

The Debellacyon of Salem and Bizance made by Syr

Thomas More. Anno Domini. 1533.

After he had gyuen over the
office of lord Chamber-
cellour of Eng-
lande.
(.)

The declaracion of the title.

The Debellacion of Salem & Bizans sometime two great townes, which being vnder the great Turke, were betwene Easter & Michelmas last passed, this present yere of our lord. M. v. C. thirty and thye, with a meruallouse metamorphosis, enchanted and turned into two englishe men, by the wonderfull inuentiue witte and wichecraft of Syr John Some say the Pacifier, and so by him conuaded hither in a Dialogue, to defende hys deuision, against y Apology of Syr Thomas More knight. But now being thus betwene the sayd Michelmas and Halowentpde next ensuing in this Debellacion vaintiquished: they bee fledde hense and vanyshed, and are become two townes

agayne with those olde names chaunged. Salem into Hierusalem Bizance into Constantinople, the one in Grece, the other in Siria, where they may see them that wyl, and winne them that can. And if the Pacifier conuete them hyther againe, and tenne sache other townes with them, embatailed in such dialogues: Syr Thomas More hath vnder taken, to put himselfe in thadventure alone against them all. But and if he let them tary still there: he wyl not vterly forsweare it, but he is not much minded as yet, age now so comming on and warping all vnto feloyp, to goe thither & give thassente, to such well walled townes, withoute some such lusty company as shalbe somewhat lykely to leape vp a litle more lightly.

The prefacc.

Syr Thomas More to the
christen readers.

If any mā meruail (as I weene some wyle men wyl) y euer I would vouchsafe to bestowe anye tyme aboute making aunswere to y pacifiers dialogue, considering his faint and hys feble resoning: I can not in good fayth well excuse my selfe therein. For as I sodainely went in hād therewith, and made it in a byside: so whā I since considered how lyttle nede it was, I meruailed mine own self and repēted to, that I had not regarded the booke as it was worthy, and withoute any one worde let it euen alone.

Howbeit good readers what one

thing or twaine specially moued me to make aunswere to it, and howe it hap- ped me to fall in hande therewith, and to spende and lese a litle time about it, to make the matter the more plaine vnto you: that thing shal I shew you.

As sone as mine apologie was ones come out abroad, anone herde I worde that some were very wrothe therewith. And yet in my minde had there no man cause, neither preacher nor pacifier, no nor none heretike neyther. For I had but spoken for my selfe, and for good folke, and for the catholike faith, without reproche or repwse to any mannes person, or willing any man any harme that wers willing to mende. And who so were willing to be nought still, had cause to be wroth w himselfe you wote well and not with me.

But all thys would not serue me, for very wroth wer they with me. Howbeit they?

A theire causelesse angre did not greatly greue me. For I was not so farre vnrasonable, as to looke for reasonable mindes in vnrasonable men.

But than herde I shortly y thicke and thze folde y pennies went to worke, and aulweres were a making, diuers, by diuerse very great cunning menne. And of thys trauail of such great mountaine hilles, I herde much speach made almost euery weeke: so serforth that at last it was told me for trowth, that vnto one little piece, one greate cunning mā had made a long aunswere, of twelue whole sheetes of paper, witten nere to gither and with a small hande.

But in good fayth I could but laugh at that. For as for that ptece, I was verie sure y the cunningest man y could come therto, neither in tenne sheetes nor in tenne queres neither, wite as nere as he coude, should neuer aunswere it well.

C For that peice was the aunswere y in mine apology I make, as you se ther vnto certaine sermons, wherein my dyalogue was touched for wzing agaynst Tindalles false trāfacion. And wherin was also defended againste my confutacion, Tindalles wise chapter, in which agaynst my dialogue he laboureth to proue that the woorde was befoze the churche, and in all his chapter neuer toucheth the pointe, and the sermon that defended him, walketh as wyde as he.

D It was tolde me as I saye that aunswere was made to that place, & what wist there was found to the remanant that could I not here. But to the firste point I heard say that there was deuyfed, that whereas I rehearse that the preacher spake of poisoned breade, I reherfed him wzing. For he spake but of moulden breade. And this piece it was told me that in y new aunswere it was reasoned at lēgth, & set forth very luffely. But come the booke abrode ones, I shal sone abate that corage. For first sith hee taketh recozde that he sayd but mouldy breade: if I bring witness also that he saied poisoned breade, than can his wptnesse stande him in none other stede, but for to proue for hym that hee sayd both.

Secondly shall I proue that he sayd poisoned bread, by such meanes y men shall see by reason, that though the tother were possyble: yet was it farre vnlphely.

E Finally shall I farther proue, that though the man had sayd not poisoned breade but onely moulden breade: yet shall I proue I saye, that as the case stode, that same not poisoned bread but moulden breade, was yet for all that a very poisoned woꝛde.

F Hering therfore that this gay booke was made of the. xii. sheetes of paper, & lacked but ouerlooking, and that many moe were in hand that shortly shoulde coe out: like as an husband, whose wife were in her trauaile, herkeneth euerye hand while, and faine would here good tydings: so sith I so much hearde of so fore trauaile of so many, so cunning about diuers aulweres, I lodged of their long labour to se soe good speede, & soe of thole faire babes bozne y thei trauailed on. And whē these gret hilles had thus trauailed longe, from the weeke after Ester till as moch afore Michelmas: y god houre came on as god would, that one was brought a bedde, with fore labour at last deliuered of a dead moule. The mother is yet but grene god soule, and hath nede of good keeping: women wote what caudell serueth agaynst her after thzowes.

G Now after that the booke was oute and came into mine hādes, and that I saw the maner and the fashion thereof: twoo thinges onely moued me to wite and meddle with it. One that I sawe therin folowed and pursued, the selfe same shrewed malicouse intent y was purposed in his first booke of deuifion, that is to witte to make the ordinaris with seare of flaunder & obloquie, leaue their datties vndone and let heretyques alone, and ouer that with an euil newe chaunge of good olde lawes, labour to put heretykes in courage, and thereby decay the fayth.

H This was in dede the very specfall point that made me wite yet agayne. And yet founde I so little reason in his reasoning, that mee thought it shoulde not nede. For this wist I very wel, that whosoouer had wytte, and would conferre and compare togiſher, the woꝛdes of hys aunswere with the woꝛdes of mine Apologye, shoulde sone perceue that hys aunsweres were eny very dull and dede.

Iut then was there another thyng that I considered in it, whych points vnprouided for might soone deceiue the reader. For albeit the pacifier hath in some places put in mine owne woꝛdes where

And so doe heretikes most comenly
 A where it pleased him: yet hath he for the most part bled a pzetty craft, to misse rehearke my mater and leaue my woordes out. *¶* And besides thys, the mā hath in some places left out soe of his owne, and misse rehearsed them to make the reader wene, that in the reproving thē, I had wrytten wozonge.

Now had I suppoled to remedy those thinges, & make him an aūswer in three or foure leaues, with only pointing the reader to the places, with wryting in what lease he should finde h̄ mater. For the woordes ones red: the trowth should shewe it selfe.

But while I was thus m̄nded and went there aboute: his aūswere in his dialogue had founden such a way with walking to and fro, keeping no maner order, and therewith making me seke so long for some one place that I saw wel I should soner aūswere him al newe, then find out for many thinges h̄ place that I should seke for.

I made therfoze in few dayes, thys aūswere that you see. And some suche places yet as I had happed to finde, I haue remitted the reader vnto in myne apologye, where for his ready finding, I haue numbred him the lease. And yet haue I for some folke done somewhat moze to. For I see well surely many men are now a dayes so delicate in reading, and so lothe to labour, that they fare in other bookes as women fare w̄ their primer, which though they be content to saye sometime the systene psalmes, and ouer that the psalmes of the passion, if they finde them all faire sette out in order at length: yet wil they rather leaue thē all vnlayed, then turne backe to seke them out in other parties of their primer.

D And therfoze leasse some readers might hap in this booke to doe the same: some places of the apoligy much necessarie and not longe, that with muche seking I fortunē to finde out, to ease h̄ readers labour, and make all open vnto him, I haue putte in also, into myne aūswere here. *¶* And yet ouer thys in the thinges of most weight, I haue put into this booke hys owne woordes to. And so shall you good readers w̄ out any paine of seking, haue all h̄ matter plaine and open afoze your yien, that ye shall well se that I loue h̄ light, no lesse then this pacifier would sayne walke in the darke. For as the darke is in thys matter all hys auauntage: enē

so is verely the light in like wise myne. **C** And whereas there are some that comende his aūswere, for the compendious breuite therof and thoznesse: I no thing therein enuy the mannes prayse, For like as no man can make a thozter course then he that lacketh both his legges: so can no mā make a thozter booke than he that lacketh as well woordes as matter. And yet when by the places conferred wel together, the feblenesse of his aūswere shall appere: then shall he lese prayse of thoznesse to. For whē it shall wel be sene, that he sayth nothing to the purpose: then shall euery wise manne thynke hys booke to longe by all cogit ther. And that ye may well perceyue h̄ so it is in dede, lette vs now leaue of the preface & fall vnto the matter.

The first chapter.



In this fyrst chapter he toucheth three thinges. One h̄ I haue deceiued hys hope, in that I haue not in mine apologye deuised some conuenient wayes to reforme and redresse the deuision betwene h̄ te-
 poral tpe and the spiritual tpe, to which point I wyll aūswere after in the touching of hys seconde chappter.

The tother point is, that sith he neuer found any faute in any wozke of mine, of which for other lettes he neuer redde none: he meruaileth much therfoze that I make such obieccion against his, and namely in that wozke which I woulde name an apologye, which name signifieth as hee sayeth an aūswere or a defence.

Nowe where thys good manne declareth what thing an Apologie is, and sayth that it is an aūswere or a defence for which cause he the moze meruaileth that I would in that booke wryte against any treatise of his, who neuer had any thing wryte against any wozke of mine as though that therfoze my wryting agaynst hys wozke woulde in no wise agre with h̄ name of my booke: I might aūswere him that the touching of his booke, was but an incident as I shewe in the. 100. lease of my sayd booke, and not my principall matter, and therfoze of many noughty thinges I touch there but a fewe, and suche as were in no wise to be dissembled.

But nowe meruaile I muche moze, wherfoze he should so meruaile, that I would

Awoulde in the woꝝke which I name an aunswere oꝝ a defence, wꝛite agaynst his woꝝke which nothing wꝛote agaynst myne. foꝝ if the thyng that I wꝛite agaynst his woꝝdes, be an aunswere oꝝ a defence in dede: then though it be not a defence foꝝ my selfe, yet is the cause of all hys meruayle gone. foꝝ in þ booke that is called mine apology, it is not required by the nature of that name, that it be any aunswere oꝝ defence foꝝ mine owne selfe at all: but it sufficeth that it be of mine owne making an aunswere oꝝ defence foꝝ some other.

B And as these titles *Cablicium Sinecii*, *Moria Erasmi*, bee names conuenient foꝝ those booke of theires, though þ matters in those booke signified by those names do not only pertaine vnto *Sinecius* & *Erasmus*, oꝝ peradventure to neyther of theym both at all: so may my booke well beare the name of an aunswere oꝝ a defence, yf it bee an aunswere oꝝ a defence made by mee, though it were all made foꝝ other folke, and not one pyece thereof made foꝝ me.

C So is it now that mine apologye is an aunswere and a defence, not onely foꝝ my foꝝmer booke, wherin the new bꝛethꝛen began to fynd certayne fautes, but ouer that in the self same part wher in I touch the booke of deuision, it is an aunswere and a defence foꝝ many good woꝝthyful folke, agaynst þ malicouse flander and obloquye so generally set foꝝth, with so many false some sayes in that sedicouse boke.

D The selfe same pyece is also an aunswere and a defence, of the very good old and long approued lawes, both of thys realme and of the whole cozps of chꝛistendome, which lawes thys pacifier in his booke of deuision, to thencoꝝagynge of heretikes and peryll of the catholyke sayth, with warme woꝝdes and colde reasons oppugneþ.

And finallye foꝝ as much as many good vertuous folke began vpon that ill booke of deuision to haue a ryght euill oppynion of the maker hymself, whome I foꝝ hys playne confession of the true sayth, rooke and take yet foꝝ a man good and catholyke: therfoꝝe I in many places of mine apologye, lay the faute fro the man hymselfe, vnto some wylp thꝛewes that deceiued him. And so was mine apologye an aunswere also and a defence, foꝝ the persõ of the pacifier hymselfe.

And where hee goeth aboute nowe

foꝝ to confute it: there is not in all the remenaunt of hys aunswere one pyece y any thyng appeireth any point of mine Apology. Howebeit of trouth in this poynt he goeth most nere me. foꝝ thys aunswere hath he made in such maner wise, that I shall haue now much moze a doe then I than hadde, to make anye wylse manne weene that euer hymselfe ment well.

And yet wyl I not leane it so, but still will put it from him to some false wylp thꝛewes, though the man do as he doth, say cõtrary therto hymselfe.

And the moze the man denieth that thing hymselfe: the moze hee maketh it lykely to be true. foꝝ when in the thynges þ so plaine appere so nought, he rather taketh the matter all whole vpon him, then suffereth any part to be layed from hym, but if the man haue an impoꝝtune pꝛide as by Goddes grace hee hath not: els is it a sure signe and a god toke, that he is such a good simple soule as soone may be deceyued, whils we see that his wylp serueth him no better, but that hee woulde rather appere malicyouse then vnwise.

But now þ I haue pꝛoped hym that þ the name of Apologye, may serue very well foꝝ every pyece of my booke: now wil I so what see how þ matters of hys booke agre well with the name therof. I meane not here his booke of deuision. foꝝ of that booke the name and the matter agree together well, but I meane of hys new booke that we bee now in hande wyth, which booke as appereth in the first front of the booke leafe is named *Salem* and *Wisance*. And therein of an hũdꝛed and six leaues (foꝝ so many bee in the booke) there are scant fully sixtene, that any thing agre with the name.

Now if he wil say that the communicacion betwene *Salem* and *Wisance* is but a bye matter beside, and that all the remanant betwene theyꝝ talkynge, is the very booke, than is it woꝝse, foꝝ then hath hys booke neuer a name at all.

Moze ouer if it so were: then shoulde none of the thꝛee last chapters beare þ names that they dooe, that is to witte þ *rrq. the. xxij.* and þ. *rriiij.* chapter, but likewise as he calleth the beginning of theire communicacion before his matter, an introduccion: so shoulde he haue called those thꝛee chapters after hys matter, an extraduccion.

And

A And yet I wote not wel what I may say therof. For in the beginning of the booke, their first communicacion is called an introduccio, and so is it entiled upon the leaues. And yet in the very ende of that introduccion befoze the firste chapyter the man sayeth hymself in the person of Bizance, that hee hath made as yet none introduccion at all. What he meaneth by this can I not tell, but if he meane to make men wene that Salē and Bizance weretwoo Englishe mē in dede, and spake those woordes theselve without any woerde of hys.

But now because he sheweth himself so cunning in greke woordes, that upon this woerde apologye, he findeth y afoze saied sawe with myne apologye: as though I were overseene and obserued not the nature of an Apology: let vs se how well hymselfe that in the begynning calleth hys booke a dialogue, obserueth the nature and ppropertye of a dialogue.

C In the thirde leafe when Salem sheweth himselfe desirous to se the pacifiers aunswere: Bizance aunswereth:

Ishal cause it to be written here after in this dialogue woerde for woerde, as it is come to my handes, and then thou shalt wyth good will haue it. And thou shalt vnderstande that hys aunswere begynneth at the nexte chapyter hereafter ensuyng, and continueth to the place where Ishal shew thee that it endeth.

Consider good readers that thys introduccion he dothe not bringe in, as a rehearsal of a communicacion hadde befoze, but as a communicacion present.

D And then let hym shewe me where euer he hath herde in his lyfe any twoo men in their talking together, deuise their present communicacion into chapyters. This is a point not onely so farre fro y nature of a dialogue, but also from all reason, that a very childe woulde not I weene haue handeled the thyng so childshelpe.

Also that Bizance telleth Salē that the pacifiers aunswere shal be wyrtten into their dialogue, y is to wit to their communicacion: who saw euer the like Who saw euer any thing written into a communicacion, and wyrtyn plantid in a mong woordes spoken.

And what reason hath it to tell hym where about in their communicacion, the pacifiers woordes shal beginne and where they shal ende: as though Salē

talking with Bizance, had not y wyrtte to perceiue whē Bizance speaketh himself and when he rebeth him the pacifiers woordes wyrtten.

Also what a straunge monstrous beast maketh Bizance to Salem the pacifiers aunswere, while he maketh as though Salem coulde neither perceiue the hed nor the taile, but if himselfe pointed him to them both with a sicke.

Moreouer whereas Bizance sayeth he wil wyrtte it into their dialogue, that is to witte into their present talking as soone as it cometh to hys handes, so that at that woord he had it not yet, and than hee wyrtteth it in, euen by and by, & neither goeth any where to set it, nor maketh anye man come thither to hym to bringe it: is not this properly deuised?

Chan stande they both styll there as they first meete, and that is in the strete by lykelyhode (for there folke most commonly meete, that meete at aduenture as they doe) and there is all y aunswere perused, the reading whereof standeth them at the least foure or fyue howres I trow. Whatbeit there I was a lyttle ouersene, for they stande not there still aboute the reading, but there stande they still both twayns al the while that Bizance is as you se into their talking and communicacion wyrtting it. And that is but if Bizance wyrtte fast, I warrant the worke of a weke.

Now than at the weckes ende when all the .xxi. chapyters are wyrtte: Bizance in the .xxij. chapyter giueth Salē warning, that there is the aunswere of the pacifier ended. And this was by the pacifier sole prudently deuised. For elles woulde Salem weene that their owne talking together in y rather three chapyters by mouth, had ben styll nothing els but onely Bizances wyrttinge, and els woulde also Salem haue thought that hys owne woordes of exhortacio against the great Turke, and hys owne rehearsal of that exposition of the apocalips, had ben still y pacifiers woordes against myne apology.

And finally in the very ende to shew that he could wyrtte, not in onely prose: hee endeth all the whole booke in thys wyse with a glozious verse, & And thus y glozious ministe, haue in his keying both thee and me, & and maketh Bizance pray for no more but for them two, after the manner of the good man Gymer, a musterde maker in Cambridge, y was wont to pray for hymselfe and his wife and

Crime the
murderde ma-
kers page 1.

And hys childe, and grace to make good musterde and no moze.

And thus you see good readers that where this man is so cunning in greke mozdes, that he can shortly find y^e taute where I sayle in the nature of an apology: hymselfe in hys owne dialogue so well conserueth the propertye of a dialogue, & expreth it so naturally, that it could neuer be done moze naturally, not though he that wroze it were euen a very naturall in dede.

But where he seemeth to haue meruailed whan he redde myne apologye, that I would make obieccions against hys wozke, while he neuer wroze any thing against no booke of mine: in good faith if he had, I would neuer haue bene the moze hasty, but somewhat praduature the lesse, lest it might haue senced that some desyre of reuengyng myne owne displeasure, had excited me therto, wher as now no worldly profite growing to mee thereby, there is muche lesse cause for any good man to thinke, that I would take y^e labour to wryte against a wozke I wyll not whose, but if that it had at the lest wyls senced to my selfe, y^e there were such thinges therein as god would gyue me thanke, to gyue menne warning to be well ware of them.

And where he saith he wyl not touch euery thing particulery, but take an o^rther order al out of order in answering therunto: I can not let hym in his own booke to vse what order that beste may serue his purpose. But me thought and yet thynke, that I my selfe toke a very plaine open waye, whan the chapters of hys, which I woulde aunswere to, I perused alway euery thinge in order. Which order while he foloweth not w^o me: how pou shal finde it, your self shal good readers iudge vpon the ende. But yet in the means while at the fyrst face, it seemeth not that with leaping oue of order, he meaneth to make pou the matter very playne.

Moze al, he sayth he wyl not aunswere neyther, for auoyding of tediousnesse. And of trouth if he haue (as he seemeth to signify) any other businesse: I thynke it be somewhat tediousse to him to aunswere all together.

Finally where he sayeth that he supposeth to make it appere as by hys answers, and by hys considerations and hys declaracions, that myne obieccions are lyttle to be pondered: first for hys argumentes made agaynst the lawes,

whereby the faith is preserued, and herespes kept vnder, those argumentes al hys answers will neuer be able to maintaine. And as to the remenaunt, in good faith the better y^e he may make you hys innocent minde appere, the gladder a great deale wil I be thereof, noz nothing purpose I therein by thys present booke to doze farther, than to make you clerely perceiue, that howe well so euer hymselfe here declare hys good meaning, my selfe was not causelesse there moued to synde sawte in hys wryting.

The second chapter.



In the .ii. chapyter begynning in the fifth leafe, hee byingeth forth the first consideration, which is that I in the .59. leafe of myne apology confesse that murmur and discencion against the clergy was than already farre gone onwarde in hys vnhappy turney, and that afterward in the .106. leafe of the same booke, I bying in a very darke sentence, whereby it appereth that I meane that the displeasure and grudge betwene them is in dede neither so great as he maketh it, and yet growen to so great as it is, but eue now of late. But who so loke ther in that place, shall I suppose finde it nothing darke, but if it be suche a man as list not to vnderstand it.

And where I saye there, that thys deuision such as it is, which is nothinge such as thys man maketh it, is not growen to so great as it is, but since that Lindaltes booke and Frithes, & frere Barns, began to goe abrode: therein he would seme to saye the contrarye, and byddeth me looke better vpon the matter, and I shall finde it other wyse.

And in dede wyth better lookyng thereon, I finde it somewhat otherwyse. For I finde the time of suche encrease as I speake of, much shorter than I there asigne, and that by a great deale. For it was growen the greater by the occasio of the selfe same booke of the deuision, though the maker as hymself sayth and as I trust to, intended it not of purpose. And therfore where he sayth that sith I confesse that there was deuision at the tyme of the making of mine apology, it appereth that I haue no mynde to haue it craced, because that I seke not oute y^e causes and deuise the remedies: bereyve
good

A good readers I neuer tooke and accōp-
ted my selfe for a man meete and able to
make a refozmacion, of such two great
partes as the spiritalty and the tempo-
raltie of this wholie realme be. And be-
rely if I knew some such great causes
as thys mā setteth forth for true, which
I know for false, and that I than knew
the wayes to refozme them to: I would
vse other wayes toward it, than sediti-
ouse flauderouse bookes. For as I haue
expresly declared in myne apologye,
Weyther neuer dyd I, nor neuer entend
to do, put out abrode in pꝛynt vnder co-
lour of refozmacion, fautes that were
hateful and odious to here, syther of þ
tone parte or of the tother, and specially
so many at ones, as if they were al true,
wer not al likely to be remedied at ones
but the moze parte for the whyle remain-
ing lyttle remedied, should but make
either parte to the other moze odious,
& both partes moze infamous, amonge
such other (if any such any where be) as
would be glad and reioice to here much
Ceuill spokey of them both.

And thys I say although that al wer
true. And now would I much lesse vse
that maner in making reherſal of those
thinges, wherof many be false and vn-
true, and many other also very trifles,
and the very chiefe thynges that thys
pacifier desyrez to haue refozmed, bee
lawes already well made, whiche hee
would haue made worse. For where
they haue ben by wyse men wel deuised
for the repressing of heresies, some by
parliament in thys realme, some by
the generall counsaile of chꝛyſtendome:
those deuise hee so to be chaūged now,
as the chaūge which he desyrez though
by goddes grace he dlieth not that it so
should, yet out of doubt in dede should
turne to thencozaging of heretikes and
entrece of heresies, with the minishe-
ment and decay of the catholike chꝛyſte
faith. Wherupon would not fayle whi-
che almighty god kepe from vs, his gre-
uouse indignacion vpon vs. And there-
fore God keepe vs from suche refozma-
cions.

How to lay to me therfore as a great
faute, that I blame hys booke in those
vnttrue some sayes, that vnder colour of
ceasing deuision, excite and set forth de-
uision, but if my selfe coude cease it.
Whan sache booke make it: is muche
like, as if he would say that there ought
no man to blame hym that would burn

by a nother mannes house, but he that
would build it againe,

And therfore wyth thys good reason
of hys, he putteth me in remembraunce
of an aunſwere, that a manne of myne
made ones much after the same fashio.
I had soetime one to me called Cliffe, a
man as wel knowen as maister Henry
Patenson. Thys Cliffe had ben many
yeres map, but age had raken fro hym
þ rage, so that he was merely wel ware
harmelesse among folke. In to Cliffes
head came there sometime in hys mad-
nesse such imaginacions against yma-
ges, as these heretiques haue in theyze
sadnesse. For lyke as some of them whi-
che after fledde and ranne away, & some
fell to theste and were caught, pulled
downe of late vpon London bꝛidge the
image of the blessed mary: saye Tho-
mas: so Cliffe vpon the same bꝛidge vpon
a time fel in talking vnto an ymage
of our blessed lady, and after such blas-
phemyes as the deuill put than in hys
mouth, & now a daves bloweth out by þ
monthes of many heretiques, whych
seeme they neuer so sadde, bee yet moze
madde than he: he set hand vpon þ child
in her arme and there bzake of the neck,
And afterward whā honest men, dwel-
lers vpon the bꝛidge, came hōe to myne
house & there blamed Cliffe befoze mee,
and asked hym wherfore he bzake of the
chilbes necke in our ladies arme: whan
Cliffe had heard them, he began to lōke
well and earnestly vpon them, and like
a man of sadnesse and grauste, he asked
theym, tell me thys amonge you there,
haue you not yet set on hys head againe?
No quod they we can not. So Cliffe
by þ masse it is the moze shame for you.
Why speake you to me of it than?

And cūen thus aunſwereth me now
thys good man, whych wher hys sedy-
cious some sayes set forth deuision, and
bzake the chilbes necke rekeneth it a
shame for mee to synde any faute wyth
hym for the bzeking but if my selfe coude
glue it together agayne.

And therfore wher he sayeth that
I should haue pꝛoued, that all the cau-
ses that he layeth as causes of deuision,
be no causes of deuision, or els I should
haue deuised þ remedies: albeit I haue
aunſwered him therin already, yet this
I say therin farther, that I haue pꝛoued
well and clerely, that the very chiefe
cause that hee layeth, is layed very vn-
truelly, that is to wytte the myſtehan-
delyng

helping the people to their distruccon
vpon suspencion of heresy.

Whiche cause if it were as true as it is
false were so weighty, that it were well
worthy to be layed for a matter of deu-
sion. And while it is not true: yet by such
bookes being blowen aboute in euerye
parte of the realme for true, may well
misshapen to make a dyuision, whyle
the dwellers in euery quarter about by
credence gyuen to the booke, may at the
first face wene, that though it be not so
there as they dwell themselves, yet weene

R I say that it were so in all other places.
Wherof though they shall by leysoure
perceyue the contrary with search: yet
they that aske no farther question, shall
believe it still. And so a rumour ones
begonne and spread abroad, is not after
soone remoued.

Rumour.

So as for hys other causes of thys
deuision: diuerse I haue touched & the-
wed sufficiently that they be not suffy-
ciet. But as for me to peruse hys whole
booke of deuision thow, was no part
of my purpose. For if those thinges that
I did touch had seemed to me tollerable:
I would in god faith haue bene loth to
haue touched them either.

C In whych whyle wyth his conspde-
rations and declaracions hee goeth a-
boute nowe to shewe that he than ment
none harme: I will not therein much
hinder him, but be gladd rather to for-
ther hym in the excuse of his meaning &
so did I as I haue sayd euen in mine a-
pology to. But though I be gladd to
excuse hys own mynde in the meaning:
yet canne I not excuse hys vnwyle so-
lowing of false wyse counsaile in the
doing.

D

The .vij. chapter.



The thyrde chappter contay-
ning his second consideraci-
on, rede and consyder it who
so list, for I can see nothyng
in it to be considered by mee.

For in effecte it conteyneth nothyng
els, but that he would the clergy should
as much as they may auoyde all occa-
sion of murmure and grudge, of the te-
poralty toward them, but if it be phari-
saycall grudge yea and though the dede
that they should forbear were good, in
whiche point because I one point would
were a longe woork, I will fall in no
dispicions. But in as far forth as he gy-
ueth any man good counsaile and wis-

sheth all thyng well: so far forth shall
hee and I not varye, but and hee call
me to hym, I wyll sitte and praye for it
wyth hym.

But yet where he sayeth in the ende
of the chapiter, that I endeuour my self
bery much, to oppresse al them that wil
shew such thinges of the spiritualty: in
dede some such as haue made such lyes,
I haue tolde it them. But as for my op-
pression let hym proue one, and let hym
call that one. xx. And if he canne proue
none as I wote well he can not: then
good readers let hym be belyeued ther-
after.

More ouer where he sayeth that I in
my minde proue it an incollerable de-
faute in the people for missejudging the
clergy, whereas I thinke they haue no
caule so to doe, and that therein I leane
them, as though al the whole cause and
principall defaute, were in the tempo-
ralty, wherewith he saith that my sudge-
ment is farre deceiued: in thys point
good reader he sayth somewhat to me if
he sayd true, And sure if he thoughte
he wote hercin true, then wysedome
would he shoulde haue wrytten myne
owne wordes in. And if he feared that
it would be founden false: then honesty
would that he should haue left hys own
wordes out. But verely good readers
and he seeke thys seuen yere, he shall in
all mine apology fynde you no sache
wordes of mine. But hee shall fynde
farre the contrary. For I dooe there I
wote wel, in such places as I shew that
me were vnreasonable that would take
thys thyng or that thing (such as I re-
hearse of his bringyng forth) for any re-
sonable cause of deuision: there I say in
those places that the pacifyer misse sai-
eth the people, and that the people be
muche more reasonable than to take it
so. And therefore here hee belleteth mee
againe.

And also let hym shew you forth any
one place, in whiche I saye that all the
whole faute or the principall faute ey-
ther, is in the temporalty, and than be-
lieue hym the better in a nother matter.
And in the meane whyle till he bringe it
forth, or els that you fynde it your self:
ye may wyth reason, at the least wise in
thys matter beleue me better then him,
and I will neuer desire you to belyeue
me one day longer. For I haue neyther
layed the principall faute in the tyme nor
the tother. And thus hath hee made you
of me thre lyes in one chapiter.

The

A The. lxxx. chapter.

In hys fourthe chapter begynning in the eight leafe, he fynde theweth a dyuersitye betwene the sample that I put in the. 94. leafe of myne appology, of a pacifier betwene a mā and his wyfe, and the thing that I there resemble it vnto, that is to wytte, hys otone booke, that maketh a like pacificacion betwene the tempoꝛal tye and spiritual tye.

But surely the difference that he putteth, semeth to my poore wytt greatly to apayre hys part. For if it be as he sayth it is, that where as the husbāde would be lothe to heare any euyl spoken of hys wyfe, and therefore wil can such a pacifier no thanke, that wyll tell hym suche tales of her befoze his neyghbours: the tempoꝛal tye will be glad to heare harme spoken of the spiritual tye: then was it so much the worse done, to wypte openlye to the tempoꝛal tye suche thinges of the spiritual tye, to feede and nourishe anye such euyl delyt: or openlye to the spiritual tye, being as he said lyke wise affectionate, the fautes of the tempoꝛal tye. Howe be it I can not in good sayth saye, but if I shoulde belye hym, that on that syde wyllinglye he greatlye passed hys boundes, but of ouersight vntware, he hath in some thinges sclaundersed the tempoꝛal tye to.

Chen theweth he farther wherfoze he wrote those thinges in englyshe, though John Gerson wrote them but in laryn, wherin to sai the truth, he laieth a cause sufficient wherfoze that John Gerson wrote them in latine. But whyther he lay cause sufficient wherfoze hym selfe shoulde not rather haue let them alone, then wyrite them in englyshe, agāst the counsaile of John Gerson hym selfe as I touched in mine apology: that I leaue your self good readers to consider. For I wyl not muche strue agāst hys excuse. For I greatlye thal not nede I thik sith al his excuse amounteth to no moze, but that he ment that some laye men re-

Ddyngge the priestes fautes in englyshe, myghte put them in remembraunce to mende them, specially because he sayth even in the same chapter a lytle afoze, that the tempoꝛal tye so muche delyteth to heare of them.

Then goeth hee farther in the same chapyter, and where as in hys booke of the diuision, he woulde haue seemed betwene the tempoꝛal tye and the spiritual tye to haue spoken indyfferentlye, and

to haue tolde them their fautes on both partes egally: here in the seconde syde of the. r. leafe, he telleth vs the cause wherfoze he did not so, and sayth in this wyse. I haue spoken of defaults and abuses in the spiritual tye, moze then of defaults in the tempoꝛal tye, because the spiritual tye oughte to be the guiders and giuers of light by their doctrine & good examplis to the tempoꝛal tye, and if their lighte be darkents, where shall the tempoꝛal tye then fetch their lighte: trulye I wot not wher. And I dout that then they both thal walk still in darknes. And therfoze it is that John Chryllostom sayth by on Mathew p. xxi. chapi. That if priesthod be hole & sound, al the churche flourisheth: & if it be corrupt, the faith & vertue of the people faedeth also and vanissheth a way. Let this therfoze as to this poynte be the final conclusio for this tyme, that who so euer proueth defaults to be in the tempoꝛal tye, he proueth also defaultes to raigne in the spiritual tye: & therfoze h defaults in the tempoꝛal tye wll neuer be a noided, til the defaultes in the spiritual tye be first reformed: & therfoze haue I first spokē of some defaultes that be in the spiritual tye.

Surely good readers I like wel these woꝛdes. For they be very good, and they proue very wel, and verye trus it is, noz I neuer saide the contrary; but haue in myne apologye plainelye saide the same, h every fault in a spiritual man (though the thing were of it selfe al one) is yet by the difference of the person, farre worse and moze odious both to God and man, then it is in a tempoꝛal man. But yet the worse that every private spiritual mans faute is, so muche is it the moze harme to disfaime the corps of the spiritual tye openlye in the face of the tempoꝛal tye, in such maner as the booke of dyuisio doth, of which I haue proued those that are weighty false, & could (if I wold now lese time about it while that that I haue touched is sufficient) thew the substance of al the remanaunt to haue lyttle substance to.

And therefore the woꝛdes of saynte Chryllostom which he laieth for his boke were in part the verye cause that made me wyrite agāst his booke. For surelye as saynte Chryllostom saythe, if the priesthod be corrupt, the faith & vertue of the people faedeth & vanissheth away, which is without any question very truth, for though saynte Chryllostom had neuer said it, our sauour sayth as muche him selfe:

¶.i. ye be

Priesthode.

The fault of a spiritual mā.

Corrupt priesthode.

¶ Part. 5.

¶ Part. 5.

Ye be (saith he to the clergy) the salt of the earth, & if the salt ware ones fresh & weareth, wherin that any thing be well seasoned: And you be the light of the world. And therfore if the light be in the world, be dark: how dark that then the darkness be it self: But now say I sith that the priest hood be corrupted, it must nedes follow that the faith and vertue of the people fade and banissheth away, & upon Christes wordes it must follow, that if the spiritualty be nought, the temporalty must nedes then be worse then thei: therupon I conclude vpon the rather spede against the pacifiers booke, that sith this realme hath (as God be thanked in dede it hath) as good & as faithfull temporalty, & (though there be a fewe false brethren in a great multitude of a true catholik maner) as hath for the quantity any other cristen christened, it must nedes, I say follow the clergy, though it haue some such false noughty brethren to, is not in such maneer corrupted, as the booke of diuision goth about to make me wene, but as good for their part as the temporalty for theirs.

And therfore in like wise I saye, that vpon the self same wordes of saynt Christ some and of our sauour Christ: the sayd booke of the diuision in diffaming the spiritualty, diffameth the temporalty much more, which is the thing that as I said semeth me neither honozable nor profitible, in open printed booke, for any thing man to do, nor verill I think he maker wold not haue don, if he the had thought so far. But now goth he farther & saith: ¶ And though the maister of these can not deny these fautes (I suppose you haue heard me deny such as were the chiefe, & proued them I wene vntreue) yet al the amendements that he allegeth in his apology is onely in punishment of heresies, as is said before: wherunto he speciallly moueth the ordinaris not to be slack nor the more remysse for feare of euil words and sclander of the people. And if they be therfore the more slack in calling, attaching and examining, and farther ordering of heretiques: he saith God wyl not faile to make sal in their neckes the double sclander of that, from whence thei fledde. And in another place he moueth the temporalty to ioyne with the spiritualty eche with other louingly to repress and keepe vnder those ingracious folke, by whome he meaneth heretikes. Upon whych mocion I that somewhat shewe my mynde, as hereafter followeth in the next chapter. ¶

Here he complayneth agayne that I deuise no remedies, as though the whole prouision for all thing laye vpon myne hand. I do somewhat for my part, when I pray god to graue vs all the grace spiritual and temporal both, to keepe well and obserue such prouisions as God hath geuen good men the grace to make already. For if we keepe them well: I wene there are metely many made. And if we break the old: so wyl we by lykelyhood break these as well, that he wold haue me now deuise and find newe. And somewhat I do better for my part, whyle I labour to haue the good olde prouisions kept, the this pacifier dothe for his, whyle he laboureth to haue them broken, and namely those lawes that are of the very best, and made for the faith against heresies. But then laboreth he as me thynketh to make the brethren angry with me, and reherseth and inculketh into their eares, that I exhorte both the spiritualty and the temporalty to, those to whom the matter appertayneth, not to be any thing the more slack in repressing of heresies, for any feare of infamy.

Surely good readers what so ever I wrote in that behalfe: I wyl requyre euery man to haue it euen here, for wrytten and repeted agayne. For when we see that the wordes of his wryting, whiche I haue in myne Apology rehearsed you, how well so ever he ment therein (as I trust he met but well) haue yet the plaine open apparance in the, that they were well likely to put such as should see to the repressing of heresies, in dout and feare of infamy, and to be had among the people as folke suspect of myshandelynge good folke and of cruelty: I reken it the part of euery good man, that any zeale hath to the confuration of the catholik faythe, to encourage them on the tother side, to the doing of their dutye therein, and not to set the respect of their estimation among men (which yet that al so much the better conserue amonge all the people saue those fewe that are nought) before the sauing of their soules, and keeping the fauour of God: namelye by the the keepyng of people from heresies and putting the scabbed heretikes out of the cleane flocke, is one of the special things that thapostle gaue the bishop warning of. Let him finde out any word of mine, wherewith I woulde any harme to any man that woulde amend, and the let him lay it to me. An who so ever entendeth neuer to be good: I am well content the pacifier

And pacifier make him not my friend.

The v. chapter.

In the fyfte chapter he toucheth punishment of heresy, and diuideth the matter into.iiii. sortz of people, wherein for as muche as he noching sayth that toucheth me, I let them passe al fowere.

After those four sortz perused: he speaketh of the fyfth, which he very earnestly dilprayseth, that are those whiche take & hold contrary waies, to the true faith in dede. But then in y parte he much misliketh in me, both y I cal the anye euyll name, as the noughty bretch: or heretik bretch: & also that I cal the good names to, as the blessed bretzen & euangelical bretzen. And for the first in calling the ant such euill names: he saith I do not as I wold be don to, as appeareth he sayth in myne apology. Surelye I suppose he may therein fynde, that I force not what such as they be cal me. And I can wypte no warde word by them, I wot wel, the they wypte many by me.

And to as for to gyue euyll names to suche folke as are so euyl in dede: let him cal it railing at his pleasure, but how so euer it be in me. I wot well that some o^r ther haue done so, that yet were no raylours, except saint Paul wer a railour, when hee called hys carelesse keepers dogges, & when he called the chief priest a whpyted wal, whiche was a spgyhtfull word among them, & except saint Polycarpus railed, when he calleth the heretike Marcio the diuels eldest sonne, and except our saint our railed, whē he called the scribes and the pharisses hypocrites.

But then that I cal them again good names: this thing lo thys good man rekeneth a veri monstrous maner, to make them both good and badde. But thys is a monster lo of euery mā making. For so call not I them alone, but the whole people to, in such maner of speaking as euery man bseth, whē he calleth one self noughty lad, both a shyud boy & a good sonne, the tone in y proper simple spech, the tother by the fygure of ironye or antitypals. And by a lyke maner fygure saint Hierome against the olde heretike Vigilantius, calleth him somtyme Vigilantius, & somtyme agayne Dozmitantius, and so he calleth that heretike two contrarpe names, as wel as I do these.

And where he canne not tell what I meane by the newe bryched bletcherhed: that am I content to tell hym, I meane

that they be a baryl of popson, y the dyuel hath late set a bryche, and labourerth by them to popson other men.

And where he canne not beare it, that they beyng such should be called by the name of euangelicals: I wold allowe the good mynde of the good mā, that he ther in sheweth himsele so to beare to y faith that it greueth hym to heare heretikes called by suche a good gracious name. But he must consider that it is nowe, & some yeres alreby passed hath bene, the name by whych they haue bene as commonly called in al the countreyes catholyke, as by theyr owne very name of heretike. And the occasion thereof grewe fyfte of that, that theym selse tooke the name euangelical, arrogantly to the self both by the euangelical lyberty that they pretended, as souke that wold lyue vnder the gospel & vnder no mans lawe beynde, & because they wold also beleue no thing farther, the the very scrypture, al whych they take now vnder the name of the gospel. For the newe lawe they take for nothynge els, but for the declaracion and perfeccion of the olde.

Now when they had taken this name commonly vpon themself, the catholiks telling them, that they neither liued nor beleued accordyng to the gospell lettered not yet to cal them by the same name to, and that not to their prais, but to theyr rebuke and shame. And some turned in wyptyng that name of theirs in scoorne, and in stede of euangelicos, wrote the pseudo euangelicos.

Now if this man cā not beare it, that I cal them as the old folke do: though I wold my selse leaue it for hys pleasure that wold make ye wot wel but a smal chaunge. For other folke wyl call them styll yet by what name they lyst, and neither I nor he can let them.

But to thentent he may be somewhat the lesse discontent with me, for calling heretikes bi a good name: he shal vnderstand that vpon such occasion and suche maner, it is no newe begon thyng so to do. For a certayne sortz there wer of the heretikes that wer the Mantcheis, whiche were fyrt among them selse called by the name of Cathari, that is to witte pure and cleane, & afterward the catholykes called the by the same name. And so doth saint Austine also cal the in hys wytyng. But yet he declareth both their false heresies, & their secret shameful lyving for such, y though he cal the by the name of pure and cleane, as we call now

Euangelical;

C

Cathari

Act 23.

Math 23.

These brethren angelical, yet he ment that they wer neither pure noz cleane in dede, no moze then these folke in luyng or believe, folow the very gospel in dede.

But then cometh he for the bypon me somewhat solempnely with a very solp & with a solempne lye. For so god reders these are his woordes I warraunc you wyse and true.

And now wyl I say somewhat farther concerning this matter, and that is this. I maruel much how maister Doze durst for offence of his conscience, & for dread of the kynges displeasure, & of the whole realme, bying by suche a sclauderous name in this realme, and put it in print, that may lightly touch not onely many of the comon people, but also of the greatest of the realme, as wel spirituall as tempo:all: if he and other of his affinitie list to cal any of the one of the blessed brethren, or of the good brethren. And in this point it semeth that he forgat the honoure of the realme, whiche he semed much to regarde, when he said: he could not thinke it to the honoure of the realme that other realmes shuld wene, that the whole clergy of this realme shoud be so farre fallen into the grudge and indignacion of the whole tempo:al tpe, as he saith it is spokē to be in the said treatise, which he calleth the booke of diuision: for certainly it is moze dishonour to the realme, to haue it nolyed, that y realme is ful of heretikes, then that the tempo:ralty grudgeth against the spiritualty, & so he escheweth and flieth the lesse sclauder, though it were al true that he sayth & reneith headling into the greater.

And now wyl I say somewhat farther concerning this matter, and that is this. I maruel much how this man durst for offence of his conscience and displeasure of God, bying by suche a sclauderous lye bypon me, and wryte it in hys booke, that I shoud wryte in myne Apologye, that the realme is ful of heretikes.

If the case were nowe no better bypon my parte, noz no warre bypon hys, but that in mine apology ther could no such saying be founden: what rebuke were it yet unto him, if he were a man openly known by name: as now the shame cleueth not on hys cheekes, but he sone shaketh it of while hys name is not at hys booke. But now sithe that in myne apology I plainly wryte the contrary: what woordes wyl ther serue to say to thys man the thinges that he were in thys point very wel wo:thy to heare.

Reade good christen readers the xlvii chapter of myne apology, beginning in the 260. leafe and there shal you plainly see, that I save playne the contrarye. For where as this pacifier bidde in hys booke of diuision vnder the name of some other bylpe of likelyhood some of the spiritualty thā, surmitting that they as of polycpe noised that the realme is full of heretikes, moze then it is in dede, as he now helyeth me here, surmising that I do save the same: ye shall there see that I shewe it to be vnlykely, that any politic spiritual man would so say for polycpe, lyth so to say were for them: for y cause that I ther shew, veri farre against god policy. And there I farther shewe, that some heretikes haue falsely made that noise, & ther I tel for what cause. And afterward in fo. 268. I shew y for al they best bragig thei be yet in dede but a few.

How good readers when I thus haue wrytten there in both the places so open and so plaine, that the realme is not full of heretikes, noz hath therein but a few, though that fewe be in dede ouer many, and growen mo also by neglygence in some part, then there hath bene in some late yeares passed: how maye thys man fynde in hys hart for shame, to wryte in this wyse: and as it were with such authority so solempnely checke me falsely, for wryting that the realme is full, & the excuse his lyke faut by myne, and yet in the comparison make myne the greater: But now is al the craft of the comparison discouered, & the glozpe of that argument defaced, while you see that hys faut is true, and that myne he sayneth & findeth not in my booke, but plaine and expyressly the contrary, and that he spineth that syne lye with fier, fetchinge it out of his owne body as the spider spynneth her cobwebbe. And thus is my faut faire wiped away, & his lyeth spyl in his necke, and another noke layed vnto it.

Howe as this was no little folpe for him to lese his credence with that open lie, that might be so sone and so playnly controled and reproued: so is hys fyffe point also no lesse soli then that, wherein he marueleth so much that I dare for my conscience, and for displeasure of my prynce, and of the whole realme, bying by that sclauderous name in y realme to cal these heretikes the brethren, considering that it may lightly touch not onely any man of the comon people, but also of the greatest of the realme, as well spiritual as tempo:al, if epyther my selfe or any

Foz any of myne affinitie list to cal them, one of the blessed bʒethʒene, oz of the good bʒethʒen. This is sozlooth on the moſte ſimple ſoughte oute ſolpe, that euer I yet ſawe ſet out with high woʒds ſo ſolempnely. Foz firſt as ſoz to cal thē by the name of the bʒethʒen, is nothinge of my bʒinging by, but a woʒd walking in euery mans mouth (which thing I ca not belieue but this man well knoweth himſelfe, as ſtraunge as he maketh the matter) and begonne by the good blessed bʒethʒen them ſelf, as wel appeareth by on their own letters, inough to be ſhe wed at ſondʒʒ ſeaſons ſent betwene them.

Now touching the great feare & peril that he putteth, leaſt I oz ſome of myne affinitie may ſclaūder any of y greatest of y realme, if we list to cal any ſuch mā one of the good bʒethʒen: the good man may take his reſt I warrant hym, and ſhal not nede to bʒeak his ſlepe therfoʒe. Foz firſt as ſoz mine affinitie is not very great. Foz I have none affinitie, but as I thinke hymſelfe hath and euery oʒther man, that is to wʒt, eyther by goſſeped oz bi marriage, except he meane to cal al the true catholikes myne affinitie, and all the tother hys owne. And than whiche waye ſo euer he meane, a lewde ſclaūderous woʒds were as lykelye to happen in one of his affynytie as in one of myne. And as ſoz my ſelfe the pacifyer hymſelfe is (as his ſome ſayes thewe) ſomwhat moʒe ſet vppon an appetite of ſclaūdering then am I, whych beare a litle moʒe reuerence to the great men of the realme, ſpiritual and tempoʒal both and moʒe honeſt minde vnto y ſmal all, thē wʒongfully to byſſame eyther great oz ſmal, by calling either the tone oz the tother, anye of the blessed byched newe bʒoched bʒethʒerhead, except onely ſuche as by theyʒ owne open wʒitinges, oz by their open woʒdes, be playnely pʒoued heretikes. But yet conſider well good readers, what a wiſe reaſon this is that he bʒigetʒ foʒth. Foz what perill is ther of ſuche ſclaūder, moʒe by thys name of the good bʒethʒen, then by the tother name of heretikes: is not the olde name of heretykes, as ſclaūderous as thys new name of the blessed bʒethʒen: What name can thys good man deuife by hym ſelf to cal thē by, in whych name y ſame perypʒof ſclaūder may not fall as well as in thys: Wen may by thys wiſe reaſon cal them bi no name at al, ſoz feare leaſt I oz mine affinitie might if we list, call not onely any of the people, but alſo the

greatest ſozdes both ſpiritual & tempoʒal, by the ſame name, & ſo bʒing thē in ſclaūder, ſoz the ſclaūder is al one what ſo euer the name be, when the thinge is all one that is ment and ſignified thereby.

And this man bleth hymſelfe in thys place therfoʒe, verpe circumspectlye ſoz this point in this chapʒter, wher he ſpeaketh of heretikes after his. iiii. ſoztes of folke befoʒe. Foz he calleth them ther by no name at al hymſelfe, but ſayth of the fourth the ſozte.

Theſe be the wurſt ſozt of people befoʒe al other, except onely an other ſozte of people, whych ſir Thomas More in his apology calleth ſometime desperats wʒetches, ſomtyme ſarke heretikis, and ſomtime the blessed bʒethʒen, & ſomtime the noughty bʒethʒen. &c.

So that this good man himſelf here, lyke a true ſapthfull man, affirmeth thē nought, & ſuch and ſo nought, as ther be none wurs. But name (as it ſemeth ſoz feare of occaſion of ſclaūder, he durſt heare none cal them himſelfe, but ſayth they be they, who I call thus and thus.

Wel I wʒl make no botwe thereof as yet, but I wʒl peraduenture at a leiſour here after vppon better aduiſement, viſe the ſame circumspection & polycpe that I learne of his enſample here, and whē I ſpeake of ſuch maner folke, geue them no name at al my ſelf, but ſoz a tokē that men may wit who I meane, I ſhall ſay thoſe ſelowes I meane that ſaint Paul perdy calleth heretikes ſo, and that be al they that obſtinately hold any ſelf minded opinion, cōtrari to the doctrine that the comon knowen catholik church teacheth & holdeth ſoz neceſſari to ſaluaciō.

After al this in the. xiiii. & the xv. leaſe he asketh me with a ſolempne dʒiue pʒocelle, whither I wold not think it good & wel don, y al ſuch as haue authozitye to puniſh heretikis, ſhoulde befoʒe they puniſh them, amend firſt their own fautes. And I think yes in good faith, y it were very wel done, & I wold that euery man wold ſo do in dede, that either ſhoulde ſozrect heretik, oz any malefactor eis.

But thē agatine I aſke him, y though this wer wel don, if enery mā wold war as good as another good mā wold wiſh him, & as himſelf wold wiſh another mā to be: yet if ther wer ſome that were not ſo ſodainly ſo wel diſpoſed, as to amend their own fautes ſo ſome as the duty of theyʒ office wold require of neceſſitye, y they ſhoulde do cōʒrection vppon y fautes of ſome other folke: ſhoulde they not yet

Ado it for al that in the meane while, and other folke to who it apertained, be bounden to assist them therein, though theyr owne fautes were not all amended yet.

To this question lo he hath in y same place answered me yes, as I haue hym to the tother. And thus good reders thys god man & I after our soze cōdict in the tother matter, haue yet in these. li. poits striken handes again, & be god berthaked metely wel agreed together god hold it.

The. vi. chapter.

In. vi. chapter beginneth in y rvi. lease, wherein he shewed that I in myne apology mylste take the letter of his sayd treatise, and he telleth which woordes. But he telleth nether in what place of his booke hys woordes are, nor in what place of my booke you may fynde mine. Those twoo thinges he leaueth out, because he would as he sayd in the begynning, not folowe the order of my chapters, but take that waye that shoulde be best to the playne opening of the truth. But for as muche as me seemeth that to the playne opening of truesh, the redy way is to rede fyrst both the places, and then this his answer after: ye may therfore good reders fynde both his woordes & myne in myne apology, hys in the lease 123. and myne, agaynst which he nowe reasoneth in hys answer ye shall fynde fo. 127. And nowe good reders, if you rede and consider those twoo places first, and then compare well the woordes of myne apology there, with the woordes of his answer here: it shall suffice for thys matter. For ther shal you see wel that I mylste take not the letter of hys woordes. For I say not nay, but that his woordes go onely agaynst spiritual men, but his reason runneth out agaynst euery kinde of men spiritual and tempoal. And there I shew also, the reason wherfore & why. And therfore I wene it wyl apeare plaine, that I mylste take not the letter of his treatise at al, and that his reason runneth out in dede agaynst euery kynde of men. For ther is neither spiritual man nor tempoal, but he maye take harme by habundaunce. But so is ther as I ther sai, neither spiritual mā nor tempoal but he may with habundaunce do good.

But now the declaraciō of his minde in this answer, mendeth all the matter. For here he declareth that by these woordes of his (in a maner strāgling) he meaneth the minishinge of some seruour, as

though a mā wold sai that by almost kylling w a club, he mēt the geuing of a filip in the forehead with his litle finger.

But lithe that in this. vi. chapyter of hys, his great mortal strāgling is now strageled away, & tourned into venyall synne: we shall for thys matter trouble you no lenger, but euery man may take holpe water & go home to dyner. for seruice is al done here for to day.

The counsaile of saint Bernard that he there speaketh of to the Pope Eugenius, is in good faith as me thinketh very wel brought in. And I woulde aduise euery spiritual man to folowe it, and to take good tempoal men to hym, and let them do al his tempoal busynesse for him. This thinke I good as for myne owne mynde, but if there be in any parte anye lawes made al redy to the contrarye, by such folke as it can not become me to cōtroll. Howe be it; I suppose that muche part of theyr tempoal busynesse is done by tempoal men in dede.

As for his acte of parliament that he speaketh of I suppose verily that y clergy would not be agaynst it. And suche actes are there alreadye made mo then one, good and sufficient, but if he meane to let an addicion therto, that the kings grace shoulde expresselye be bounden by the act, that if he gaue any licence of mortifying into y church, it shoulde be voyde, except such cases as thys good man lyst to lymyt and gyue him leaue. Syth hys highnes is now moued by thys good mā here thereto: hys grace maye agree to it when it plealeth him.

As for y great matter that he maketh, of that I neuer in al the time that I was conuerfant in the court, could perceyue any of the noble men aboue the number of seuen, and yet not nowe so mani, that euer thought it good that any possessiōs of the church, shoulde wyth out a lawfull cause be taken awaye ther from: I maruaile much what he meaneth, and what subtil conceite he conceiueth in his wise brest; that he so muttereth, and mumblerb vpon that word as though such cōmunicaciō either on the one syde or the tother, wer of such high impoortance, y it were either felony or some heighnous mysprision, either in telling y tale agayn or els in keepyng it counsayl so long. For I wot nere in good faith in which of the twaine this good man findeth the faut, or whether he fynde any or none. But yf he fynde any: in whiche of the twayne so euer he fynde it, he findeth but his owne folye.

A foly. For now thal you good readers se, what litle insight the man hath in anye thing that readerth. First he reherseth a part of my wordes wrytten in myne apologye fo. 139. wher I say y I neuer found in al the tyme whyle I was conuersant in the court, of al h nobilitie of this land aboute the number of seuen, that euer I perceiued to be of the minde, that it wer either right o2 reasonable, o2 could be to the realme profitable, withoute lawfull cause to take any possessions awai from the clergy. Now vpon these wordes ye thal see what he gathereth, by whych ye thal se what wit and what learning the man hath. These are his wordes lo.

Sithe maister Doze saith y he hath not knowe aboute seuen (wherof he sayth thze are dead) y wer of the mind y it wer reasonable without cause to take possessions fro the clergy, in whych wordes it is concluded, that he knewe seuen of that minde, whose opinions it liketh hym to reherse & put in wrytting & in prynt also.

This man hath a special insight in incliues & excludiues, when he weneth y in my wordes it wer included, y I knewe vii. of that mynd, that it wer reasonable to take away possessions fro the church without cause. My wordes you wot wel

Chat I neuer knewe aboute vii. that without lawfull cause to take awai possessions fro the church, thought either ryght, o2 reasonable, o2 y it could be to h realme profitable. What include these wordes now? Do they include as he saith that I say that I knewe vii. that thought it reasonable? This man is so cunning in his incliues & excludiues, that he dyscerneth nothing betwene copulatiues and disjunctiues. This man I see wel neuer

General rule

learned the rule that almost euerye boye can, that to the verity of a disjunctiue, it sufficeth any one part to be tru. Let him now learne it therfoze, & thē thal he perceiue that my wordes include no farther but that I say that I knewe seuen, which amōg them al thought some one of those thze thinges, that is to wryt, either some of them some one, and some of them some other, o2 els all seuen some one of those thze thinges, that is to wryt, epyther ryght o2 reasonable, o2 profitable, without any determinaciō which of the thze. And neither includeth those wordes of mine that I say al seuen thought it ryght, no2 that al seuen thoughte it reasonable, no no2 yet that al seue thought it profitable. But it hangeth not vpon hys determinacion, but vpon myne owne declaraciō,

on, which of these thze thinges whych of those same. vii. thought, o2 which one of the thze they al thoughte, & neuer one of those thze thinges is determinately included to any one of the seue. For if I wold say that I neuer knewe in al my lyfe any man aboute the number of. vii. that had ben either at Alkayze, o2 at Salem, o2 at Bizance: do these wordes include that I sai that I haue knowe. vii. that haue ben at Salem? That am I sure they do not. But I may wel stand by those wordes, if I said after, y I haue knowe. vii. persons that haue ben. al. vii. at Bizance, but as for Alkatre o2 Saie I neuer knewe any one that had ben at any one of the both.

And in lyke wyse wil I wel stande by myne other wordes & verify them wyth a good excludiue of this mas includyng, For I say & very trouthe it is, y I neuer found any noble man aboute the number of seuen, that withoute lawfull cause to take away possessions fro the clergy, thought it either right o2 reasonable, o2 that it could be fo2 the realme profitable. I found not I say aboute seuen, that thoughte anye one of all these thze, is not thys true yf I founde seauen, that thought al thze: yes fo2soth true inough though I neuer found anye one, y euer thought any. ii. of h thze. And now therfoze though I neuer founde anye noble man so vnyghtuous, o2 so vnreasonable, as to thinke it ryghte o2 reasonable, without lawfull cause to take away any possessions from the clergy: yet haue I founde seuen that haue thought, if right and reason woulde beare it, they could tel how that as fo2 worldly polycy, som of the possessions taken away myght be to the realme profitable. And some one hath thought that it wolde be peradventure profitable to the realme, that the lordes had the landes whose aūcessours had mortised them. And peradventure he that so thought, should not haue losse a grote by it. And some other hath thoughte y it wold be moze profitable to put it into hospitals of some certeine newe fashioned foundation, and therof neyther make priettes the maisters, no2 no laye men neither, but some good sad honeste vertuous wydoowes, that wolde be tēdable & tender to sicke folke, & that should yearely yeld a compt vnto the ordinary. And some other haue thoughte it better to diuide & cant it among good poore husband mē, that should til the ground they handes, & take the land fo2 their labour, with diuers other diuises mo, euery mā

Many mens thoughtes concerning spiri- tual landes.

After his own mynde. And what harme was ther now in any of al their mindes that thys god wylse man wold haue my words seme so heighnous, vpo a sentēce that hymself includeth in thē, & whyche sentence of his, reason excludeth fro thē, & in which as you plainli se pꝛoued, this mā wotteth nere what he meaneth. And so thertent that he shuld wel know that the matter is nothing feareful: therfoze wꝛote I that thze were dead, because he shuld wel wytte that ther were yet the moze part aliuē. And therfoze if the god man think any great heighnous offence in the matter: let hym come to me hymselfe, & I shal bypnyng hym to som of them, that shal not make it straunge to saye agayne the same to hymselfe, & thē he may vse it at hys pleasure as his high wysdōe shal think conuenient. The saith he farther in the second syde of the. xviii. lease, that he can not tel what cause I woulde thynk a cause resonable, to take any possessions fro the church. But yet sith it is implied in my wordes, that some cause lawfull & reasonable ther may be: he thinketh he sayth, that peraduenture if I wer asked the question therein, by thē I haue authozity to do it, I wold shewe what I ment thereby. Where shal in god say the nede no greate solempne examinaciō of me by men of authozity for that matter. For I wyl not wycke to tel it vnto hymselfe, but haue told it alrede to hym and euery man els that list to reade it, a god while a go in my booke of the Supplication of soules, & there may thys god mā go seke it if it please him, & thē vse it as it lyke him. But synalle after hys hart some what eased, he cometh to hymselfe agayn, and enderth the chapter veri wel, wythpnyng the clergy the grace that the apostles had, & declarynge that he neuer despyzed thē thapostles pouerty, & exhorting thē that haue aboundaunce of possessions, to be wel ware so to vse it, as it be not a let of h̄ deuocion that thei shuld haue to god, & the charity that thei shuld shewe to their neyghbour. In these thzee thinges he saith as me thincketh verpe specially wel. And I praye you hartelye good readers euery mā the rather at my moze request, what so euer he wꝛote before, think now that he met thē but thus.

The. vii. chapter.

Is. vii. chap. beginneth in p. xix lease, & therin vpo a sire leaues, he argueth against a litle doute that I moued vpo the beginnyng of hys first chap. of his diuision, which wordes

of hys and myne thereupon begynne in mine apologi fo. 101. And the same point is touchēd agayn ther. fo. 106. Whē you haue ther read what I say: thē may you reade here hys answer, wherin he declareth the matter, & argueth it by cases of law, much after the maner of a motable case, sul wel fauoredly in god faith, and wyth long labour pꝛoueth at last, that it must be taken in suche wyse as he seeth that among other constructions I construed his minde my self, though I was loth to do so, because that waye was the wurst for hymselfe. But now he remedyeth that wyth a lyne or twayne, wherin he declareth that he ment not to pꝛeferre every secular pꝛit befoze those that are in religion. Wherin I wold haue trusted hym as wel vpon hys word, as vpo the reason that he laith for it now, which he saue for the trust that I haue to hys word, I wold wene he neuer thought on when he wꝛote the diuision, but rather ended h̄ clause in such wise as it happed, without any respect peraduenture to thē crease & growing of h̄ sentēce in the end.

I was ones halfe in mynde here, to haue kept scooles wyth hym yet in thys popnt ones agayne, euen al of pleasure, and to haue brought it yet again in question, whether the circumstances of hys wordes were able to pꝛoue, that he ment other wyse then he now argueth that it must nedes be taken. And then if the circumstances so dyd, whyther cōmon vsage & acceptaunce of a word shoul agaynst the circumstances of the matter, haue lyke strength in all other thinges, as it hath in matters of lawe, & whyther the reason vsed in the courtes in matters of law, be of lyke strength in euery other thing as thei be whē they be made in matters of law, & of lyke bygour & foze in euery place abroad, as they be in the courtes is which they haue ben lōg receued & accepted for sure and stable groundes.

And whyther in thys popnt betwene him & me, beyng no matter of the lawe, nor pꝛteinyng to the iudgement of any court, but to be consydered by the whole people in euery mā's reason at large, the cases of the lawe of thys realme that he bypnyngeth in, which be iudged & sure, and shuld serue h̄ tone part in h̄ law, though the matter wer the weight of a thousand pound, shuld because we be englysh mē, & our matter wꝛytten in Englande & in englysh wordes, stand for a sure & an insoluble argumēt, though the lawes both cyuil & canon that are called the cōmon lawes

I godlye exhortacion.

D

The common as peradventure they be in the self same
laws of chry-
stendome.

Q. Lawes of al chrystendome beside vs, wer
as peradventure they be in the self same
cases, full and whole to the contrarye.
And yet would I beside thys a litle haue
assaid, so to shake hys cases of London
and Wychemasse, that peradventure to
many a man in London betwene thys &
Wychemas, shoulde they neuer haue se-
ined lyke vnto our matter, by that tyme
that I had ones declared the h difference.

These poynts & happely mo to, was I
when I red hys answer half mynded as
I sai to haue brought in, & disputed with
hym vpon this matter. For I was waxe
wyth the reding of his answer very me-
ry, & waken me thought a ponge man a-
gaine, & semed set at a vacacion more w
him in som Junne of h chaucery, because
of his comon entendment, & his proper
cases of law. But the I considered that
as I was in h redyng of his answer me-
ry: so was hymself I saw wel in the wri-
tyng wery, & other readers that wer no
lawyers, wold in the reding war almost
as wery. The saw I also, that when him
self had al sayd, he lyked not hys own all
the best, but after al his payne taken in
the answeryng, seyng that hys answer
lyked hym not, he was sayne to fal to a-
nother way, and telleth me y ther nedeth
none answer to h pointe at al, because y
ther is no fruit he sayth in that obieccio.

Now therfore yf thobieccio be frut-
lesse, and therfore than answer needelesse, &
berily frutlesse to: now to reply thereto
were labour halfe lost & moze. And ther-
fore good reders for as much as to h an-
swer made bi the maner, no law putteth
vs farther to reply: the matter is at a de-
murrour in this poynt, and we at your
iudgemēt, wherin ye may vse your wis-
dome and iudge it euen as you fynde it.

Wher in the best that he can aske, is but
to be dysmysed, & iudge that he ment not
to preferre the state of chauntry priestes
before the state of religious persōs, but
ment as he now declareth hys mynde
(whych very few folke could before as I
suppose haue gessed) that the varyaunce
betwene priestes and priestes, that is to
wyt betwene secular priestes & secular
priestēs, is moze to be lamented, then be-
twene priestes & religious, or betwene
religious & religious, because the vary-
aunce betwene priestes & priestes is moze
marked & moze notable then any of h to-
ther, because the priestes go moze abrod.

Now yf this expolicō of his minde mai
serue so quyte hym nowe: (whiche I am
content it do) it is al I promple you that

it may do. For it wyl neuer serue him to
recouer dammages. For he can neuer
blame no man that perceyued not that
before, that is skant credible yet.

But yet because he so much inculketh
the lacke of fruite in manye of myne ob-
ieccions, and that they be no matters of
no moral vertue: I wyl not answer hym
wyth the lyke, and say that in manye of
hys pretended causes of diuision, is no
fruit at al, noz no moral vertue neither
as in procuring the people to beleue vn-
truelly, that the prelates handle men vn-
charitably, and for heresy were theym
wzongfully, and geue occasiō that some
perylly both in body and soule, whych yf
the ordinaris had handeled them cha-
ritably, had bene in both twayne saued,
and that it wyl be very hard to fynde so
much as any one spiritual man such, as
hymself denieth and aduiseh, that none
but such shoulde be suffred to be iudge in
heresy, and laboryng also the good lawes
of thys realme and of all chrystendome to
be chaunged, to the ease of heretiks, that
haue bene made for the repelling of he-
resyes, wyth such other things like that
are in hys booke of dyuisiō mo then I e-
uer wzote woorde of yet, in whych (as I
haue often sayd) for as much as I se that
he professeth hym selfe to hate & abhorre
these heresies, that these folke hold, whō
saint Paule calleth heretiks (I dare not
now for him, but when I forget my selfe
cal them by none other name) I woulde
wyth good wyl that men shoulde thynke
he ment none hurt. But in the woords of
the wytyng, taken after the comō vsage
and acceptaunce of speaking, as he wyl
in this his. vii. chapter haue me take the
ther is neyther moral vertue noz fruite,
but ful vnfruitful byce.

But as I sayd, I wyl not in defence
of myne, answer hym wyth the faults of
hys. For myne were neuer the better
though his be nought to. But I say that
myne obieccions in mine apology be not
fruitlesse, because they defend the truth,
& make good folke perceyue bothe what
harne it wer to beleue such euyl lyes, &
what damage it wer to put away suche
good lawes, & how vnrasonable it were
in other mēs faults to take smal thinges
for very heighnous & great, or for them y
in a selfe wypp are faulty, not to beare dis-
pleasure onely to theyr persons, but to
be at diuision in general with the whole
company. And thys fruite is there also,
that though y booke say y contrary, straū-
gers such as are here & can rede english,
whiche

Titum. 3.

Which are not ye wote wel a fewe, man-
yet perceiue by playn pꝛoues in myne a-
pology, that not onely there is no suche
great generall causes of diuision as the
booke of diuision saith that there is, but
also that ther is no suche great generall
diuisiō thozowe h̄ realme in dede. These
fruits are ther in many of mine obiecc-
ions against his booke in mine apology.

Now wher as some of mine obieccions
peradventure, lay but either lack of ler-
ning in him, or lack of natural wyt, sith
his name is not at his boke, but he spea-
keth him selfe vnknownen: this profyt is
ther in suche obieccions, that wythoute
his rebuke or shame, the readers maye
by those fautes perceiue, that the wyter
was not of any such special qualities, as
the booke wher in so much euil was con-
teined, should be muche lened vnto, for
credence & authorite of the man.

Finally the very selfe obieccion, wher-
of he speaketh in the seventh chappter of
his in hys new booke, & saith there is no
profyt in that obieccion, and that there-
foze it neede none answer, but he might
graunt me al that euer I sai therein, and
yet none effectual matter were there for
al that: ther to I say that loke who so list
what I say therein, and he shall find that
if this mā graunt all that, he shall graūt
in hym selfe much more ouersyght, and
much more lacke of learning to, the were
requisite in hym h̄ would put out bokes
abꝛode, and therfoze hys wytyng h̄ lesse
to be regarded, whyle hys person is vn-
knownen, wher as if his person wer kno-
wen, he myght be peraduēture percei-
ued for al that, for such a special man be
spede, that his approued wysdome & lear-
ning wel knownen otherwyle, might for
thestimacion of hys boske, more than
counterpasse some such ouersyghtes as
at a tyme myght haply to scape a ryghte
wyle man, that would wypte by candel-
lyght whyle he were halfe a sleepe.

But the I lay farther yet, that in that
obieccion was a mater of no litle effect.
For takynge that he ment as hym selfe
sayth he dyd: hys wordes semed playne-
ly to shewe, that he reckened the state of
chauntye pꝛiestes, to be a state of more
perfection thē h̄ state of religious folke.
And therfoze the obieccion contayned
matter of greate effecte, and whyche he
muche needed to answer: and to declare
that he ment not so, but that he ment as
he now declareth, h̄ diuision is betwene
secular pꝛiestes, more lamentable thē be-
twene religious, because h̄ secular pꝛie-

ses be moze abꝛod, & thereby these bary-
aunce moze knownen. Which expolition
few men I wene would haue thought by-
on befoze. But now that he saith he mēt
so: I am very wel content therwith, and
would that al folke should take it so to,
& yet is it ye wote well but very wynter
ware, and a scufe as colde as a kay.

The. viii. Chapter.



As. viii. chappter begynneth
in the second syde of his. xrb.
leafe, and pretendeth to aun-
swer my wordes wytten a-
gainst his, in the xix. chapter
of myne apology, whyche begynneth
fo. 116. And now he saith that I say ther
that I wot not wel what he meaneth in
that he saith that h̄ spirytualtye call the
worldly honour of the church & of spiry-
tual persons, the honour of God. And
therfoze he saith here h̄ he wyl, & so doth
declare therein, what he ther mēt therbi.

But here is now the craft, where as
I did there shew what I thought he mēt
therby, & therfoze made answer to those
thyngs that I thought he ther mēt: now
the matter beynge changed here, by hys
new declaracio: he byngeth in mine an-
swers make there, & confuteth the for in-
sufficient now, whē hys new declaracio
hath made a change in the matter, as
though I had thē ment to answer thys,
that I was not thē ware that he woulde
now say, nor I wene hymselfe neyther.

But reade I yst good readers the. xix.
chap. of myne apologi beginning fo. 116
& ther shall you se those words of hys suf-
ficiētly answered, for the thyng that me
thought he ment. And thē after that don
consyder hys answer here, in whych for
al hys holy peece of a sermon, what doth
he tel me. He telleth me h̄ honour is one-
ly deu to vertue, & that no man may co-
uet honour wythoute offence, excepte it
be to the honour of God, & that inordy-
nate apetyte of honour is deadly synne, &
that if a spiritual mā would accept honoꝝ
by reaso of any spiritual dignitty, & that
God wer therby dishonored, thē that ho-
noꝝ wer not to be called honoꝝ, but dys-
honoꝝ, & that yet some lay men saye that
spiritual men cal it an honour to God.
All thys whole tale for all this holy ser-
mon is yet to h̄ matter, in maintenaūce
of his former wordes which he wold here
seme to defed, vtterly told in baine. For
first in al this tale he telleth vs not well
what he calleth worldly honoꝝ, which he
sayth the spirytualty calleth the honour
of God,

Honour deu
to vertue.

Of God, & which was the thing y^e I sayde I wylle neare what honoure he meant. For where he would seme to declare it: there is his declaracion both very bare, and yet agaynst him to. For in the secōd side of y^e xxvi. lese, he dybbeth in a word of spiritual dignity, and thus he saythe.

Then I meane farther, that if anye spiritual man would accept a worldlye honour, by reason of any spirituall dignite, & God wer therby dishonored, as it may be by many circumstances, as yf for such worldlye honour charitpe be in any maner broken or denied, iustice delaied, any of the vii. sacraments not duely ministered: or the people not diligently and playnly instructed: that then it is not to be called honour to God, but rather dishonour, & that yet some lay men sai, they cal it an honour to God. And surely the truth is, that many lai men say, that for the maintenaunce of such worldlye honour, spiritual men both religious & secular, be negligēt sometime in such thinges, as be before rehersted, & that yet they cal such worldlye honoz y^e honoz of God.

Here he hath told vs that if any spiritual man would accept a worldlye honoz by reason of any spiritual dignite, wher by God were dishonored, that honour were not honoure. But yet he telleth vs not what maner of worldlye honour it is that he meaneth to be accepted by reaso of a spiritual dignitie, noz yet what maner thing such worldlye honour is, noz touching y^e spiritual dignitpe, he telleth not whither he mene a desire in any mā to attaine any spiritual dignite, for som kynde of worldlye honour that he thynketh shoulde folowe thereon, or els some worldlye honour by reason of any spiry^tual dignitie, y^e the man hath alredy.

I let passe his cold and vnfauey to lde take of charity denied, & iustice delaied, & some of the seuen sacramentes not duly ministered for maintenaunce of such worldlye honour, as som spiritual men both seculars & religtous bi reason of spiritual dignities accept, as some lay men say. A poyze tale & a cold by my saye, to be tolde for a cause of an heynous vniuersall diuision, for this were an endlesse diuision, if euery such fault of some, shoulde vpon euery some say be laied for a cause of diuision agaynst the general body.

And yet by lde all this, I say that his firrfe woordes are nothing maintained wyth al thys matter. For his firrfe woordes spake of a consente and agreement, wherin seculare pziesses and religious,

for al the varsaunce betwene theinselfe for other thinges, y^et agree together about the maintenaunce of that worldlye honour that they cal the honour of god. And here he spebeth but of another matter, that is to wylt, that for the mayntenaunce of worldlye honour spiritual mē both religious and secular be negligent sometime, and in some maner breake or deny charitpe, delay iustice, and do not dewly minister some of the sacraments, noz dyligently and playnelye instructe the people.

At this tale as you see togeth^r y^e pziuate fautes of som such, as for the maintenaunce of that worldlye honour which they cal Goddes honour, thus mysse vse them selfe. But this tale is nothyng syb to hys other tale, that he told and I touched befoze. For that spake of such agrement all in one, that is to wylt an holding together whyche signifieth a maynteyning ech of other agaynst other men, in maintenaunce of that worldlye honour that they cal the honour of God, in lyke wyle as for matters of they^r owne, they be one agaynst another among theifelse.

And thus you see playnelye good readers, that this maner of mainteinng of hys fozmer woordes, is a clene going fro them, and a leauing of them vnmaintained, & (becaule he sommeth vpon me befoze in another place with cases of law) wer in the law a veri plain departure, & shuld in any of y^e kinges courtes if I demurred vpo it, vtterli mar al his mater.

And so appeareth that some other som haue sayd thys vnto him synce to glosse hys fyrst woordes wial. And yet I meruel that he could think they^r sayeng worthy the rehering agayne. For who can beleue that any spiritual man would be so mad, as to call worldlye honour vfed to Gods dishonour, the honour of God. I can scant beleue y^e any lay mā would so tel him, at the lest wise not with that adieccio, that he now putteth newe ther to.

But now if it so be that on the tother syde, al spiritual men woulde wyth one voyce together, cal the honour of God, that worldlye honour that worldlye folke do to the church and vnto spiritual persons, for the deuocion that god lay men beare to God and vnto spiritual persōs for Gods sake, by reaso of they^r holy orders & honozable roumes y^e they beare in Chyrttes church, though som of them as this mā saith, sometime do not they^r duti therin but leaue som part of they^r duties toward Gods honour vndone therfoze: p^ret

¶ Yet for the deuocion of the tempoꝛal per-
sones that for Goddes honour do it, thei
may al wel cal it Gods honour in dede.
And therfoze is this good man in that
point ful answered, as solempne a mat-
ter as he made thereof.

¶ But now cōcerning hys foꝛmer woꝛ-
des of the agrement of all spiritual folk
together, in the mayntenaunce of theyꝝ
woꝛldly honour, foꝛ al their pꝛiuate dis-
pleasures and dissensions in other thin-
ges among them selfe, wyth whyche he
cometh in after here agayne, and refer-
reth him to the common opiniō of much
part of the people both spirituall and tē-
poꝛal, whether lay men so saye oꝛ not: ¶
I say that though al men so sayd, yet is no
man at diuisiō with them therfoze. ¶ Foꝛ
ther is no cause wherfoze any mā shuld.
¶ Foꝛ it is none vnreasonable thing, that
sith those thinges which thys man spea-
keth of, that is to wit those spiritual dig-
nities to which he saith such woꝛldly ho-
nour apperteineth, are lawfullye theyꝝ
owne, eche of them should in al lawfull
wayes and such as are by no law pꝛohy-
bited, help and assist other to kepe them,
thoughe there be foꝛ pꝛiuate matters of
theyꝝ owne variaunce and sute betwene
them. And this may they with better cō-
science do eche foꝛ other then ech of them
foꝛ them selfe. ¶ Foꝛ in thys that they
doe foꝛ other, is there not the synne of ambic-
cion that this mā here speaketh of. And
this is the part not onely of spiritual mē
religious and secular both, but of euery
good tempoꝛal man to, and not onely to
do so foꝛ them, but euery man also foꝛ o-
ther. And therfoze what reaso had those
same some that so tolde this man, if ther
were any some such in dede, to take thys
thyng foꝛ anye cause of dyuysyon: oꝛ
why dyd not he so rather tel them, than
put theyꝝ sonde tale in hys booke?

¶ But than one pꝛetye peece he hathe of
two partes, bi which he weneth that the
spiritualtye can in no wyse escape but yf
thei must nedes be betrayed in hē tone.
¶ Foꝛ when he hath sayde that the people
say that spiritual men be sometyme ne-
glygent in keepyng oꝛ grauntynge chari-
tye, oꝛ in spedy doynge of iustice oꝛ in du-
ly ministringe some of the seuen sacra-
mentes, oꝛ in plain and diligit instruct-
ing of the people: the is a pꝛoper peece of
two parts thus he cōcludeth the matter.
¶ And if it be not so as the people say:
then are the spiritual rulers bounden to
helpe the people oute of that iudgement,
oꝛ els they be not without offence them

self. And on the tother syde, if it be as the
people saye: then are spiritual men bou-
den to refoꝛme it. ¶

¶ As foꝛ this two handed swoꝛde, some
poyng lusty frere would boldlye beate of
wyth a two handed staffe, and tell thys
man agayne, that if the people as he put
teth foꝛ the one part said in such thinges
not true: then seeth he not no mā els
neither, what the spiritual rulers could
do to put them out of that iudgemēt, but
tel them, *nolite iudicare, et non iudicabimini*, and
so wyl that syde of the swoꝛd do thys mā
litle seruice. And then on the tother syde
if the people in these thynges say true as
it is wel lykelye they doe: then true it is
that the spiritual men be bounden to re-
foꝛme it. But then is it as true agayne,
that the thing being but such as this mā
reherseth, that is to wyl negligence but
in some, in doynge of some parte of theyꝝ
duty, and that also but sometyme, is no
cause of diuision to set the whole tempo-
rality agayne theym all, and that syde of
the swoꝛd the frere would with this end
of hys staffe beate hard vnto thys mans
owne heade.

¶ Now goeth this man farther fo. 27.
and sheweth that myne answer to hys
woꝛdes which you reade in the. xix. cha-
piter of myne Apology, be very dark, by
the reason that I ble therin so often this
woꝛd (Some say) which is he sayth done
after a raylig fashio. But as you know
wel good reders, I haue take that woꝛd
(Some say) of his booke, in which I red
it so often, that it falleth some tyme into
my penne ere I be ware.

¶ And as foꝛ the rayling fashio, yf I
durst be bold to tel so sad a man a merve-
tale, I would tel him of the frere, that as
he was preaching in the country, spedy
a pooze wyfe of the paryshe whyspyring
wyth her peiwfellow, and he fallynge an-
gry thereto, cryed out vnto her aloude,
hold thy bable I byd thee, thou wyfe in
the red hood. Whych whē the houswife
heard: she wared as angry agayne, and
sodainly she start vp and cryed out vnto
the frere agayne, that al the church tag
theron: mari sir I beshewe his hart that
bableth most of vs bothe. Foꝛ I doe but
whyssper a woꝛd wyth my neyghboure
here, and thou hast babled there al thys
houre. And surely good reders saue foꝛ
setting of the woꝛd of God in this good
māns sermon: I durste well in the same
woꝛde (Some saye) beshewe hym, and
beshewe hym agayne, that mosse hatte
railed ther wyth of this good man oꝛ me.

¶ Foꝛ

A For reade my words ther when ye wyl, and you shall fynde, that I wyth that word do but in a maner play with him. But by saint Mary he, how wel so euer he ment, his woordes wyth hys manye (Some saies) bying good men in sclaunder and obloquy of the people, & peraduenture in perill to, wyth vntreue surmyled tales of mysse handling folke for heresy, & al coloured vnder som saies to make yles seme somwhat likely. Such shewd (som saies) to be no meri sportyng, but be sad and earnest rude railinges in deede.

Whe he toucheth myne answer made in the sayd chapiter of mine apologye, & double confuteth it, that I say y he hath heard some lay me sai the contrary. For first he saith he neuer heard lay man say to him the contrary, but that all the spiritual men religious & secular, holde together in the maintenaunce of h worldly honoz, that they cal the honour of god and of the riches of spiritual men.

Now ye wote wel I speake in h sayde xij. chapter, that of the spiritualtye suche as are fallen fro the sayth vnto heresye, holde not at al wyth that honour that I thought he ther had ment, that is to wit wyth building & garnishyng of churches, but he both agaynst that, & tythes, & offeringes, & obites, and trentals, & purgatory, and masse and al. And I had went in good faith that of so greate a thyng, & so much spoken of, it had happed hym to heare som lai me speak, but he saith nat. Wel we ca no farther the, but stand vnto his word, & take an othe of his honesti therein, & yet I wene as honest as he is, what so euer he be, his own honest frend wil be lothe to sweare wyth him therein. But then saith he farther, that though it wers so: that would not yet answer hys sayeng. It wold not so say the soth in very deede, taking his woord as I wene he met it. But taking his woord to h wurst (as he taketh alwaye mine) & yet but eue as he wote it (but if it be pzynted false) it is a cofutacio to it. For if those spiritual persos both religious and seculars, that are fallē from the faith to heresies holde not wyth the remanāt: the verdy though they were fewer then they be, it is not al true that he saith, that in h maintenaunce of suche honour they holde together all. And yet as I haue all redy shewed you, it woulde not helpe his part of a peny, though they did euerychone seculars & religious, catholikes and heretikkes to. And therfore can he not saye but he is in this point answered, snē to the very ful.

Than in the. xxviii. and. xxxi. lease he subtilly fyndeth a faute, that I saye that there are some suche of the spiritualtye so fallen vnto heresies, that it is ppyte that euer they were therof, because he saythe we should not dispayre of them, but they may repēt and amend. And also though they do neuer amende: yet I should not say so. For men mai not say by the diuel that it is pitye that euer he was created, because Gods iustice is shewed on him. Wel wyl in this matter theye no longe scholes. But this euerye man knoweth, that who so vse acommon word spoken among the people, is rekened so to meane therein, as the common people meane that vse it. And therfore sith the people that so speaketh, meneth not to speake agaynst amendment, but agaynst the presente wretched state that the manne standeth in at the tyme: that word maye by Gods grace be bozne metelye well ynoughe. And as touchynge the dyuel, though men maye not grudge agaynst Gods iust punishment: yet peraduenture a man might sai without perill of dampnacion, that it was ppyt that he so misse vled himselfe, as in the that are for their heighnous offences put vnto paynefull death, though we say they wer serued as they wol deserued, yet we let not to saye it was pittie that they guided theym selfe no better. And saint Chrysostome ppyteth also the diuel. And our sauour hymselfe pittied Hierusalem, and for the pity wept also thereon, for the punishment that shuld fal thereon, and yet was it the iust punishment of God.

And though the parties afterwarde may mend and doe good agayne: yet for the time tyl they mend, yea and after to, we maye pittie that they were in suche ease, as to hurt them whom they haue al redy remedyleffe destroued, by their false doctrine deade in the dāpnable heresies that they learned of them, and lye therfore burped in hel. And therfore y thyng that I may not absolutely ppyte: yet in some respectes I may.

Fynally he sayeth that I shoulde not call anye heretikkes desperate wretches. Whys is a soze poynce I assure you to call a wretche, suche as he sheweth hymselfe to be, to call hym desperate, whose liuing sheweth no maner hope of amendment. Sainte Cyprian I see wel was soze ouersene, whych in the seuenth ppyle of hys fyrste booke, for lesse thynges the these are, calleth som folk desperate. And yet was saint Policarpus farther

ouer,