourth Report on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Edward Eyre and William Spothiswoode, 1874), p. 252, in the manuscripts of the Marquis of Hertford.
 118. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
 119. *Ibid.*
 120. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
 121. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-254.
 122. Laurentius Humphrey, *Ioannes Ivelli Angli, Episcopi Sarisburiensis vita & mors* (London: John Day, 1573), Sigs, Pp. iiij^t-v. Br. Mus. press-mark 1308. (1.). The poem is quoted incompletely by Anthony Wood, *Athenae oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss (3rd ed.; London, 1813), I, col. 570n.
 In the Patrick Papers, 45, no. 6, in the Cambridge University Library, there are letters of Melanchthon and Daniel Rogers to J. Acontius. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1867), V, 186. The letters are significant here only because both Melanchthon and Daniel Rogers wrote to Acontius, the humanist. Both letters are undated.
 123. The editor, Rolfs, takes this reference as evidence that Rogers went to England in 1550. There is ample evidence that he went to England in 1548. The date in the letter is inexact.