A Dialogue concernynge heresyes & matters of religion / made in the yere of oure Lorde, M. D. xxviii. by sir Thomas More (than knight and one of the priuy counsell of kyng Henry the eyght & also Chauncelloure of the duchy of Lãcaster) To which work he made this tytle hereafter folowynge.

A DIALOGVE OF SYR THOMAS MORE KNYGHTE: ONE OF the counsaill of our souerayne Lorde the Kinge, and Chauncellour of his Duchy of Lancaster. Wherin be treatyd diuers maters, as of the beneracion & worship of ymages and relyques, prayng to saintes, and goyng on pylgrimage. With many other thinges touchyng the pestilent sette of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother labored to be brought into England.

Made in the yere of our lord. 1528.

The fyrst Boke.

One busynes begetteth a nother.

IT is an olde said saw, that one busynes begetteth & bryngeth forth a nother. Whiche puerbe as it happeth I finde very trewe by my self, which haue bene fayne by occasion, first of one busynes, after to take the secōd, and vpon the secōd, now to take the thirde. For where as a right worshipfull frende of myne sent ones vnto me a secrete sure frende of his, with certayne credence to be declared vnto me, touchynge many such maters, as beinge in dede very certaine and out of doute, be nethelesse of late by lewde people put in question, the specialtees wherof do so ferforth in the first chapiter of this boke appere, that we shall here nede no reherfall therof: I thought it first ynough to tell the messenger my mynde by mouth, accōptyng that after our communicacion ended, I sholde neuer nede ferther busynes therin. But after that the messenger was departed, & I felte my stomake wel eased, in ȳ I rekened all my labour done, bythinkinge my selfe a litle whyle therون, my busynes that I toke for finysshed, I foūde very farre fro that point, and litell more than bygonne. For whā I considered what the maters were, & how many great thinges had ben treated betwene the messenger and me, and in what maner fashion, albe it I mystrusted not his good will, and very wel trusted his wytte, his lernyng well seruyng him to the percepuyng and reporting of our communicacion: yet finding our treatie so diuerse and so long, and somtime such wise intrycate, that my selfe coulde not without labour call it orderly to mynd, me thought I had not wel done, without wryting, to trust his onely memory, namely sith some partes of the mater be suche of thē selfe, as rather nede to be attentely redde and aduised, than houerly harde and passid ouer. And ouer this I considered, that thoughe I nothing suspecte the messenger, as in good faith I do not, & to saie the treuth, am of my selfe so lyttell mistrustyng, that he were like very plainly to shew him selfe nought, whō I sholde take for bad: yet sith no man can loke into an others breste, as it is therfore well done to deme the beste, so were it not muche amisse in suche wise to puide for the worste, as (if a man happe to be worse than we take him for) our good opinion turne vs to none harme. For this cause me thought that for the more suerty, my parte were to send our communicacion to my said frende in wryting. Wherby if it had happed that his messenger had for any sinyster fauour borne towarde the wrōg side purposely māgled the mater, his master shold not only know ȳ treuth, but also haue occasiō the better to beware of his messēger, which elles might hap to hurte while he were mystaken for good. Nowe whan I had vpon this deliberaciō, takē with my self, wryten all the matter, and sent it to my frende, than had I me thought all done, and my mynde full set at rest. But that rest rested not lōge. For sone after it was shewed me, ȳ of al my wrytynges were written diuerse copies, & one also caried ouer ȳ see. Where whan

Deme the best.

A I remēbred what a shrewde sorte of our apostatas are assembled, parte runne out of religiō, & al rūne out of the right faith, me thought grete parell myght arise, if some of that company (whiche are confedered & conspired together, in the sowynge & settyng forth of Luthers pestilent heresies in this realme) sholde maliciously chaunge my wordes to the worse, and so put in prynte my boke, framed after their fantasies, whiche whan I wolde afterwarde reproue and shewe the difference, I might peradū-
B ture seme for the colour of my cause, to haue amēded myne owne, vpō the sight of theirs. For eschewyng wherof I am now driuen, as I say to this thirde busynes of publishynge and puttynge my boke in prynte my selfe: wherby their enterprise (if thei shoulde any such intende) shall (I trust) be preuented & frustrate. And this haue I done not all of mine owne heed, but after the counsaile of other, mo than one: whose aduise and counsaile for their wisdome & lernyng I asked in that behalfe, and which haue at my request vouchesauled to rede ouer the boke ere I did put it forth. For albeit that I dare be somewhat bolde to
C commen in familier maner, with such as for their fantasies like to aske me of such matters any question, accordyng
1. Pet. 3. to the coūsaile of sainct Peter, byddyng vs be redy to geue a rekenynge, and to shewe a reasonable cause to euery man of the faith & hope that we haue, yet to make & put forth ani boke (wherin were treated any such thinges as touche our faith) wolde I not presume, but if better lerned than my selfe, shoulde thinke it eyther profitable, or at the lesthwise harmlesse. To whose examinacion and iudgement, I did the more studiously submit this worke, for two thinges in
D speciall, among diuers other. The one for the liberall allegacions of the messenger for the wronge parte so laide out at large, that of my selfe I stode halfe in a doubte whether it were conuenient to reherse the wordes of any mā so homly, & in maner somtime vnreuerētly spokē against goddes holy halowes, & their reuerēt memories. The other was certaine tales & merry wordes which he mēgled with his matter, and some such on mine owne parte amōg, as occasiō fell in communicacion. In which albeit I sawe no harme, yet somwhat doubted I lest thei should vnto sad men seme ouer light & wanton for the weight & graunte of such an ernest matter. Wherfore in
E these two pointes though I had all redy sene some ensamples of right holy men, which in their bokes answeringe to the obiections of heretiques in their tyme, haue not letted to reherse ȳ very formal wordes of them, whose writinges thei made answere to, beinge somtyme of such maner & sorte as a good man wolde not well bere, & haue not also letted to write a mery worde in a right ernest worke, of which two thinges I coulde out of godly mēnes bokes & holy saintes workes gether a good sorte, yet in myne owne worke I determined that I wold
F nothinge alowe nor defende, that the iudgement of other vertuouse and connynge men woulde in any wise mislike. And therfore after that suche had red it and seuerally said their aduice. I sounde as it often happeth, that som thynge which one wise and well lerned man woulde haue out, twayne of like wisdome and lernyng specially would haue in, neither side lackynge good and probable reasōs for their parte. Wherfore sith it became not me to be iudge ouer the iudgement of them, whom I toke and chose for my iudges, beynge such of them selfe, as harde were it for
G any man to say, which of them before the other he coulde in erudicion, witte, or prudence any thing preferre, I could no further go, but lene to ȳ more parte. Lene to the more parte.
Which I so ferforth haue folowed, that like wise as I diuerse thinges put out or chaunged by their good aduice and counsell so let I nothing stande in this boke, but such as twain aduised me specially to let stāde, against any one that any doute moued me to the contrary. And thus much haue I thought necessary for my declaracion and excuse to aduertise you all that shall happen to
H rede this rude simple worke, prayeng you of pacience and pardon, whom god of his especiall grace graunt as much profite in the redinge, as my poore hart hath mente you and entēded in the makynge.

¶ The first Chapiter.

The letter of credece sent from his frende by a trusty secret messēger. With the letter of the author answeryng the same. The declaracion of the credece by the mouth of the messenger whereuppon the matter of all the hole worke dependeth.

A ¶ The letter of credence.

MAister chaūceller as hartelye as I possible cā, I recō mende me to you. Not wout a thousande thankys for your good company, whā we were last togyther. In whiche for as muche as it liked you to spend some of your tyme with me in familyer communicacion, wherof some parte I trusse so to remēber as my selfe shal be the better, and some other neuer B the worse, whiche shall haue cause and haue all ready to gyue you great thank therfore, I am bold at this time to send you my special secret frend this bearer, to breake with you somewhat ferther, partely of the same matters partelye of some other, suche as are happed there sence, wherof great speche and rumour runneth here whereby ye shall haue occasyon more at length (yf your leysour wyll serue) to touch certein doutes moued sence of ꝯ maters treated betwene vs before. Wherin were it not for your other busines I would be bold on your godnes, to desyre you to take good time C with him. And yet neuertheleſſe do require you hartely, as your leasour wil serue you, to satisfye him at the full. For he shall (howe longe so euer he tary therefore, gyue attendaunce vnto you, dayes and houres, as ye may spare him tyme, which can not in these thinges be but well bestowed, cōsidering that the matters bee suche, and so touchinge to god, as they were well worthye to sett worldely businesse aside, specyallye in such nede. For I assure you, some folke here talke very straungely of the thinges that he shall moue you. Not onely for such wordes as they tell, that from thense, but also most specially thrughe the occasion of some letters lewdelye written hyther out of Lōdon by a priest or two, whom thei take here for honest. But what so euer any mā tell or write I shal for the confydence and trust that I haue in you, surely take and tell forth for the very truth, what so euer ye shall aff yrme vnto my frende, whom I sende vnto you, not so much, bycause I may not come my selfe (howbeit therfore to) as for bycause, I lōge to haue him talke with you. To whō whatsoeuer ye saye, reken it said to my selfe. Not onely for hys trouth & secretnesse, but also for his memory with whōe to cōmune, I trust shall not mislike you. For eyther myne affection blindeth me, or ye shall fynde hym wyse, and as other say, that canne better iudge it then I, more then meanlye lerned, with one thing added where wō ye be wont well to be content, a very mery wit. He is of nature nothing tōgetayed. And I haue in these matters bidde him be bolde, without any straynyng of curtesie, whereof the serimonyes in disputaciō marreth much of the matter while one studyeth more howe he maye behaue him, than what he shall saye. I haue I say therefore boden him more to mynde his matter, then hys curtesye, & frely to lai forth, not only what he thinketh, but also what him list, gyuyng no fote in disputing vnto your authority, but yf he bee borne backe with reason. Thus maye ye see I am boulde on your godnes, to put you to labour & bulines and sende one to face you in your owne house. But so much am I bolder, for ꝯ in such chalenges I know you for a redye & sure defender. And of such labour your wisdom well seeth, ꝯ god is the reward, who lōg preserue you & al yours.

In matters concerning god, set worldly businesses aside.

¶ The letter of the author sent with the boke.

RIght worshipfull syr, after most hartye recommēdaciō, albeit ꝯ of late I sent you my pore minde by the mouthe of your trusty frende, to whom ye desyred me by your letters to giue no lesse credence, than to your selfe, cōcerning all suche thinges as he brake of, & communed with me in your behalfe (& that for the confidence that ye haue in him, the wit and lerning that I founde in hym, and honesty that I so much the more thinke him to be of, in that I perceiue you being of such wisedom & vertue to haue hym in so speciall trust) I neither do nor can beleue the cōtrarye but that he hath of all our communicacyō made you faythfully, plain and fut reporte, yet sith I suppose in my selfe, that if wee had mought conuenient sōe togyther, ye woulde rather haue chosin to haue harde my mynde of mine owne mouthe than by the meane of another, I haue sence in these fewe dayes (in which I haue ben at home) put the matter in writing, to the ende, ye may not only hyre it by the mouth of your frēde, but also (whiche better is then sodenlye ones to hyre it of myne owne mouth)

A rede it(if ye lyst)more often at your best leisure aduisedly from mine owne pen. Which thing I verely thought my self so much the more bounde to do, for that it lyked you of your special fauour, and affection towarde me, so greatly to regarde and esteme my mynde & answere in those matters, that no rumour there running, or tales in your coūtrie told, or letters thither writtē, nor reasons or argumentes there made to the cōtrary shoulde let or withstande, but that ye woulde(as ye wrote)take that thing for
B vndowted trouth that I should(by your frende)assertaine you. And surely sir in this poinct, ye maye make your selfe sure, ý I shall neuer willingly deceyue your trust. And lest I might hap to do it of ouer light vnware, albeit I nothing sayd vnto your frēd by mouth, but that I was right wel enformid of the trouth yet for as muche as I perceiued by hym ý some folk doubted, lest many thinges were layed to the charge, not onelye of that man ye wrote of, but also of Luther him selfe, otherwise than coulde be
C proued, I did so much therin that I was suffred to se and shewe hym as well the bookis of the tone, as the very actes of the court concerning the other, that we might both(by so much)the more surely warrant you the trouth. Wherin yf ye fynde any man that yet dowteth, whether he tolde you, and I wryte you the trouth or not, I shall if he vnderstande the latine tonge find the meane at your pleasure, that he shall so se ý bokes him selfe, that were he neuer so full of mistrusting, he shall not fayle to bee fully content and satisfyed. And this warātise will I make you as farforth as cō
D cerneth any acte done here. But as for things reasoned and disputed bytwene vs, the conclusions selfe be so sure truthes, that they be not disputable. But whyther the reasons by me made in thē ben effectuall or insufficient (albe it your frende, either for that of trouth he thought so, or for that of curtesy he said so, accepted them for good) yet without preiudice of the principall matters ye may your self be iuge. And thus I prāy you take in good worth the littel labour and great good will of him, whome in any thing that may do you pleasure, ye may to the vttermost of his littel power well and boldely cōmaunde. And thus our lorde sende you with my good lady your bedfelowe and all yours, as harteily wel to fare as you would al wishe.

Our frende first after your E letter redde(whan I demaūded hym his credence) shewed me that ye had set him to me, not for any douts ý your self had in many of those thinges that he should moue vnto me, but for the doubt that ye perceiued in many other, and in some folke plaine persuasion to the cōtrary, whome ye woulde be glad to answere with the trouth, albeit some thinges he sayd were also there so talked, ý ye wist not well your selfe which parte ye might beleue. For it was there not F only spoken, but also thyder writtē by diuers honest preestes out of London, that the man ye write of, was of many thinges borne wrōge in hande, & therin so sore handeled that he was forced to for swere and abiure certaine heresyes, & openly put to penance therfore, where he neuer held any such. And all this done for malice & enuy, ptly of sōe freres(against whose abusions he preched)partly for that he preched boldely against ý pompe & pride & other inordinate liuing(that mo men speake of thā G preche of)vsed in the clergye. And they take for a great tokē that he should not meane euyll, the prose and experyence which men haue had of hym, ý he lyued well, and was a good, honest, vertuous man, farre from ambiciō and desire of worldely worship, chast, humble, and charitable, free and liberall in almous deede, and a very goodly prechoure, in whose deuout sermons the people were greatly edified. And therfore the people say that all this gere is done but onelie to stoppe mennes mouthes, and to put euery man to silence that woulde anye H thinge speake of the fautes of the clergye. And they thinke that for none other cause was also burned at Poules Crosse the newe testament late translated in englyshe by maister William Huchin, otherwise called maister Tindall, who was (as men saye) well knowen or he went ouer the sea, for a man of right good lyuing, studious and wel lerned in scripture, and in diuers places in Englād was very wel liked and did great good with preching. And men mutter amonge them selfe, that ý boke was not only fautles, but also very wel translated, & was deuyled to be burned, bicause men should not be able to proue that suche fautes (as were at Poules cross declared to haue bē foūd in it) wer neuer foūde there in dede, but vntruly surmi-

A surmised. And yet suche as they were, some men saye) were no fautes at all, if they hadde be so translated in deede, but blame laied and faute found with thinges nothinge fautewoorthye, onely to deface that holy woorke, to the ende, that they might seme to haue some iust cause to burne it. ¶ And that foor none other entent, but foor to kepe out of the peoples hãdes all knowledges of Christys gospell, and of goddys law, except so much onely as the clargye them selfe list now and than to tell vs. And that lytell as it is & seldom shewed, yet, as it is feared not wel and truely tolde, but watered
B with false glosses, and altered from the trouth of the very woordes and sentence of scripture only foor the maintenaunce of theyr authoorite.

¶ And the fere lest this thinge shoulde euydently appere to the people, if they were suffered to rede the scripture them selfe in theyr own tonge, was (as it is thought, the verye cause not onely foor whiche the newe testament translated by Tyndale was burned, but also that the clargye of this realme hath beforе this tyme by a constytucion prouincial prohybited any boke of scripture to bee
C translated into the englysshe tonge, fearing men with fier as heretiques who so should presume to kepe thē as though it were heresie foor a christen mã to rede christes gospell.

¶ And surely syr quod he some folk that thinke this dealinge of the clergye to be thus) and good men to bee mishandelyd foor declaring the trouth, and the scripture selfe to be pulled out of the peoples handes, lest they shoulde percepue the trouth (be led in theyr mindes, to doowte whither Luther himselfe (of whose op-
D pinions oor at the lest of whose woorkes all these businesse bygan) wrote in dede so euyll as he is borne in hande. And many men there be that thinke he neuer ment such thinges. But that bicause he wrote against the abusions of pardons and spake some what liberally agaynst the court of Rome, & generally against the vices of the clargy, therfore he was brought in hatred, and first cyted to Rome. And whã that foor fere of bodely harme with wronge, wherof it woulde haue bene to late to loke foor remedye after, if he had ones bee burned vp before (he durst not come thyther, than was he accursed, & his bokes dampned, & vnder great paines foorboden to be redde. And that thing done bycause it shoude not be knowen what wronge he had, & that he
E neither meaneth noor saieth such odious & abhominable heresies, as the people be borne in hande to enduce thē to hatered of him, as it wold peraduenture appere if hys bokes wer suffered to be red.

¶ And they saye that it were no maistry to make it seme that a man should be an heritique, if he may be borne in hande ý he saith the thing, which he neuer sayd, oor peraduēture one line takē out amõge many, & misconstrewed, not suffringe ý remenant to be sene, whereby it might moore clerely appere what he meaneth. By which maner of deling a man they saye might laye heresie to saint Poule, and find a faute in saint Johns gospel. F

¶ And yet they saye, the woorst of all is this that the clargye cease not hereby, noor haide thē selfe content with the cõdẽpning of Luther, & foorbydding of his bokes, but further abuse the hatered of his name against euery man that is (in preching of the woorde of god) any thing such as should be, that is to witte, plain & bold without glose oor flatering, where if thei find a mã fauty, let theu lay his faute to his charge, what nedeth to call him a Lutherane? Though Luther wer a deuill, yet might a man percase say as he sayth in some thinge, and saye trewe G ynough. Foor neuer was ther heretique, that sayd all false. Noor the deuill hym self lied not, when he called christ goos sonne. And therefore mẽ think that this name of a Lutherane serueth the clargy foor a common clocke of a false crime, ý Par. 2.
where they lacke special mater to charge one with by iugemẽt, they labour to bringe him first in ý infamy of ý name, that comprieseth (as they make it seme) a confused heape of heresies, no man can tell what.

¶ And yet in such dealing thei woundē H their owne matter another way. Foor while they deffame foor Lutheranes, men that be of knowen vertue and conning, what do they thereby, but one of the twaine, either cause the people (that haue foor good lyuinge & lerninge, those men in great reputacion) to thinke that the clargie foor malice & enuy dothe vntruly deffame them, oor els that Luthers doctrine is good, while so conning mẽ & good mẽ lene therto. ¶ And therfore it were wisdõ, not to call thē Lutherans, but rather when they teche & holde any such oppinions, as the people know foor Luthers, let it eyther be dissimuled, oor thei secretly by faire waies ēduced to ý

A contrarye, if the pointes that they teche of his be nought. Lest by calling good and conning mē Lutheranes, they may peraduenture bringe them self in suspicion of malyce and enuye. And Luther amonge the people into good oppinion. Thinkinge as they begin to do al redy, that eyther Luther saied not so euyll as is surmised vpon him, or els that those thinges that he sayth, as odious as they seme, bee good ynough in dede.

¶ He said also that it semed vnto many men a sore thing, and fer vnreasonable, that pore, simple, and vnlerned men (all
B though they fell into errours, and were led out of the right way, by that they lened to the aucthorite of such mē, as they beleued to bee vertuous and conning, should in steede of teching, bee beaten cruelly with abiuracions & opē shame, wō perell of burning also, if a few false witnesse shall after such abiuracion depose ȳ thei haue hard him fal in relapse.

¶ Finally he said that many good & wel lerned mē thought plainly that the clergie semeth farre out of all good order of charite, and that they do contrary to the mildnesse and mercifull minde of their maister, & against the ensample of al the
C olde holy fathers, in that they cause for any errour or wrong oppiniō in ȳ faith, any man one or other to be put to death.

¶ For they say that the old holy fathers vsed onely to dispute with heretiques, techinge them and conuicting them by scripture, and not by fagottes. And that by that way, ȳ faith went well toward, and one heretique so tourned did turne many other, where as nowe mē abhorre this crueltie in the chyrche. And they that seme tourned, thynke stil the thinges ȳ they dare not say. And of ȳ ashes of one heritique springeth by manye.

Of the ashes of one heritique springeth by many.

D And ȳ now we make the fastiō of cristēdom, to seme al turned quite vpsodown. For where as Christ made infidels the persecutors, and his christen people the sufferers, we make the christen men the persecutours, and the infidels the sufferers, wherby men thinke, that secretely Christes order yet standeth stil, though it bee not so taken and so percepued.

For the people take it, that styll those that persecute be the miscreauntes, and those pore people that suffer it, be (vnder the false name of heretykes) the trewe byleuinge men, and very christen martyrs.

¶ Christ also they say wold neuer haue any man compelled by force & violence to beleue vpon his faith, nor wolde that mē should fight for him or his matters. In so ferforth that he wouide not suffre saint Peter to fight for his owne selfe, but reproued him for striking Malch⁹. Math. 26.
C Nor wouide not defende him selfe, but healing the eare againe of Malchus his persecutour, whiche Peter had smitten of: and gyuing all his holy bodye to the pacient sufferaunce of al the peinfull tourmētes, that his cruell enemies would put to it, shewed vs, as wel by his effectuall ensample of his death, as by his godly counsail in his life, and after that confirmed by the cōtinuall passion F and martyrdoms of his holy martyrs, ȳ his will and pleasure is, that we should not so much as defende our self against heretiques and infydels, were they paganes, turkes, or saraslyns. And muche lesse than shoulde we fyght against thē and kill them, but that we shoulde perseuer in setting forth his faith agaynst miscreātes and infydels, by such waies as hym selfe began it, kepe it, and encreace it, as it was gottē. And that was by pacyence and sufferaunce, by which the faith was dyuulgate and spred al-
G most thorowe the worlde in litel while. By pacience & suffrance the faith was dyuulgate.
Not by warre & fightinge, which waye hath (as they saie) well nere all redy lost all, that the other way wanne.

¶ When your frēde had thus declared his credēce, he desyred me both on your behalfe, & on his owne, in suche thinges as were perdase not well saied, to take them as they were in dede, the minde of other, whome ye would fayne answere, and satisfy with reasō, which ye trusted to be the better able to doo, by mine answere, and neyther the minde nor oppinion of you nor him, which did & would in all thing stāde and abide, by the faith and beleue of Christes catholike chirch.
But as for such partes of this mater as H concerned not any parte of our beleue, but the dealing of this world, as the iustice or vniustice of some spirytuall persons, in the pursuing, and cōdempning men for heretiques, or their workes for heresyes, he thought he sayd (as of hym selfe) that men might without any parell of heresy, for their owne parte, not wythstandinge any mans iudgement gyuen, yet well and reasonably doubte therein, for though he thought it heresye, to thinke the oppinions of any man to bee good and catholyque, which been heresyes in dede, yet mighte a man he thought wythout anye parell of heresy,

doubte

A doubte whether he were an heretike or no, that were by mannes iudgemēt condēned for one, sith it might well happen that he neuer holde those oppinions that were put vpon him, but that he was either by false deposicions of wrongefull witnesse, or by the errour or malice of vniust iudges condēned. And that somtime percaie, the ignorāce of some iudges, woulde cōdēne for heresie such articles, as wyser & better lerned woulde in pointe of iudgement alowe for good and catholique, and of the other iudgement deserne and iudge the contrary.

¶ Howe be it, he said that ye had in me
B and my lernynge, so speciall trust & cōfidence, that in any of all these thinges, what so euer ye had herde, or shoulde hyre els where, ye were fully determined to geue full credēce to me, & take for the trouthe such answere, as he shoulde bringe you from me, wherin ye right harcely desired me, to take some payne, that ye might in these matters, by his mouth knowe my minde at large.

After this, ere I made any answere to his wordes, I demaūded him what maner acquayntaūce was betwene him & you. And there vpō perceyuyng him to
C haue your sonnes at scole, enquyryng further of him, to what faculte he had most geuē his study, I vnderstode hī to haue geuē diligēce to the latin tōge, As for other facrilcies he rought not of. For he told me merylly, ý Logicke he rekened but bablinge. Musike to serue for singers. Arithmetricke meete for marchaūtes, Geometry for masons, Astronomy good for no man, And as for Philosophy, the most vanite of all, And ý it & Logicke had lost all good diuinite, wth the subtilties of their questions, & babelynge of their dispicions, buyldinge all vpō reason, which rather geueth blind-
D nesse thā any light. For mā (he said) hath no light, but of holy scripture. And therfore he said ý beside the latin tonge, he had ben (which I much cōmende) studious in holy scripture, which was (he said) lerning ynoughe for a christiē mā, with which the apostles helde thē selfe cōtente. And therin he said he laboured not onely to can many textes thereof by harte, but also to enserche the sentence and vnderstādinge therof, as ferre as he might perceiue by him selfe. For as for interpretours, he tolde me that neyther his time woulde well serue him to rede, and also he foūde so great witnes in the texte self, that he coulde not finde in his harte, to lese any time in ý glosses. And
E as touchyng any difficultie, he said that he founde by experiēce that the best and surest interpretacion was to lay & conferre one texte with another, whiche fayle not amonge them well and sufficiently to declare them selfe. And this way (he saide) that he vsed: whiche he founde sufficient and surest. For so shoulde it most surely tary, whā it were founde out, and lerned by a mannes owne laboure. And that he saide euery mā was able ynoughe to do with helpe of God, which neuer faileth them that faithfully trust in his promise. And he hath promised, that if we seke we shall Mat. 7.
F finde, and if we knocke we shall haue it opened to vs. And what shal be opened: but that boke whiche as sainct Johan saith in the Apocalyps is so shyt with Cap. 5.
vij. clapses, that it can not be opened, but by the lambe, that whan he shytteth then can no man open it, and whan he openeth it, than can no man shyt it.

The surest interpretatiō of scripture.

¶ Upon these wordes & other like, whā I considered that your frende was studious of scripture, & all thoughe I now haue a very good opinion of him, nor at that time had not all the cōtrary, yet to be playne with you and him bothe, by
G reason that he set the matter so well and luskely forwarde, he put me somwhat in doubte whether he were (as yonge scolers be somtyme prone to newe fantasies) fallen in to Luthers sede. And that ye peraduenture somwhat feryng the same, did of good minde the rather sende him to me, with such a message, for that ye trusted he shoulde be somewhat answered and satisfied by me. I therfore thought it not metely in so many matters & weightie to make him an vnauised answere, but with good wordes welcomyng him for the time, pretending
H lacke of leasure for other present busynes, required him to retourne on the morowe: Against which time I woulde so order mine affaires, that we woulde haue cōferēce together, of all his erande at length. And he in this wise beyng departed, I began to gather in minde, the hole effecte as my remēbraunce woulde serue me of all that he had purposed. And because I woulde haue it the more redy at mine eye, so ý I might the more fully & effectually answere it, leuynge no parte vntouched, in such order as he had purposed it, that is to witte, after the maner that I haue aboue reherced, I briefly committed it to wrytynge.

A ¶ The second chapiter.

HEre sommarylye is declared what ꝓdꝓe the Auctor intedeth to treate of the matters purposed vnto him. Whereof because the first was an opinion conceyued in som mennes heddes, that a certain person late abiured of heresy for preching against pilgrimages, and ymages, & praiers made to saintes, was therin greatly wrōged, the auctor briefly declareth his minde, cōcernyng the confutacion of those perylouse and perniciouse opinions.

B ON the morow whan he was comē again somwhat before viij. of the cloke (for so I appoited him) taking him with me into my studye, & my seruantes warned, that if any other sholde happen to desire to speake with me (certaine except of whō I gaue them knowledge) thei sholde differre them till another leasour, I set him down with me, at a litell table. And then I shewed vnto him, that where he had purposed on your behalfe i short wordes, many lōge thinges, wherof the rehersall were loose of time, to him that so well knewe them all redy, I wolde (all superfluous recapitulacion set apart) as briefly as I cōueniently coulde, shewe him my mynde in them all. And first begyn where he began at the abiuracion of the man he spake of. Secondly, wolde I touche the cōdemnacion and burnyng of the new testamēt, trāslated by Tyndale. Thirdly, somwhat wold I speke of Luther, & his secte ingenerall. Fourthly & finally, the thyng that he touched last, that is to wit, the warre and fightyng against infideles, with the condemnacion of heretikes vnto death, which two pointes, him selfe had combyned and knitte together.

¶ And first as touching the matter of the mannes abiuracion, where it is reported, that the spiritualtie did hym wrōnge, and for to make that seme lykely, there is layed in them displeasure, malice and enuy towarde him, for prechyng (as ye say quod I) against their vicious lyuing: & in him is on the other side alleged much cōnyng, vertu, & goodnes. I will neither enter into the praise of them, nor into the dispraise of him, wherin standeth nothing the effecte of this mater. For if there did, I wold not passe ouer som parte therof so shortly.

¶ But now for this matter, allthough the whole spiritualtie (wherin no man doubteth to be many a right, vertuous, and godly man) were in their lyuinge farre worse than deuilles, yet if thei did that man no wrong, there hath for this matter no man against them any cause to complayne. And ouer this, if that mā were in all his other lyuing as innocēt as a saint, yet if he were infected & fautie in these heresies, he had than in this matter no wronge. And yet beside all this, if he not only were in all other thiges very vertuous, but also were in all these heresies (wherof he was detected) vtterly clene & fautles, yet if it were by sufficient witnesse (were thei neuer so false in dede, semyng honest & likely to say trewe) preued in open court that he was fautie therin, albeit in suche case his witnesses had wrōged him, yet had his iudges done him but right. And therfore lettinge passe as I say, ý praise or dispraise of either his iudges or him, as thinges impertinent to the point, I will shewe you that thei not onely did him no wronge, but also shewe him in my minde the grettest fauour, and vsed towarde him the most charitable mercy that euer I will vsed to any mā in such case. ¶ And first as for any wrōge that his iudges did him, I meruell me much, wherin thei that report it could assigne it. For if any were done him, it must nedes haue ben in one of the two thinges, either in that he was vntruly iudged to haue preached suche articles as he was detected of, where he preached none such in dede: or elles in that some such articles as he preached, were iudged & condēned for heresies, where thei were none in dede. Excepte ý any man wolde say that though he were preued & cōuicted of heresie, yet he should haue bene put to no penaunce at all, or elles to no such as he was. And of that point if any man so thinke, I shall speake in the fourth parte, where we shall touche ingenerall the order, that the churche taketh in the cōdēnacion of heretiques. But as for the other poites, first if any priesse wrote out of London into your countrey, that any suche article of his preaching, was by his iudges declared for heresie, as were in dede good & not against the faith of Christes church, let him name what article. And either ye shall finde that he shall name you such as the man was not charged withall, or elles shall ye finde that such as he shall

name

A name you, were suche in dede, as your selfe shall perceiue for heresies at your eares. For the articles where w̄ he was charged, were ý we shoulde do no worshippe to any ymages, nor pray to any saintes, or go on pilgrimages, whiche thinges (I suppose) euery good christen mā will agre for heresies. And therfore we shall let that point passe, and so resort to the seconde, to se whether it were well proued that he preached thē or no.

Three manifest heresies.

¶ Sir quod your frede, I wolde for my parte well agre them for heresies, but yet haue I hard som or this that wold not do so. And therfore whā we call thē heresies, it were well done to tell why, sith some men wolde (I wene if thei might be hard) stylly say nay, whiche now hold their peace, & bere them selfe full coldly that wolde take the matter more hote, saue for burnynge of their lyppes.

B

¶ Now forsoth quod I, who so euer wil say that these be no heresies, he shall not haue me to dispute it, which haue no cōnynge in such matters, but as it best becometh a lay man to do in all thinges, lene & cleue to the comen faith, & beleue of Christes churche. And therby do I plainly know it for an heresie, if ān heresie be a secte & a side way (taken by any parte of such as ben baptised, & beare the name of christen mē) from the comē faith, & beleue of the whole churche besyde. For this am I very sure and perceyue it well, not onely by experiēce of myne owne tyme, and the places where my selfe hath ben, with comen report of other honest men, from al other places of christendom, but by bokes also & remembraunces left of longe time, with writyng of the olde holy fathers, & now saintes in heauē, that from the apostles time hetherto, this maner hath ben vsed taught & alowed, and the contrary cōmōly condēned, thrughe the hole flocke of all good christen people.

What becomyng a lay man.

C

D

¶ And as touchynge suche textes, as these heretiques allege against ý worshipping of ymages, prayeng to saites, and goyng on pilgrimages, as thei lay the lawe geuen to the Jewes. Nō facies tibi sculptile, thou shalt carue the none ymage. And the psalme. In eritu israel de egypto. And Soli deo honor & gloria. Onely to God be honour & glory. And Maledictꝰ qui cōfidit in hoie. Accursed is he that putteth his trust in mā, with many such other like, which heretiques haue of olde, euer barked against christes catholike churche, very sure am I that saint Austyn, saint Hierome, saint Basyle, saint Gregory, with so many a godly connynge man, as hath ben in Christes church, frō the begynnyng hetherto vnderstoode those textes, as well as did those heretiques: Namely hauig as good wittes, beyng farre better lerned vsynge in stuoy more diligence, beyng an hepe to an handfull, & (which most is of all) hauyng (as god by many miracles bereth wittnes) beside their lernyng, the light and clerenes of his especiall grace, by which thei were inwardly taught of his onely spirite, to perceyue that the wordes spoken in the olde lawe to the Jewes people prone to ydolatry, & yet not to all them neyther, (For the priestes than, had the ymages of the Aungell cherubin, in the secret place of the tēple) shoulde haue no place to forbyd ymages amonge his christien flocke, where his pleasure woulde be to haue the ymage of his blessed body hangyng on his holy crosse, had in honour and reuerent remembraunce, where he woulde vouchsauke to sende vnto the king Abiagarus, the ymage of his own face, where he liked to leue the holy vernacle, ý expresse ymage also of his blessed visage, as a token to remaine in honour among such as loued him, frō the tyme of his bitter passion hytherto.

Ye Ex. 20.

Psal. 115.

1. Tim. 1.

Jer. 17.

E

F

Kynge Abiagarus.

The vernacle

G

Which as it was by the miracle of his blessed holy hande expressed and lefte in the sudary, so hath it ben by like miracle in ý thynne corruptable cloth, kepte and preserued vncorrupted this .xv. C. yere fresshe and wel preiued to the inwarde comforte, spirituall reioysyng, & great encrease of feruoure and deuocīō in the harties of good Christien people. Christ also taught his holy euangelistes saint Luke, to haue an other maner mynde towarde ymages, thā haue these heretiques, whā he put in his mynde to coūterfete & expresse in a table, the louely visage of our blessed lady his mother. He taughte also saint Amphibalus, the maister and techer of the holy first martyr of England saint Albane, to bere about and worship the crucifixe. Who shewed also saint Albane him selfe in a vision the ymage of the crucifix: but God, which thing wrought in that holy man so strōgly, that he with fewe wordes of saint Amphybalus, at the sight of the blessed ymage (which our lord had before shewed him i his slepe) was clene tourned to christendome. And in the

H

S. Amphibalus.

S. Albanus.

wor-

A worshipping of the same ymage, was taken and brought forthe to iudgemēt, and afterwarde to martyrdome.

¶ I woulde also fayne witte, whether these heretiques will be contēte that the blessed name of Jesus be had in honour & reuerence or not. If not, then nede we no more to shewe what wretches thei be, whiche dare dispise that holy name that the deuill trembleth to hyre of. And on the other side if thei agree ỳ the name of Jesus is to be reuerenced and had in honour, then sith that name of Jesus is nothing els but a worde, which by writyng or by voice representeth vnto the hyrer the person of our sauiour Christ, faine wolde I witte of these heretiques, if thei geue honour to the name of our lorde, which name is but an ymage representynge his person to mānes minde and ymaginacion, why and with what reason can thei dispise a figure of him carued or paynted, which representeth him and his actes, farrē more playne & more expressely.

The name of Jesus. Phil. 2.

B

¶ Sir quod he as touchinge the coste done vpō the arche, and the temple, and the priestes apparell by the cōmaundemēt of God, there is a proper boke and a very cōtēplatiue written in englishe, and entitled the ymage of loue, whiche was made as it semeth by some very vertuous man cōtemplatiue and well lerned. In which boke the reason of yours is not onely well answered, but also tourned agayn against you. For therin that good holy man layeth fore agayns these carued & painted ymages, geuyng them litell praise, and specially lesse cōmendyng such as be most costely, curyously, and most workemanly wrought. And he sheweth full well that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, and therfore that religious men & folke of more parfite life, and more instructe in spiritual wisdome, shoulde let all such dede ymages passe, & labour onely for the lyuely quicke ymage of loue and charitie. And very fore he speaketh there agayns all this costly ornamentes of the churche, wherof the money were (as he saith) better bestowed vpon poore folke. And he sheweth that the sainctes and holy doctours of olde time woulde suffre no such superfluite in the paramētes of the church, but only see that thei were clene and pure, and not costely. And therfore he saith that in their time thei had treen chalices & golden priestes, and now haue we golden chalices and treen priestes.

C

Images lay mēnes bokes.

D

¶ Surely quod I, that boke haue I sene, whereof who was the maker I knowe not. But the man might peradventure meane well & renne vp so highe in his cōtēplaciō spirituall, that while he thought he sat in God almighty his bosom vp an highe in heauē, he cōtened & set at nought all earthly thinges, & all temporall seruice done to God here benethe amonge poore sely men in erthe. And verely of his entēte and purpose I will not much medle. For a right good man maie happe at a time in a seruent vndiscrete, to saye some thing & write it to, which whē he cōsidereth after more aduisedly, he woulde be very fayne to chaūge, but this dare I be bolde to say, that his wordes go somewhat further then he is able to defende. For I doubte it not but that in the daies of those holy saintes, ornamētes in churches of christ were not only pure and clene, but also very costly. And it might well be, and so haue I redde that it hath be in some great derthe of corne & famine of people, that some good holy bisshoppes haue releued poore people with the sale of some of the vessell & plate of the church. But I suppose he shall neuer finde (excepte in some suche great vrgent cause chauncynge vpon some occasion) that euer those holy men refused to haue god serued in his churches with the best and most precious of suche metals as his goodnes geueth vnto man, of which it is very right and good reason that man serue him agayne with the best, and not do as Cayn did, kepe all that ought is for him selfe, and serue his maister and his maker with the worst. And bicause he nameth saint Ambrose, I wene there will no man doubte of the Emperour Theodosius, a mā so deuout vnto God as he was, that he wolde be serued him selfe in cuppes of golde, & suffre his and our sauioure Christ in the churche of Millayne, where him selfe resorted, and saint Ambrose was bisshop, to be serued in chalices of tree. Nor verely I can scante beleue that any christien people, all were thei very poore, woulde at this daye suffre the precious bloude of our lorde to be consecrate and receyued in tree, where it should cleue to the chalice and sinke in and not be clene receyued out by the priestes. But ỳ worde I wene he set in for the pleasure that he had in that proper comparison betwene treen chalices and goldē priestes of olde, and nowe golden chalices & treen priestes.

E

F

Note.

G

Gen. 4.

H

But

A But of trouth I thinke he saith trouth, that the chalices were made of treen when the pressés were made of golde, and shall finde that there were of olde tyme many mo chalyces made of gold, thē he findeth now pressés made of tree. If he loke well in Platina de vitis pontificum, I wene he shall well perceyue that Christ was serued with syluer and gold in the vessels vtensylys and ornamentes of his chirche, lōge time or saint Ambrose was borne, or ý eldest of those olde doctours that he speaketh of. And I dare make me bolde to warrant that they them selfe vsed not to say masse in B chalices of tree. And me thiketh that the pleasure of God can not in this poinct better appere, then by his owne wordes writen in holy scripture, as in the arch of the testament and the ornamentes of the prest, and the cost and richesse bestowed aboute the temple of Salomon.

¶ Mary quod he, that is the thinge that is in the boke of the ymages of loue, as I was aboute to tell you very well and clerely answered. ¶ In what wise q̄ I. ¶ Mary quod he, for first whā the arche was made, there were no pore men to bestow that richesse vpon, for while the C children of Israell were in deserte they were fedde with manna, and theyr clothes neuer wasted, nor were the worse in all that fourty yere. And as for the richesse of the tēple made by Salomon, coulde make no matter to the people, for there was then no poore folke neyther. For as the very wordes of the scripture sheweth, there was in his daies so great plēty of gold, that siluer was not set by. ¶ Forsothe quod I the man maketh a proper answere for the arche. But I would faine witte of him though there were no pore folke amonge them at the D time of the makinge, was there neuer none amonge them after the time of the keping? I wene he will not saye nay. And then if there were, sith god woulde by his resō rather haue commaunded to gyue that golde to pore men if there had ben such thē to make it in the arch: he woulde by the same reason after whē there were suche, haue cōmaunded then to breake it againe & giue it thē, rather then to kepe it in the arche. And as for the richesse bestowed vpon the temple of Salomon, where he sayd that there wer then no poore men because there wer so great plenty of golde, that siluer was not set by: euery man may well wytte, that if euery man had in his time been rich, he had not had so many worke mē. E But weneth he that because there was in his dayes so much gold, that therfore all the people had ynough therof? I rather fere me that because he was so rich his people were the porer. For albeit he had great giftes sente hym, and also vsed not his owne people of the childrē of Israel for bonde men and slaues, yet it is likely that he set great and sore imposicions vpon them, wherby he gathered great richesse, & they grewe in great pouertye. And if any man thinke ý contrary, let him then loke after Salomōs death in the beginninge of his sonnes reigne, whither all the people dyd not so sore complaine therof, that (bicause thei F coulde not geate a promise of amendement as sadd men aduised the king, but by the lewde connsaile of yonge laddes 3. reg. 12. ý then led the yonge kyng to foly, were with a prowde rygorous aunswere put in fere of worse) of the. xii. tribus of Israel. x. fell clerely from him, and leste him no mo but twaine. And therfore by the richesse and roialtye of the prince to proue that there was no pore people in his roialme, is a very pore proke. For so may it happe that ý prince may be most riche when his people be most pore, and G the ryches of the one causing the pouertye of the other, if the peoples substance bee gathered into ý princes purse. And for conclusion it is lyttell doubte but Salomō myght haue foūde poore folke ynoughe to haue gyuen his golde vnto that he bestowed vpon the tēple of god. And therfore that aunswere answereth not well the matter.

Exo. 16.

1. reg. 10.

¶ Well quod your frēde, yet hath that boke one aunswere that assoileth al the hole matter. For as it is said there, all those thinges that were vsed in the olde lawe, were but grose & carnall, & were H all as a shadowe of the lawe of Christ, & therfore the worshipping of god with golde and siluer, & suche other corporall thinges oughte not to bee vsed amonge christen people, but leauing al that shadowe, we shoulde drawe vs to the spirituall thinges, and serue our lord onely in spirite & spirituall thinges. For so he saith him self, that god as him self is Johñ. 4. spiritual, so seketh he such worshippers as shall worshippe him in spyrite, and in trouthe, that is in fayth, hope, & charyte of harte, not in the ypocrisy, & ostētacion of outward obseruance, bodyly seruice, gay and costly ornamētes, faire ymages, goodly songe, fleshly fastinge,

and

A and all the rable of such vnsauoury ceremonyes, all which are now gone as a shadowe. And our sauiour him selfe whose fayth is our iustyfycacion, calleth vpon our soule, and our god faithfull mynde, and setteth all those carnal thynges at nought.

¶ The booke quod I saith not fully so farre as ye reherce, howbeit in dede many other men do. But these men that make them selfe so spyrytual, god sende grace that some euyll spyrite enspyre not to theyr hartes a deuyllishe deuice, B which vnder a cloke of specyall zele to spirituall seruyce, go first about to destroy all such deuocion, as euer hath hytherto shewed it selfe, & vttred the good affection of the soule by good and holy workes, vnto gods honour wrought in the body. These me be commen in to so hyghe poinct of perfeccion, that they passe all the good men that serued god in old tyme. For as for the good godly man Moyses, he thought that to praye not onely in mind, but with mouth also was a good way. The good kinge Dauyd thought it plesant to god, not only C to pray with his mouth, but also to sing and daunce to, to goddes honour, & blamed his folishe wife, whiche did at that time as these folishe heretiques do now mockinge that bodyly seruice.

1.reg.6.

Holy saint John the Baptist not onely baptysed and preched, but also fasted, watched, praied & ware heare. Christ our sauiour him selfe, not onely prayed in minde, but also with mouth, whiche kinde of prayer these holy spirituall heritiques nowe cal lippe labour in mockage. And the fastinge which they sett at nought, our sauiour him selfe sett so much by, that he continued it fourtye D dayes to gider. Nowe as for the ymages whiche ye call one of the shadowes. ¶ Naye by sainct Marys quod he I called gaye ornamentes of the chirche and suche other outwarde obseruaunces and bodyly ceremonies, as the ymage of loue calleth them, suche thynges I called as the booke doth shadowes of the olde law. But as for ymages the boke aduiseth me either cleneles passe and leaue of, or if we will needes haue anye, care not howe simple it bee made, for as well may the mosse rude ymage and mosse symply wrought, put vs in minde of Christ, & our lady, and any other saint, as may the most cosfelye and mosse curyous that anye paynsour or caruer can deuise.

Luc.1.

Luc.4.

¶ And verely to say the trouthe, as for E ymages they bee no shadowes of the olde lawe, but thinges therin plainelye and clerely forbidde, as wel in dyuerse other places of scripture, as in the textes late remembred by your selfe. Non facies tibi sculptile; thou shalte carue the nor graue the none ymage. And by all the hole psalm. In exitu Israel de egipto, is it with great execracion and malediccion prohybyted.

Exo.20.

Psal.113.

¶ Fyrst quod I ye maye not take those wordes for suche a precyse prohibicyon, as shoulde forbede vtterlye anye F ymages to bee made, for as I shewed you before, they had in the temple the ymages of cherubyn. But it was prohybyted to make suche ymages as the Egipciās and other painyms dyd, that is to witte, the ydols of false goddes for that appereth in the psalme self, where he layeth for the cause of the prohybycion. Quoniam omnes dij gentium demonia, dominus autem celos fecit. For all the goddes of the paynyms bee Deuilles, but our Lorde hathe made the heauens. Dothe it not by these wordes well appeare what ymages were in that psalme forbeden, that is to witte, the ymages and G ydols onely of those paynym gods? For els I pray you tel me what reason wer this, if one would say make non ymage of Christ, nor of our ladye, nor of any christē saint in no wise, for all the gods of the paynyms be but deuyls? were not this a wise reason wel concluded?

What ymages were prohybyted.

¶ There is also in these prohibicions intended, that no man shall worshippe any ymage as god. For if he should, thē should he fall in the contēpte of the precepte of god, by which we bee commaūded to worship onely one God, and forbodē to worship any false goddes. And therefore where it is written. Non facies tibi sculptile. Thou shalt graue the none ymage, it goeth next before. Non habebis deos alienos. Thou shalt haue no false goddes. And it is also written. Nolite conuerti ad ydola neque deos conflatiles faciatis vobis Tourne not to ydols, nor make not for your selfe any goddes of metall cast in a moulde. And where it is forboden to worship any ymage, there is the worde that signifieth the honoure and seruice onely perteyning to god. And therefore neyther may we doo worshippe to any ymage and ydole of any false paynym, with honour and seruice doneas to god may we neyther worship ymage of any saynt, nor yet the saint it selfe. But I suppose

H

Exo.20.

Exo.34.

How ymages may be reuerenced.

A suppose neyther scripture nor naturall reason doth forbede that a man may do some reuerēce to an ymage, not fyxing hys finall intente in the ymage, but referringe it further to the honour of the person that the ymage representeth, sith that in such reuerēce done vnto the ymage there is none honour withdrawen neither from God nor good man, but both ẏ saint honoured in his ymage and god in his saint. When a meane man and an embassiatour to a greate kinge hath muche honour done him, to whom doth that honour redoūde, to the embassiatour or to the kinge?

B ¶ When a mā at the receite of his princes letter putteth of his cappe and kisseth it, doth he this reuerence to the paper or to his prince?

¶ In good faith to saie the trouth these heretiques rather trifle then reason in this matter. For where thei saie that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, thei cā not yet saie nay but that thei be necessary if thei were but so. Howbeit me thinketh that they be good bokes, bothe for lay mē and for the lerned to. For as I somwhat said vnto you before, all the wordes that be either writtē or spoken,

C be but ymages representing the things that the writer or speaker conceiueth in his minde: likewise as the figure of the thinge framed with ymaginacion and so conceiued in the minde, is but an ymage representing the verie thinge it selfe that a man thinketh on. As for ensample, if I tell you a tale of my good frende your maister, the ymaginacion that I haue of him in my minde, is not your mayster hym selfe but an ymage that representeth hym. And whē I name you hym, his name is neyther hym self, nor yet the fygure of him, which figure

D is in myn ymaginacion, but onelye an ymage representynge to you the ymagynacion of my mynde.

¶ Now if I be to farre from you to tel it you, then is the writing not the name it selfe, but an ymage representyng the name. And yet all these names spoken, and all these wordes written, be no naturall signes or ymages but only made by consent and agrement of men, to betoken and signyfie such thinge, wheras ymages paynted, grauen, or carued, may be so wel wrought and so nere to ẏ quicke and to the trouth, that they shal naturally, and much more effectuallye represent the thinge then shal the name eyther spoken or writen. For he that neuer herde the name of your mayster, E shall yf euer he sawe hym be brought in a rightfull remembrance of him by his ymage wel wrought and touched to the quicke. And surely sauing that men cā not do it, els if it might commodiously be done, there wer not in thys world so effectual writing as were to expresse al thing in ymagery. And nowe likewyse as a boke well made and well written better expresseth the matter then doth a boke made by a rude man that can not well tell hys tale and written with an euyll hāde: so doth an ymage wel workmanly wrought, better expresse the thig then doth a thynge rudely made, but yf it moue a man for some other specyall F cause, as peradventure for some greate antiquite or ẏ great vertue of the workman, or for that god sheweth at ẏ place some specyall assistence of hys fauoure and grace. But nowe as I began to say syth all names spoken or writen be but ymages, if ye set ought by the name of Iesus spoken or written: why shoulde ye set nought by hys ymage painted or caruen that representeth his holy persō to your remembrance, as much ē more to, as doth hys name writtē. Nor these two words Christus crucifixus, do not so lyuely represent vs the remembrance G of his bitter passion, as dothe a blessed ymage of the crucifix, neither to lay mā nor vnto a lerned. And thys perceiue these heritiques them self wel ynough. Nor they speake not againste ymages for any furtherance of deuocion, but plainly for a malicious minde, to mynyshe and quenche mennes deuocions. For thei se wel ynough that there is no man but if he loue another, but he delieth in hys ymage or any thing of hys. And these heretyques that be so fore against the ymages of God, ē hys holy saintes, would be yet right angry with H hym that would dishonestly handle an ymage made in remembraunce of one of them selfe, where the wretches forbere not vylanously to handle and cast dyrte in dispite vpon the holy crucifixe, an ymage made in remēbrance of our sauyour him self, ē not only of his most blessyd person, but also of his most bitter passion.

Why heretyques speake against ymages.

Effectuall writinge.

Nowe as touchinge prayer made vnto the saintes, and worship done vnto thē, much meruaile is it what cause of malyce these heretiques haue to them, we se it commen in the wretched condicion of this world, that one man of a pryde

A in him self hath enuy at a nother, or for displeasure done, beareth to some other malice & euill wil. But this must nedes be a deuelyshe hatered, to hate him whō thou neuer knewest, which neuer dyd ȳ harme, whiche yf he coulde now do the no good where he is, yet either with his good ensample gone before the, or hys good doctrine left behynde hym, dothe the (but if thou bee very nought of thy selfe) great good in this worlde for thy iourney towarde heuin. And this must nedes bee an enuye comming of an hye B deuelishe pryde, and farre passinge the enuye of the deuyll hym selfe, for he neuer enuyed but such as he sawe, & was conuersant with, as whan he sawe mā and the glory of god. But these heretyques enuy them whom they neuer shall se, but whā they shall be sory & ashamed in them selfe of that glorious sight.

A deuelyshe hatred.

¶ For where they pretende the zele of goddes honour him self, as though god (to whom onely al honour and glory is to be gyuen) were dishonoured in that some honour is done to his holy saintes C they be not so mad nor childishe as they make them selfe. For if al honour were so to bee gyuen onelye to god, that we shoulde gyue none to no creature, wher were than goddes precepte of honoure to be gyuen to our father and mother, to prices, gouernours, and rulers here in earth, And as saint Poule sayth euerye man to other.

Mar. 7.

Ro. 12.

¶ And well they wote that the chyrche worshippeth not saintes as god, but as goddes good seruauntes, and therefore the honour that is done to them redoūdeth principally to the honour of theyr maister, like as in commen custome of people we do reuerence sometyme and D make great chere to some men for their maister sake, whom els we would not happely byd ones good morowe.

How the church worshippeth saintes.

¶ And surely yf any benefyte or almes done to one of chrisses poore folk for his sake, be by hys high goodnes reputed & accepted, as done vnto hym selfe. And ȳ who so receyueth one of hys apostels or disciples receiueth him self, euery wise man may wel consider that in likewise who so doth honour his holy saintes for his sake, doth honour hym self. Excepte these heretiques wene that god were as enuyouse as they be them sefe. And that he would be wroth to haue any honour done to any other, though it therby redounded vnto him self. Wherof our sauyour christ well declareth the cōtrary for he sheweth hym selfe so wel content E that hys holy saintes shalbe parteners of his honour, that he promiseth hys apostels, ȳ at the dredful dome (whan he shal come in his hygh maiesty) thei shal haue their honorable seatys, & sytt with him self vpon the iugemēt of the world.

¶ Christ also promised that saint mary magdalene shoulde be worshipped thorowghe the world, & haue here an honorable remēbrance for that she bestowed that precyouse oyntement vppon hys holy hed: Which thing whan I cōsider, it maketh me meruaile of the madnesse F of these heretyques, that barke against the olde auncient customes of Christes chyrch, mockinge the settinge vp of cādels, and with folish facecies and blasphemous mockery demaunde whyther god and hys saintes lack lyght or whyther it be nyght with them that they cā not se wyth out candle. They might as well aske what good dyd that oyntmēt to crisses hed. But ȳ heretiques grudge at the cost now, as theyr brother Judas Mat. 26 dyd than. And say it were better spente in almes vpō a poore folk, and thys saye many of them, which can neyther finde G in theyr harte to spende vpō the one nor the other. And some spende sometyme vpon the one for none other entent, but to thende that they may the more boldlye rebuke and rayle against the other. But let them all by that ensample of ȳ holy womā, and by these wordes of our sauiour lerne that god deliteth to se the feruēt hete of ȳ hartis deuociō boile out by ȳ body, & to do him seruice w̄ all such gōdes of fortune as god hath giuē a mā

¶ What riches deuysed our lorde God him self, in the makinge & garnishinge H of the temple, and in the ornamentes of the aulter and the priesses apparayle, what was hym self the better for al this what for the bestys that hym selfe commaunded to be offred him in sacrifyce: what for the swete odours and frankēsence: why doo these heretiques more mock at the maner of chrisses chyrche, thā they doo at the maner of the Jewes sinagoge, but if thei be better iewes thā christen mē: If mē will say that the money were better spent among poore folke (by whom he more setteth, beynge the quicke temples of the holye goste made by hys owne hande, that by the tēples of stone made by the hande of mā. This wold be percase very trew, if there wer so lyttel to do it with, that we should be driuē of necessite, to leue ȳ one vndone,

But

A But god geueth ynough for both, & geueth diuers men diuers kindes of deuocion, and all to his pleasure. In which as the apostel Paule saith, let euery mā for his parte abounde and be plētuouse in that kynde of vertue, that the spirite of God guydeth him to. And not to be of the foolishe minde that Luther is, which wished in a sermon of his, that he had in his hande all the peces of the holy crosse, & saith that if he so had, he would throw them there as neuer sonne sholde shyne on them. And for what worshipfull reason woulde the wretche do such villanye to the crosse of Christ? byeause as he saith that there is so much golde nowe bestowed about the garnyshynge of the peces of the crosse, that there is none leefte for poore folke. Is not this an high reason? as though all the gold that is now bestowed about the peces of the holy crosse, woulde not haue failed to haue ben geuen to poore men, if thei had not ben bestowed about the garnishing of the crosse. And as though there were nothyng lost, but that is bestowed about Christes crosse. ¶ Take all the golde that is spent about all the peces of Christes crosse thorowe christendome (albe it many a good christē prince, and other godly people hath honorably garnyshed many peces thereof) yet if all the golde were gathered together, it woulde appere a poore porcion in cōparison of the golde that is bestowed vpō cuppes, what speke we of cuppes? in which the golde, albe it that it be not geuē to poore men, yet is it saued, & may be geuē in almes whā men will, which thei neuer will, howe small a porcion wene we were ý golde about all ý peces of christes crosse, if it were compared w̄ the gold that is quyte cast away, about the gilteynge of knyues, swordes, spores, arrace, & paynted clothes: and (as though these thinges could not cōsume golde fast ynoughe) the gylteyng of postes & hole roofes, not onely in the palaces of princes & great prelates, but also many right meane menes houses. And yet among all these thinges couldе Luther spye no golde, that greuously glyttered in his blered eyes, but only about the crosse of Christ. For that golde, if it were thens the wise mā weneth it wold be streight geuen to poore men, and that where he dayly seeth, that such as haue their purse full of gold, geue to the poore not one pece thereof, but if thei geue ought, thei transake the botome among all the golde, to seke out here an halfe peny, or in his countrey a brasse peny, wherof foure make a ferthynge, suche goodly causes finde thei that pretende holynesse for the colour of their cloked heresies.

1. Thes. 4.

Luthers villany to the holy crosse.

B

C

D

E

¶ The thirde Chapiter.

THe obiectiōs of the messēger made against prayeng to saintes, worshippynge of ymages, and goyng on pilgrimages, with the answere of the author vnto the same. And incidently is it by the messenger moued, ý there shoulde seme no necessitie for christen folke to resorte to any churches, but ý all were one to pray thens or there. And that opinion by the author answered and confuted.

F

AT this point your frende desiring me, that what so euer he sholde say, I shold not reken it as spoken of his owne oppinion, but ý he would partely shew me what he had herde some other saie therin, to the ende that he might the better answere them, with that he should hyre of me. This protestacion and prefacion made, he said that albe it no good man woulde agre, that it were well done, to do vnto saintes or their ymages dispite or dishonour, yet to go in pilgrymages to them, or to pray to them, not onely semed in vayne, consideryng that all thei (if thei can any thing do) can yet do no more for vs amōg them all, than Christ can him selfe alone that can do all, nor be not so redy at our hande, to hyre vs, if thei hyre vs at all, as Christ that is euery where, nor bere vs halfe the loue and longynge to helpe vs, that doth our sauyour that dyed for vs, whome as sainct Paule saith, we haue for our aduocate afore the father. But ouer this it semeth to smell of ydolatry, whā we go on pilgrymage to this place and that place, As thoughe God were not like stronge or not like present in euery place. But as the deuill were of olde, vnder the false name of goddes, present and assistent in the ydolles and mammettes of the paganes, so woulde we make it seme, that God and his saintes stode in this place, and that place, bounde to this post, and that post cut out and carued in ymages. For whan we reken our selfe to be better

G

H

Rom. 8.

A better herde with our lord in Kent than at Cãbridge, at the north dore of Poules than at the south dore, at one ymage of our Lady than at another, is it not an euidẽt token, and in maner a plaine prose, that we put our trust & confidence in the ymage selfe, and not in god or our lady: whiche is as good in the one place as in the other, & the one ymage no more like her thã the other, nor cause why she shoulde fauour the one before the other. But we blinde people in stede of God and his holy saintes them selfe, B cast our affections to the ymages selfe, & therto make our prayers, therto make our offringes, and wene these ymages were the very saintes self, of whom our helpe and helth should grow, puttynge our full trust in this place & that place, Nigromãcers as Negromãcers put their trust in their cercles, within which thei thinke them self sure against all ỳ deuils in hel. And wene if thei were one ynch without, ỳ than the deuill wolde pull thẽ in pecys, but as for the cercle he dare not for his eares ones put ouer his nose. ¶ And men reken that the clergie is glad to fauour theis waies, & to norishe this superstiсion vnder the name and colour C of deuocion, to the parell of the peoples soules, for the lucre and temporall aduauntage that them selfe recepue of the offringes. ¶ Whan I had hard him say what him liked, I demaũded if he mynded euer to be priesse, werunto he aunswered, nay verely, for me thiketh quod he that there be prestes to many al redy but if thei were better. And therfore when god shall sende time I purpose he said to marry. ¶ Well said I than sith Twyse married can not be a priesse. I am all redy married twyse, and therfore neuer can be priesse, and ye be so set in minde of marriage, that ye neuer wil be priesse, we two be not the most me- D tely to pōder what might be said in this matter for the priestes parte. ¶ How be it whan I cōsider it, me thinketh surely that if the thing were such as ye say, so far from all frame of right religiõ, and so perilous to mẽs soules, I cã not perceyue why that the clergie woulde for the gayne thei get thereby, suffer such abusion to cōtinew. For first if it were trew that no pilgrymage ought to be vsed, none ymage offred vnto, nor worship done, nor prayour made vnto any saint. Than if none of all these thinges had euer ben in vse, or now were all vndone If that were the right way, as I wote well it were wrong, than were it to me lytell question, but christen people being in the trew faith, and in the right way to godwarde, woulde therby nothinge slake their good myndes, toward the ministers of his church, but E their deuocion should toward thẽ more and more encrease. So that if thei now get by this waie one peny, thei shoulde (if this be wronge and the other right) not faile in stede of a peny now, than to recepue a grote. And so should no lucre geue thẽ cause to fauour this way and it be wronge, whyle thei coulde not faile to wyn more by the right.

¶ Moreouer loke me thorow christen- F dome, and I suppose ye shall finde the frute of those offerynges a right small parte of the lyuynge of the clergye. And suche as though some few places wolde be gladde to retaine, yet the hole body might without any notable losse easely forbere. ¶ Let vs consider our owne coũtrey here, and we shall finde of these pilgrymages for the most parte in the handes of suche religious persones, or suche poore parishes as bere no greate rule in the conuocacions. And besyde this ye shall not finde I suppose, that any bishop in Englande hath the profite of one grote of any suche offringe within his diocese. Now standeth then G the continuaunce or the breking of this maner and custome, specially in them, which take no profite therby, which if thei beleued it to be (such as ye call it) superstiсious, & wicked, woulde neuer suffre it continewe to the perishynge of mennes soules, wherby thẽ self shoulde dystroy their owne soules, and neither in body nor goodes take any commodite. And ouer this we se, that the bishoppes and prelates them selfes visite those holy places & pilgrymages, with as large offringes, and as great cost in H commynge and goyng as other people do, so that thei not onely take no temporall aduauntage therof, but also bestowe of their owne therin.

¶ And surely I byleue this deuocion so planted by goddes owne hande in the hertes of the hole church, that is to wit, The church not the clergie only, but the hole cōgregacion of all christen people, that if the spiritualtie were of the mynde to leue it, yet wolde not the tẽporaltie suffre it. ¶ Nor if it so were that pilgrymages hanged onely vpon the couetise of euill priestes, for euill must thei be that wold for couetise helpe the people forwarde to ydolatry, thã would not god priestes

and

A and good bishops haue vsed them theyr selues. But I am very sure that many an holy bishop, and therwith excellently wel lerned in scripture, aud the lawe of god, haue had hygh deuocion therto.

¶ For where as ye say, mē reke, that it smelleth of ydolatry, to visit this place and that place, as thoughe that God were more mightye or more present in one place then in another, or that god or his saintes had bounden them selues to stande at this ymage, or ỳ ymage, & ỳ by mens demeanour therby should appere, that the pylgryms put theyr truste in the place or the ymage it selfe, takinge that for very god, or for the very saynct, B of whom they seke for helpe, and so fare like negromancers, that put their trust in theyr cercle. ¶ Surely holye sainct Austyn in an epystle of hys (whyche he wrote to the clergy and the people, take the pilgrimages for a more ernest and a farre more godly thing. And saith, that thoughe the cause bee to vs vnknowen why god doth in some place miracles, and in some place none, yet is it no dout but he so doth. And therin had that good holy doctour so great confydence, that as he saith hym selfe, he sent two of hys C priestes in pilgrimage for ỳ trial of the trouth of a great matter in contencio & debate betwene thē out of Hyppona in affrike, vnto saint Stephens chyrche in Hyllayne, where many miracles were wont to be shewed, to the ende, that god myght there, by some meanes, cause the truth to be declared, & made open by his power, which by no meane knowen to man, he coulde well fynde out.

Note.

¶ For they that gone on pilgrimage do nothinge like to those nygromancers, to whome ye resemble them that put theyr confydence in the roundell and D cercle on the grounde, for a speciall beleue that they haue in the compace of that grounde, by reson of folishe caractes and figures aboute it, with inuocacions of euyll spirites and familiarite with deuyls beyng enemies to god, and the crafte and wayes of all that worke by god hym selfe prohibited and forboden, and that vpon the payne of death, what lykenes hath that vnto the going of good men vnto holy places, not by enchauntment dedicat to the deuill, but by goddys holy ordynaunce wyth hys holy wordes consecratid vnto him selfe. Whyche two thynges if ye woulde resemble togither, so might ye blaspheme and haue in derysion all the deuout rytes & cerimonies of the church, both in ỳ E deuine seruices as ensensing, halowing of the fyre, of the funt, of the pascall lambe, and ouer that the exorcismis, benediccions, and holy straunge gestures vsed in consecracion or ministracion of the blessyd sacramentes, all which holy thinges great parte whereof was from hande to hande left in the church, from the time of chrystys apostels, and by thē left vnto vs, as it was by god taught vnto them, mē might now by that meanes folyly misliken vnto the superstici- F ous demeanoure & fond fassion of iugglery. Nor ỳ flock of chryst is not so folish as those heretiques bere them in hande, that wher as there is no dogge so mad, but he knoweth a very conye frō a cony carued & paynted, cristen people ỳ haue reason in their heddys & therto the light of faith in theyr soules, shoulde wene ỳ thimages of our ladi were herout lady selfe. Nay they be not I truste so mad, but Reuerence to thymage. thei do reuerēce to thimage for ỳ honor of ỳ persō whō it repsēteth, as euery mā deliteth in thymage and remēbrance of his frende. And albeit that euery good chrysten man hath a remembrynge of G chrystys passion in hys minde, and conceiuith by deuout meditacio a fourme & fassiō therof in his harte, yet is there no mā I wene so good nor so wel lerned, nor in meditacion so well accustomed, but that he findeth him selfe more moued to pyte & compassiō, vpō the beholdinge of the holy crucyfire, than whan he lacketh it. And if there be any that for the mayntenance of his opinion will peraduenture say that he fyndyth it other wise in him self he should giue me cause to fere, that he hathe of chrystes passion neyther the one way nor the other, but a very faint feling, sith that the holy fa- H thers before vs dyd, and all deuout people about vs do, fynde and fele in them selfe the contrary.

¶ Nowe for the reason that you aledge quod I, where ye saye that in resortynge to thys place and that place, thys Image and that ymage, we seeme to reken as though god were not in euerye place lyke myghty, or not lyke present, thys reason procedith no more against pylgrimages, than agaynst all the chyrchys in crystendome. For god is as myghtye in the stable as in the tēple. And as he is not comprehensyble nor circumscribed no where, so is he p̄sent euery where. But this letteth not God is euery where present heuē be it a corporal thing or not, to be ỳ

Negromancy by god forboden.

Iuriume. 27.

A place of a speciall maner & kind of hys presence, in which it liketh him to shew hys glorious maiestie, to his blessed heuēly cōpany, which he sheweth not vnto dāpned wretches in hel, & yet is he neuer thens. So liked it hys goodnes to go wō his chosen people through the deserte in the cloude by day, and the piller of fyre by night, yet was he not bounden as ye resemble it like the dampned spirites to the olde ydols of the paynims.

Psalme.77.

¶ It lyked him also to chose the arche ý was carped with his people, at whiche arche specyally by myracle, he diuers times declared hys especyal assystence, the arche beyng translated fro place to place.

B

¶ Was it not also hys plesure to be specially presēt in his tēple of Ierusalē, till he suffered it to bee distroyed for theyr synne? And in stede of that one place of prayer (to which he wold before that all hys people should come) he hath vouchsauffed to spreade hym selfe abrode into many temples, and in more acceptable wise to be worshipped in many temples through out his christen flocke.

¶ Here said your frende, that the tēple of christ is (as saint Poule sayth, mans harte, and that god is not included nor shit in any place. And so him selfe sayde to the womā of Samary, the very worshippers should worship in spirite) and in truth, not in the hyl or in Ierusalem or any other temple of stone.

C

1.Cor.6. Christes very temple.

¶ Wherunto I shewed hym, ý I wold well agree that no temple of stone was vnto god so pleasant, as the temple of mās harte. But yet that nothing letteth or withstandeth, but that god wil, that hys christen people haue in sundry places, sundry temples & chirches, to which they should beside their priuat prayers assemble solemply & resort in company to worship him togyther, such as dwell so nere togither, ý they may conueniently resort to one place.

D

¶ For albeit our sauiour said quod I, vnto the womā, of whom ye spake, that the time should cōe in which thei should neither worship god in ý hill of Gezera, nor in Ierusalem neyther, whyche places wer after distroied and desolate, and the Pagane maner of worshipping of the one, & the Iewes maner of worshipping in the other, tourned bothe in to the maner of worshipping of christē faith and religion, yet said he not to her that they should neuer after worshippe god in none other temple. But he sayed that the time should come, and thā was commen all redy, whan the very trewe worshippers should worship god in spirite and treweth. And that as God is a spirituall substaunce, so lokyd he for worshippers, that should in such wyse worship him. In which wordes our sauiour reproued al false worship, as was vsed after paganisme in that hil in Samaria, & all such worship as was done in any place with oppinion, that god might not be worshipped els where.

E

John.4.

¶ Those that so beleue, they bee suche as hynde god to a place, which our lord reproueth, shewing that god may in hart truely & spiritually be worshippyd euery where. But this excludyth not, ý besides ý, he will be worshippid in his holy temple, no more than whā he gaue coūsell that for auoiding of vayne glory a man shal not stand and pray in ý streete to gather worldly prayse, but rather secretly pray in hys chamber. This cōsell forbadde not the Iewes to whom he gaue it, that they should neuer after cōe into the temple, & pray. And surely albe it that some good man here and there, one among .x. thousand, as saint Poule and saint Antony, & a fewe suche other like, doo liue all heuenly, far out of all fleshly companye as farre from all occasion of worldly wretchednes, as frā the comon temple or parishe chyrch, yet if chirches and congregacions of cristē people resorting togither to godeis seruice were ones abolished & put awaye, we were like to haue few good temples of god in mennys soules, but all would win a while weare away clene & clerely fall to nought. And this proue we by erperyence, that those which be the best temples of god in their soules, thei most vse to come to the temple of stone. And those ý leest come there, be well knowē for very ribaudes and vnthriftes, & opēly perceiued for ý tēples of ý deuil. And this not in our daies onely, but so hath bē from cristes daies hither. I trow no man dowteth, but that crystes apostels were holy temples of god in theyr soules and wel vnderstode the wordys of their maister, spoken to the woman of Samary, as the thing which their maister after tolde them hym selfe, or els howe coulde some of them haue written that communicacion whiche none of them harde as apperith by the gospell. But thei not in theyr maisters dayes onely, but also after his resurreccion, & after that

F

God in harte may euery where be worshipped. Mat.6.

G

H

What they are that come not to the chirche.

A that they had receiued the holy ghost, and were by hym instructed of euerye trewth, longing to the necessite of theyr saluacion, were not cōtent only to pray secretly by them self in their chambers, but also resorted to the temple to make theyr praiers. And in ý place as a place plesant to god, dyd they pray in spyryte and in truthe, as well apperyth in the boke of saint Luke writen of the actes of christes holy apostles. So that no doute is ther, but that yet vnto this day and so forth to the worldys ende, it is ꝗ shalbe pleasant vnto god, that this chosen people pray to him and call vpō him
B in temple and chyrch. Wherof him self witnesseth with the prophete. *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.* My house shall be called a house of praier.

¶ Now maketh your reason, as I said, no more against pylgrimages, than against euery chirch. For god is not bounden to the place, nor our confidēce boūden to ý place but vnto god (though we rekē our praier more plesant to god in the chirch than without, bicause hys hyghe goodnes accepteth it so) in likewise do not we reken our lord bounden to the place or image where the pilgrymage is, though we worship god there,
C because hym selfe lyked so to haue it.

¶ The iiii. chapiter.

¶ The author declareth in the cōpracio of pilgrimages that it is the pleasure of God to be specially sought and worshipped in some one place before another. And albeit that we can not attaine to the knowlege of the cause why god doth so, yet the author proueth by great auctoryte that god by miracle testifieth it is so.

D With this your frēde asked me what reson were there, that god woulde sett more by one place than by an another, or howe knowe we that hee so doth, namely if the one be a chyrch as wel as ý other. ¶ Wherunto I answered that why god would doo it I coulde make him no aunswere, no more than sainct Austin saith that hee coulde. I was neuer so nere of his cōsayle nor dare not be so boulde to aske hym. But that he so doth in dede, that I am sure ynough, yet not for that he setteth more by that place, for the soile and pauement of that place, but that hys plesure in some place is, to shewe more hys assistance, and to be more specially E sought vnto, than in some other.

¶ Than he asked me wherby was I so sure of that, whereupon I demaunded hym, that if it so were, that the thynge standinge in debate and question, it woulde lyke our lorde to shewe a myracle for the prose of the one part. Would ye not quod I, reken than the question were decyded and the doute assoyled, ꝗ that parte sufficiently proued? ¶ Yes mary quod he that woulde I. ¶ Well quod I, thā is this matter out of doute longe a go, for god hath proued my part F in diuers pylgrimages by the working of many mo thā a thousand myracles, onetynē and other. In the gospell of Johan the fifte chapiter, where we John.5. rede ý the āgel moued the water, ꝗ who so next wēt in, was cured of his disease was it not a suffyciēt prosse, that god woulde they shoulde come thyther for theyr helthe.

¶ Albeit no man can tell whye he sent the angell rather thither, and there dyd hys miracles than in an other water? But whansoeuer our lorde hath in any place wrought a myracle, although he nothyng do it for the place, but for the honour of that sait, whom he will haue honoured in that place, or for the fayth G that he fyndeth wyth some that prayeth in that place, or for the encrease of faith which he findeth falling and decaied in that place, nedynge the shewe of some myracles for the reuiuing, what soeuer the cause be, yet I thinke the affection is to be commended of men and womē, that with good deuocion ronne thither, where thei se or hyre that our lorde sheweth a demonstracion of hys speyall assistence. And whan he sheweth many in one place it is a good token, that he Joan.11. H woulds be sought vpō, and worshipped there. Many Iewes were there, ý came to Ierusalem to se the miracle that crist had wrought vpon Lazare, as the gospel reherseth. And surely we wer worse than iewes, if we would be so negligēt, that where God worketh myracle, we lyst not ones go moue our fote thitherwarde. We merualy muche that God sheweth no mo myracles nowe adaies, whan it is muche more meruaile that he doth vouchsaufe to shewe any at all amonge such vnkinde slouthfull dedely people, as list not ones lift vp their heddys to looke thereon, or that our incredulyte can suffer hym nowe a dayes to worke any.

why god doth miracles in certen places.

A

¶ The.v.chapiter.

¶ Because pilgrymages be amonge other proues testifyed by myracles, the messenger dothe make obiection against those myracles partelye lest they be fayned and vntrewe, partely lest they be done by the deuill yf they be done at all.

THan sayd your frende, well I perceiue then, the force & effect of all the proffe standeth all in myracles, which I will agre to be a stronge prose, if I sawe them done, B and were sure that god or good saintes dyd them. But first syth that men may and happely do, of myracles make many a lye, we must not proue this matter by the miracles, but if we fyrst proue ý the myracles were trew. And ouer this yf they wer done in dede, yet sith the angell of darknes may trãsforme, & transfigure hymself into an angell of light, how shall we know whyther the miracle were done by god to the encrease of christen deuocion, or done by the crafte of the deuill to the aduancement of mis- C beleue and Idolatrye, in settinge mens hartys vpon stockes and stones in stede of saintes, or vpon sayntes them selfe ý are but creatures, in stede of God hym selfe. ¶ I aunswered hym that the force of my tale was not the myracles, but ý thynge that I holde stronger than any myracles, which as I said in the beginnyng I reken so sure & fast, and therw̃ so playne and euydẽt vnto euery christẽ man, that it nedeth none other prose, & that thynge is as I said afore the faithe of Cristes chyrch, by the common consent wherof, these matters be decyded D & wel knowẽ that the worshyp of saintz and ymages ben alowed, approbate, & accustomed for good christen & meritorious vertues, & the contrary oppinion not onely reproued by many holy doctours, but also condempned for heresies by sundry generall counsailes.

No worshyp saintes and Images is meritorius.

¶ And this in the beginning I told you quod I, was and shoulde by ý force and strength of my tale. Albeit of trouthe I said vnto you beforde, that me thought ý the myracles wrought by god were sufficient prose and authorite therfore, although there were none other, whiche thinge sith ye seme to impugne, I shall as I can, make you answere therunto. ¶ Nay syr sayd he, I pray you take me not so as though ý I did impugne it, but as I shewed you before, I rehersed you what I haue harde some other say. C

¶ In good time quod I. Than because thei be not here, I pray you defende and bere out ther part, w̃ all ý ye haue hard them say and set therto also al that euer your owne minde giueth you, that they may more hereafter say, lest you return not fully furnished for your purpose.

¶ The.vi.chapiter.

¶ Because the messenger thynketh that he may well mistrust & deny the myracles, bicause reason & nature tel him that they cã not not be done, therfore fyrst ý author sheweth what vnreasonablenes woulde ensue if folke F would stande so stiffe against all credence to be giuen to any suche thinge as reason and nature shoulde seme to gayne say.

AND first wher ye say. Nay quod he where thei say. ¶ Well quod I, so be it, where they say. For here euer my tõg trippeth. But nowe therfore first where thei say, that they neuer sawe any of these miracles them selfe, and therefore the myracles be no prose to them, whiche while they neuer sawe them are not boũden to be- G leue them, thei seme either veri negligẽt if they nothing enquere whan they mistrust and doubte of the trouth in such a weyghty matter, or if they haue dyligently made enserche, thã must it nedes be, that they haue harde of so many told and rehersed by the mouthes & the wryting of so good and credible psons that they seme vnreasonably suspicious, yf they thinke altogither lyes, that so many trew mẽ or mẽ liketo be trew so faithfully do reporte. If these men were iudges fewe matters woulde take ende at theyr hande, or at the lest the plaintife H shoulde haue euyll spede if they woulde beleue nothinge, but that were proued nor reken nothing proued, but that they se them selfe. ¶ Thus may euery man reken hym selfe vnsure of his owne father yf he beleue no man, or bycause all the prose therof standyth but vpon one woman, & that vpon her, which though she can tell best, yet if it be wronge hath greatest cause to lie. Let ý knowlege of the father alone therefore amonge our wifes mistcryes. And let vs se if we beleue nothing, but ý we se our selfe, who cã reken him self sure of hys owne mother, for possible it wer that he wer chãged in ý cradel, & a riche mannes norce bringe home her owne chylde for her

maisters

A maisters, and kepe her maisters for her
owne, to make her owne a gētilmā good
chepe. And this were no great mastry,
while the mother hath of her own child
no eare marke. ¶ Sir q your frēde yf I
should answere them thus, & by these ex-
amples prove them, ý they wer of reasō
boundē to beleue such miracles as wer
reported, bicause many credible mē tell
thē, for as much as els we should beleue
nothing, but ý we see our self, & thā wer
all the world full of confusion, nor no
iugement could be gyuen, but vpō thin-
ges done in the iudges sight, I should I
fere me very feblye satisfy thē. For they
B would sone saye, that the ensamples be
nothing like the mater. But as it is re-
sō ý I should beleue honest mē in al such
thinges as may be trew, & wherein I se
no cause why they should lye, so were it
against al reason to beleue men, be they
neuer so many, seme they neuer so credi
ble, where as reason & nature (of which
twaine euery one is alone more credy-
ble thē they al) sheweth me plainly that
their tale is vntrew, as it must nedys,
yf the matter be impossible as it is in al
these miracles. And in suche case, though
I can perceiue no profite, that they can
receyue therby, yet whan I well se that
C it could not be trew, I must well se that
it was not trew. And therby must I ne-
des know that if thei cā take no profyte
by lieng they lye not for anye couetise,
but euen onely for their speciall plea-
sure. ¶ Forsoth quod I this is ryght
meryly answered. And to say the truthe
as far as we bee yet gone in the matter
of these myracles not much amysse nor
very far fro the poit. But sith this thing
is much material, as wherupon many
great thynges do depende, we shall not
so shortly shake it of, but we shall come
one stepe or twaine nerer to the matter,
D and first I will say to thē ý it wer hard
for them & not very sure to beleue that
euery man lieth which telleth the a tale
for trew that reason & nature semyth to
shew them to be false & impossible. For
in this wyse shall thei in many thinges
erre & clerely deceyue them self, & some-
tyme whyle they make themself sure of
the wrong side if thei would w̄ wagers
cōtende & striue therin, thei should vpō
the boldnes of nature & reason lease al ý
euer thei wer able to lay theron. If ther
were a mā of Inde that neuer cā out of
hys countrey, nor neuer had sene any
whyte mā or woman in his lyfe, & sythe
he seeth innumerable people black, he
myght wene that it were against the na- E
ture of man to be white. Now if he shal
because nature semeth to shewe him so,
beleue therfore that all the worlde lyed
if they would say the cōtrary, who wer
in the wronge, he that beleueth hys rea-
son and nature, or thei that against his
perswasiō of reason and nature shal tel
hym as it is of trouth. ¶ Your frende
answered that reason and nature tolde
not the man of Inde that al men should
be blacke, but he beleued so against rea-
son and against nature, for he had no-
thing to lede him to it, but because hym
self sawe no white, which was no resō.
And he myght by nature perceyue if he F
had lerning ý the heate maketh his cōu-
trey blacke. And ý of lyke reason, ý cold
of other countries must make the peple
whyte. ¶ Well quod I and yet he com- what maketh
meth to hys perswasion by a sylogysme black and
& reasonninge, almost as formall as is white mē.
the argument, by whiche ye prove the
kinde of man reasonable, wherof what
other collecciō haue you that brought
you first to perceiue it thā that this mā
is resonable, and this man, & this man,
and this man, and so forth all whom ye
se. By ensample wherof by them whom
ye knowe, presuming thereby no man
to be otherwyse, ye conclude that euery
mā is reasonable. And he thinketh him- G
self surer in his argument than he think-
eth you in yours. For he saw neuer o-
ther but black people where ye se many
men foles. As for that he hereth of other
that there be white men els where, this
serueth nothing for your purpose yf ye
beleue no witnes against the thing that
you reason, and experiēce sheweth you.
And whereas ye say, if the man of Inde
had lerning he shoulde perceiue that it
is not against nature, but rather cōso-
nant with nature that some other men
shold in other coūtres be white, though H
al his countrey men be black, so perad-
uēture those whose part ye do suskeyne,
if thei had some lernyng that they lack,
should wel perceyue that of reason thei
shoulde gyue credence to credyble per-
sons, reportyng them thynges ý seeme
far against reson because they be farre
aboue reason, whereof we maye perad-
uenture haue more perceyuing in our
communycacyon here after or euer we
finishe that we haue in hande. But in
the meane whyle to shewe you further
what necessite there is to beleue other
men in thynges not onely vnknowen,
but also seminge impossible, the man of

A Inde that we speke of cã by no lerning know ý course of the sonne whereby he should perceyue the cause of his blaknes, but if it be by astronomy, which cõning who can lerne that nothing will beleue that semeth to hym selfe impossible? Or who would not wene it impossible, but if experience had proued it that the hole earth hangeth in the ayre, and mẽ walk fote against fote, & shippes saile bottom against bottom, a thyng so straunge, & seming so far against nature & reson, ý Lactancius a mã right wise & wel lerned in his work which he writeth *de diuinis institutionibus* B reketh it for impossible, & letteth not to laugh at ý Philosopers for affyrminge of ý poinct, which is yet now founden trew by experience of thẽ ý hauein lesse than two yeres sailed the world roũde about. Who wold wene it possible ý glasse were made of ferne rotys? Now if those that wene it impossible by reason, and neuer sawe it done beleue no man that tell it them, albeit that it be no peryll to theyr soule, yet so muche haue they knowledge the lesse, & vnreasonably stãde in their errour thorough the mistrustinge of the trewth.

Glasse & wherof it is made.

C It is not yet fyfty yeres a go syns the fyrst man as far as mẽ haue herd, came to London that euer parted the gilt frõ the siluer consuming shortly the syluer into dust with a very faire water. In so far forth that whã the finers and goldsmithes of Londõ hard first therof, they nothing wondred thereof but laughed therat as at an impossible lye, in which perswasyons if they had continued stil, they had yet at this daye lacked all that conning. Yet wyll I not say nay but that a man may bee to light in beleue, & be by such ensamples brought into beleue to far. As a good felow and frende D of mine late in talking of this mater of meruails & myracles, entẽdyng merely to make me beleue for a troth a thyng ý could neuer be, first brought in what a force the fire hath ý wil make two peces of yrõ able to be ioined, & cleue togither and with the help of the hãmer be made both one, which no hamering could doe without the fire, which thinge bicause I daily se, I allẽted. Thã said he fertherthat yt was more meruayle that the fyre shall make yron to ronne as siluer or led dothe, and make it take a print. Whiche thinge I tolde hym I had neuer seene, but bycause he saide he had sene it, I thought it to be trew. Sone after this, he wold haue me to beleue that he had sene a pece of siluer of two or thre C inches about, & in length lesse thã a fote drawen by mãnes hand thorow strayte holes made in an yrõ, til it was brought in thycknes not halfe an inche about, & in length drawen out I cã not tell how many yardes. And whẽ I hard him say, that he saw this hym self, thã I wist wel he was merely disposed.

Mary q your frẽd, it was hie time to gyue hym ouer whan he came to that.

Wel sayd I, what if I should tel you now, that I had sene the same. By my faith quod he merely I would beleue it at leisour whã I had sene the same, & in F the meane while I coulde not let you to say your pleasure in your owne house, but I would thinke that ye were disposed merely to make me a tole. Well sayd I, what if there would besydes me x. or. xx. good honest men tell you ý same tale, & that they had al sene the thynge done them selfe. In faith quod he, sith I am sent hither to beleue you, I would in that poynt beleue your self alone, as wel as them all. Wel q I, ye mene ye wouldе beleue vs all alike. But what would you than say if one or twaine of them would say more. Mary q he thã G would I beleue thẽ lesse. What if they wold q I shew you, that thei haue sene that the pece of siluer was ouer gilte, & the same pece beyng stil drawẽ thorowe the holes, the gilt not rubbed of, but stil go forth in legth with the siluer, so that all the length of many yardes was gilted of the gilting of the first peece not a fote lõg. Surely sir q he, those twain that wold tell me so much more, I wold say were not so conning in the maintenance of a lie, as was the pilgrimes cõpanion, which whan his felow had told at yorke, that he had sene of late at London a byrd ý couered al Poules chirch- H yarde with his winges: comminge to ý same place on the morowe said, that he saw not that byrde, but be herde muche speeche thereof, but he sawe in Poules chirch yarde an egge so great that. x. mẽ could scante moue it with leuers, thys felow coulde help it forth with a prope side way. But he were no proper vnderpropper of a lie, that would minish hys credence w̃ afferming all the first & setting a lowder lye therto. Wel sayd I than I haue espyed if. x. should tel you so ye wouldе not beleue them.

No q he not yf. xx. thoulde. What yf an hũdred would quod I, that seme good and credible? If thei were quod he. x. thousãd, they wer not of credence

A wyth me, whan they should tel me that they sawe the thinge that my selfe knoweth by nature and reason vnpossible. For whan I knowe it coulde not bee done, I knowe wel ý thei lye all, be they neuer so many that sai thei saw it done. ¶ Well quod I, syth I se wel ye would not in thys point beleue a hole towne, ye haue put me to sylēce, that I dare not nowe bee bolde to tell you that I haue sene it my selfe. But surely yf witnesse would haue serued me, I wene I might haue brought you a greate many good men that wouldc say and swere to, that they haue sene it them selfe. But nowe shall I prouide me to morowe peradue-
B ture a couple of witnes, of whom I wote well ye wyll mystrust neyther. ¶ Who be they quod he, for it were hard to find whom I coulde better trust then your selfe, whō whatsoeuer I haue merelye sayd, I could not in good fayth but beleue you in that you shoulde tel me earnestly vpon your owne knowlege. But ye vse (my maister sayth) to loke so sadly whā ye mene merely, ý many times mē doubte whyther ye speke in sporte, whā ye mene good ernest. ¶ In good faith ý
C I, I mene good ernest nowe, and yet as wel as ye dare trust me I shal as I said yf ye wyll go wyth me prouide a couple of witnes of whome ye wyll beleue any one better than twaine of me, for they be your nere frendes, and ye haue been better acquainted with them, and such as I dare say for them be not oftē wont to lye. ¶ Who be they ý he I pray you. ¶ Mary quod I your owne two eyen, for I shall if you wyl, bring you where ye shall se it, no ferther hens than euyn here in London. And as for yron ¶ latē to be so drawen in length ye shall se it
D done in .xx. shoppis almost in one strete. ¶ Mary sir quod he these witnes in dede will not lye. As the poore man sayed by the priest, if I may be homely to tel you
E mery tale. a mery tale by the way. ¶ A mery tale quod I, commyth neuer amysse to me.

¶ The poore man quod he had founde ý priest ouer famylier with his wife, and bycause he spake it a brode and coulde not proue it, the priest sued him before ý bishoppes offyciall for dyffamatyon, where the poore man vpon paine of cursynge, was commaūded that in his parysshe chyrch, he should vpon ý sondaye, at high masse time stāde vp ¶ sai, mouth thou lyest. Wherupō for fulfillinge of hys penāce, vp was the poore soule set in a pew, that ý peple might wōder on him and hyre what he sayd. And there all a G lowde (whan he had rehersyd what he had reported by the priesse) than he sett his handys on his mouth, ¶ said, mouth mouth thou lyest. And by and by thereupon he set his hand vpon both his eyen ¶ sayd, but eyen eyen ý be, by ý masse ye lye not a whitte. And so sir in dede, ¶ ye bring me those witnes thei will not ly a whyt. ¶ Howbeit sir and thoughe thys be trewe, as in good fayth I beleue and am sure ý it is, yet am I neuer the more bounden by reason to beleue them, that wold tel me a myracle. For though this thynge be incredible to hym that hyreth it, ¶ strange ¶ merueylous to hym that F seeth it, yet is it a thyng ý may be done. But he that telleth me a miracle, telleth me a thinge that cān not be done.

¶ I shewed you quod I thys ensāple to put you in minde, that in beinge ouer harde of beleue of thinges that by reasō ¶ nature seme ¶ appere impossible, wher they be reported by credyble witnes, having no cause to ly, ther is as much peril of errour, as where men be to lyghte of credence. And thus much haue I proued you onward, that if ye beleleue no man in such thinges as may not be, thā must it folow that ye ought to beleue no man in many thinges that may be, for all is one to you, whyther they may bee G or may not be, if it seme to you that thei may not be. And of trouth ye cā not tell whyther they may be or may not be, except they be two such thinges as imply contradiction, as one selfe thing in one self pt to be both white ¶ black at ones. For els many thinges shal seme to you suche as all reason wyll resist, ¶ nature wyll nō wyse admitte. And yet thei shal be done wēl ynough. And be in some other place in comen vse ¶ custome. But nowe, because all your shifte standeth in this that of a myracle tolde you ye H may wyth reason beleue, that all men lye, bycause reason and nature beynge more to be beleued than all they, telleth you that they saye wronge, in that the thing reported for a myracle can not be done, I haue shewed you that nature ¶ reson doth shewe you, ý many thinges may not be done, which yet in deede be done so ferforth, that whē ye se thē done ye may right well accompt them as miracles, for any thing ý reson or nature cān shewe you by what natural order ¶ cause it could be done, but that ye shal skyll se reason stand quite against it, as in the drawing of the siluer or Iron.

A

The.vii.chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth that neyther nature nor reason doo deny the miracles to be trew, nor do not gayne say, but that they may be well and easely done.

Sir sayeth he, yet hitte we not the point, for albeit that many thinges be wel done, and by nature, in which neyther my witte, nor happelye no mannes ellys, cā attaine so nere to natures coūsaile, that we can therin perceyue her crafte. But like as some rude people muse vpon a clock, that hath the springe (which is the cause of hys mouinge) secretely conueyed and closed in the barrel, so meruaile we and wonder on her worke yet al waye all those thinges differ and be vnlyke to myracles. B In that your selfe wyll agree wyth me, that whan I beleue, that reasō and nature techeth me surely, that miracles be thynges that can not be done, I am not in this deceyued, though I maye be in such other thinges deceyued, as seme impossible, and yet may be done. And therefore as concerninge myracles, in C which your selfe will agree, that I am not (by any mistetaking of reason and nature) deceyued, ye may not your selfe (me thinketh) say nay, but that I maye well with reason beleue them twayne, against all them that will tell me they haue sene such thiges done, as your self doth agree, that they twaine (that is to wyt nature and reason) doth verely and truely shewe me, can not be done.

¶ What maner of thiges be those q̃ I.

¶ Mary miracles q̃ he, suche as your selfe will agree to be done agaynst nature. ¶ Giue vs therof quod I some en- D sample. ¶ As if mē quod he would now come to tel me that at our lady of Roūcyuale, there were a dede child restored again to life.

¶ Let that quod I be one: and let another be, ý a bysshop in ý buildyng of his chirch, fyndinge one beame cut a great dele to short for his worke, drew it forth betwene another man & him foure fote (and ye will) lenger than it was, and so made it serue. ¶ Be it by my trouth quod he. ¶ Will we quod I take for the thyrde, that a man was by miracle in a Pater nosser while, conueied a mile of from one place to a nother. ¶ Be it so q̃ he. ¶ Now they that should tel me quod he, that they hadde sene these three myracles, were I bounde to beleue them.

¶ Whyther ye were bounden quod I E or no, we shal se further after. But now why should ye not of reason trust them, if the men be credible, and ernestly ye report it, and peraduēture on their othes depose it, hauyng no cause to layne it, nor lykely to lye and bee forsworne for nought. ¶ I wyll quod he not beleue them, bycause that nature and reason ar two recordes, more to be beleued thā all they, that beare witnes against thē. ¶ Why quod I, what doth reason & nature tell you. They twayne tel me quod he, that those three thinges can not bee F done which those mē say, thei saw done. ¶ Note you quod I, that reasō and nature tell you so? ¶ Ye mary quod he, ý I wote well they do, and I thynke your selfe wyll agre that they tell me so.

¶ Nay by saint mary lyr quod I, that wyll I not. For I thinke that neyther reasō nor nature telleth you so, but rather both two tel you clene ý cōtrary, ý is to witt, that they both beare witnes, that those three thinges and suche other like bee thinges that may bee well and easely done.

¶ Ye quod he? Mary thys is an other waye. Then haue we walkyd wrongе G a while, if ye proue that. ¶ Me thinketh quod I nothinge more easy to proue thā ý. For I praye you tell me quod I, doth reason and nature shewe you that there is a god or not? Faith sheweth me that surely quod he, but whither nature and reasō shew me that or no, that I doute, syth great reasoned mē and philophers haue doubted therof. And some of them haue be plainly perswaded and beleue, that there was none at all, and the hole people of the world in effecte fallē from knowlege or beleue of god, into Idola- H try and worship of mammottys.

¶ Nay quod I, there is lyttell doubte I trow, but that nature and reasō gyueth vs good knowlege, that there is a god. For albeit the gentyles worshipped amonge them a thousand false goddes, yet al that proueth that there was and is in all mennes heddys, a secrete consent of nature, that god there is, or els thei wold haue worshipped none at al. Now as for the philosophers though a verye fewe doubted, and one or twaine thought ther was none, yet as one swa- One swalow maketh not somer.
low maketh not somer, so the foly of so fewe maketh no change of the matter, against al the hole noumber of the olde phylosophers. Which as saincte Paule confesseth, founde out by nature and Ad Roma.a
reasō,

A reaso, that there was a god, eyther maker or gouernour or both, of al this hole engine of the world. The maruaylous beautye and constant course whereof, sheweth well that it neyther was made nor gouerned by chaunce. But whan they had by these visible thinges knowledge of hys inuisible maiesty, than did they, as we do, fall from the worship of hym to ý worship of Idolles, as now do christen men, not as heretiques laye to the charge of good people, in doyng reuerēce to saites, or honour to their ymages, but in doing as do those heretiques them selfe, making our bely or byneth our bely, or goodes, or our owne blinde affectiō toward other creatures, or our owne prowde affection and dotage towarde our selfe, our mämottes & ydols, and very false goddes. But surely both nature and reason wil declare and tech vs that a god there is. ¶ Wel quod he, I wil not stick in this, sith saint Paule saithe so. ¶ Than quod I, if reason and nature shew you that ther is a god doth not reason and nature shewe you also, that he is almighty, & may do what he will? ¶ Yes quod he, that is both naturall to his godhed, & by reason it may wel be perceiued. Thā foloweth it said I, that resō & nature doth not shew you that these three miracles (that we were agreed should stand for ensamples) precisely could not be done, but thei taught you only that thei could not be done by nature. But ye may (as ye nowe se) perceiue that thei them self tech ý thei may be done by god, sith thei tech you ý there is a god, and ý he is almighty. And therfore whan ye wyl in no wise beleue thē, ý tel you they haue sene suche myracles done, ye refuse not to byleue such thinges as can not be done, but ye mystrust causeles the credence & faith of honest, men, in the report of suche thinges, as by hym that they said dyd it, may wel & easely be done.

B The Idolatry of heretyques.

D

¶ The eight chapiter.

¶ The messenger alledgeth that god may nothinge do agaynst the course of nature. Of whiche the auctho declareth the contrary, and ouer that shewith, that oure lorde in workinge of myracles dothe nothynge agaynst nature.

Sir quod he, ye come in dede somwhat nere me now. But yet seme me, that reason and nature teache me skyll that I shall in no wyse beleue them that tell me, they haue sene suche myracles doone. For fyrst ye wyll graunt me, that they teache me, that yf they shoulde be done they must bee done by god against the course of nature, so is it thā, that resō sheweth me ý god hath set al thinges al redy frō the first creaciō to go forth in a certaine order & course, which order & course men call nature, and that hathe he of hys infynite wisdome done so wel and prouyded that course to go forth in suche a maner and fassyon, that it can not be mended. And therfore semeth it, that reason shewith me that God neuer wyll any thynge doo agaynste the course, which hys hygh wisdōe, power, and goodnes hath made so good, that it could neuer be brokē to the better. For yf it might, than had our lord not made hys order and course perfite in the begynnynge. And therfore dothe as I say reason and nature yet beare recorde against them, that shall say they se such myracles, syth god wyll neuer worcke against ý course of nature, which hym selfe hath all readye set in so goodly an order, that it were not possible to be better, and the goodnes of god wil make no change to the worse. ¶ Surely quod I ye go now very far wide. For neyther doth reason prouе you, ý god (al though it can not otherwise be but ý any thing of the making of hys goodnes must nedys be good) hath made therfore euerye thyng to be of souerayn perfeccion, for than must euery creature be egall, nor also that the hole worke of his creacion though it haue in it self suffycient and ryght wonderful perfeccion, that therfore it is wrought to the vtterest pointe of souereigne goodnes, ý his almighty maiestye could haue made it of. For syth he wrought it not naturallye but willingly, he wrought it not to the vttermost of his power, but with such degrees of goodnes as hys hye pleasure liked to lymit. For elswere hys worke of as infinite perfecciō as him self. And of such infinite egal perfecciō was ther by God brought forth nothing but only the two persons of the trinite, that is to wit ý son & ý holy ghost. Of which two the sonne was first by ý father begottē, and after the holy gost by the father & ý sonne, after I say in order of beginning but not in time produced & brought forth. And in this hy generacion & producciō did the doers work both willingly & naturally and after the vtterest perfection of

E

F

G

H

Note.

A of thē selfe, which they did only therin & in none other thynge. And therfore god might breke vp ý hole world if he wold, & make a better by & by, & not only chāge in the naturall course of this world soe thinges to the better. Howebeit God in workinge of myracles dothe nothinge against nature, but some specialll benefyte aboue nature. And he dothe not against you that dothe an other a good turne which ye be not able to doo. And therfore syth god may do what he wyll beyng almyghty, and in doing of miracles he doth for the better, neyther reasō
B nor nature shewith you, ý they whiche say thei sowe such myracles, do tell you a thing that cā not be done, sith ye haue no reason to proue that god eyther can not do it, or will not do it. For sith he cā do it, & it may be that he will do it, whye shoulde we mistrust good and honest men that say they saw him do it.

¶ The.ix.chapiter.

¶ The author shewith that albeit mē maye mistrust some of the perticuler miracles, yet can there no reasonable man neither deny nor doute but that many myracles hath there bene done
C and wrought.

Forsoth quod he, and yet as for miracles, I wer not for all thys bounden to beleue any. For I spake neuer yet with anye man that coulde tel me that euer he saw any.

¶ It maye quod I fortune you, to liue so long that ye shall fynde no man that was by at your crystenynge, nor when ye were bysshopped neyther. ¶ Mary ý he for ought I wote I haue liued so lōge all redy. ¶ Why doute ye not thā quod I whether ye wer euer cristened or not?
D ¶ For euery man quod he presumeth & beleueth that I am christened, as a thig so commenly done, that we reken oure selfe sure that no man leueth it vndone.

¶ If the commen presumpcion quod I sufficiently serue you, to set your mind in suertye, than albeit miracles be nothing commenly and customably done nor that no presumption can sufficiently serue for ý profe of this miracle or that, yet hath there euer from the beginning of the worlde in euery nacion christen and hethen, and almost euery towns at sondry tymes so many myracles & meruayles ben wrought beside the commen course of nature, that I thinke thorow the worlde it is as well beleued vniuersally ý myracles and meruails ther be, as any thinge is beleued that men loke
E vpon. So that if commen presumpcyon serue you, ye may as I sayd as well beleue that miracles be done, as that your selfe was euer christened. For I dare well sayе that there are a thousand that beleue there hathe been myracles done, agaynst one that beleueth that ye were euer crystened, or euer wist whyther ye were borne or not. ¶ For the doctours of Christes chyrch dyd neuer mystrust the wonders and meruayles that the paynyms tell & write to haue been done by theyr false goddes, but assygneth thē
F to haue ben done by the deuil thorough goddes sufferaunce, for the illusyon of them that with ydolatry had deserued to be deluded. And whyther they be miracles by whyche name we commenly call the wonders wrought by God, or meruayls done by the deuyll, it forceth not for this purpose of ours. For if ye graunt that the deuyll may do anye by goddes sufferaunce, ye can not say nay but god may much more easely do them hym selfe. And syth ye be a chrysten mā and receyue scripture I myght in thys matter quod I, haue choked you longe
G a go, wyth the manifolde myracles and meruayls that be shewed there.

Myracles.
Meruayls.

¶ The.x.chapiter.

¶ The author proueth that manye thinges daily done by nature or craft wherof we nothyng meruayle at all, be more meruaillous and more wonderfull in deede than be the myracles that we most meruaile of and repute most incredyble.

Nay quod he surely, though it hathe done me good, to heare what ye wold say, yet I neither doute nor I suppose ye good man els, but that God
H hath beside the comen course of nature wrought many myracles. But yet of those that men tell of, as done in your time, by whych ye woulde serue that it were well proued, that the praynge to sayntys, goynge on pylgrymages, and worshipping of ymages were well and sufficyentlye proued, all thoughe there were none other profe therupō, of these myracles dyd I meane, in the report of which me thinketh I nede not beleue a comen fame of thys myracle and that, begon by some sely womā seking saint Sythe when she seghyth for miscalling of her kayes. Of these myracles I speke and all such as men sayē nowe adayes bee done at diuers pylgrymages by

diuers

A diuers sainctes or diuers ymages, in which me thinkyth that such as be tolde to be done, which nature and reso saith be impossible. I may well mistrust the tellers. Or els how many of them shal make me a sufficient prose of an impossible matter? One or two or thyee either semeth me to few to trust their credence in a thing so incredible. And if I shall not beleue the tyll I finde many recordys, I wene I were faine to wander y world about or I prouide many myracles suffycyently, of suche I saye as ye pue your pilgrimages by. ¶ Your fewe wordes q I haue wrapped in the many thynges, that seme somwhat as they be B couchyd togyther. Which whan we se them vnfoldid, and consider eche part a sonder, than maye wee better examine them, and better se whereof they serue. ¶ First ye speke of seking to saintys for sleyght causis, as for the losse or mysse of kyttes kayes. Then ye woulde wit, howe many ye muske hyre say they saw a myracle, or ye shoulde of reason beleue it. ¶ Thyrdly ye thynke ye were lyke to go longe or ye shoulde fynd any proued trew. Fynally whan ye saye, y ye meane onely those myracles that me tell of, as done at pylgrimages, ye seme C to put styll a difference betwene those miracles wrought in pilgrimagis, and such as are wrought by god otherwyse. The cause wherof I muke further aske you after. For I perceiue not wel what ye meane by that. ¶ But fyrst where as ye speake styl, as though ye might mistrust them were they neuer so many: bicause they tell you a thinge, that reso and nature saieth is impossible, me thiketh that ye should nowe chaunge that worde. For I haue all redy prouyd that reason and nature say not that a myracle is impossible, but onely that is im- D possible to nature. And they cofesse both that miracles be possible to god, & they y report them do report them for thinges done by god. And therefore they doo report you none impossible tale. ¶ For y clerer consideracyon wherof, let vs resort to y miracles which we wer agreed should stande for examples. And first yf men should tel you y thei saw before an ymage of the crucifix a dede man raised to lyfe, ye wold much meruaile therof, and so might ye well yet could I tel you somwhat that I haue sene my selfe that me thynketh as great merauile, but I haue no lust to tell you, because that ye be so circumspect and ware in beleue of any myracles, that ye wolde not beleue E it for me, but mistrust me for it. ¶ Nay syr quod he in good fayth, if a thinge semed me neuer so farre vnlykely, yet yf ye woulde ernestly saye that your selfe haue sene it, I neyther would nor could mistrust it. ¶ Wel q I, than ye make me the bolder to tell you. And yet wil I tell you nothing, but that I wouldde yf nede were fynde you good witnes to proue it. ¶ It shal not nede sir quod he, but I beseche you let me hyre it. ¶ For soth quod I, because we speake of a mā reysed from deth to life. There was in the parysshe of sainct Stephens in wal- F. brooke in Londō where I dwelled before I come to Chelsith, a man and a womā whyche are yet quicke and quething, and yonge were they bothe. The eldest I am sure passeth not. xxiiii. It happed them as doth amōge yonge folk the one to cast the mind to y other. And after many lettes, for the maydens mother was muche against it, at last they came togyder and were maried in saint Stephens chirch, which is not greatly famous for any miracles, but yet yerely on saint Stephens day it is somwhat sought vnto, and visited with folkes deuocion. But now thorte tale to make, this yonge woman (as maner is in bryides ye wote well) was at night brought G to bed with honest women. And than after that went the bride grome to bed, and euery body went theyr wayes, and left them twaine there alone. And the same night, yet a bide let me notly, now in faith to say the trouth I am not very sure of the tyme, but surely as it appered afterward, it was of lyklyhode the same night, or some other time sone after, excepte it happened a litel afore. No force for the time quod he. Trouth quod I, and as for the matter all the parysshe H wil testifye for trewth the woman was knowen for so honest. But for the conclusion the sede of them twayne turned in the womans body, first in to bloode, and after into shappe of mā chlide. And thā wared quicke and she great therw̄. And was within the yere delyuered of a fayre boy, & forsoth it was not than (for I saw it miselfe) passing the length of a fote. And I am sure he is growen nowe an ynche lenger than I. ¶ How long is it a go q he. ¶ By my faith q I. aboute xxi. yeres. ¶ Tushe q he thys is a worthy myracle. ¶ In good faith quod I, neuer wist I. that any man coulde tell y he had any other beginninge. And me thin-

A miracle ys impossible so nature.

A thynketh that this is as gret a myracle as the raisyng of a dede mã. ¶ If it seme so quod he to you, than haue you a meruaylous seming for I wene it semeth so to no man els. ¶ No quod I, can ye tell what is the cause? None other sure but that the acquayntaunce & daylye beholdynge taketh awaye the wondring as we nothing wonder at the ebbing and flowing of the sea, or the Thamys because we dayly se it. But he that had neuer sene it, nor herd therof, would at the fyrst sight wonder fore therat, to se that great water come walowing vp
B agaynst the wynde, keppyng a commen course to & fro, no cause perceiued that driueth him. If a mã borne blind had sodenly his sight, what wonder would he make to see the sonne, the mone, and the sterres, where as one that hath sene thē syrtene yere to gyther, meruayleth not so muche of them all, as he would wonder at the first sight of a pecockes taile. And very cause can I se none, whye we shoulde of reason more meruaile of the reuyuyng of a dede man, thã of the bredyng, bringing forth and growing of a childe vnto the state of a man. No more
C meruailo? is a koko thã a cock, though the one be sene but in somer & the other al ý yere. And I am sure, if ye saw deade men as commenly called againe by miracle, as ye se men brought forth by nature ye would reken it lesse meruaile to bringe the soule agayne into the bodye, keppyng yet stil his shappe & his organis not much perished, than of a littel seede to make all that gere newe, and make a newe soule thereto. Nowe yf ye neuer had seene any gonne in your dayes nor harde of any before, if two men shoulde tel you the one that he had wist a mã in a pater nosser whyle conueyed and ca-
D ried a mile of, frõ one place to an other by miracle, and the other should tel you that he had sene a stone more thã a mãnes weyght carped more than a mile in as litell space by crafte, which of these wold you by your faith take for ý more incredyble? ¶ Surely ye both twaine wer very stronge. But yet I coulde not chose but thinke it were rather trewe ý God did the one, than that anye crafte of man could do the other. ¶ Wel quod I let vs than to our thyrde ensample. If it were shewed you that saincte Erkenwalde or hys syster, drewe out a pece of tymber, that was cut to short, for ý rose in makyng Barking abbey, should this be so incredible to you to beleue, ý they drew in length a pece of woode by ý po- E
wer and helpe of gods hande, whan we se dayly a great pece of siluer, brasse, laten or yron drawē at lēgth into smale wier, as wonderfully by mans hande.

The. xi. chapiter.

¶ The author shewith ý a myracle is not to be mistrusted though it be done in a small matter and semyth vpon a sleyght occasyon.

NOwe though ye wold peradventure (as ye seme to do) rekē this cause very sleight for god to shew such an high miracle, syth there might haue F
ben wout miracle a longer pece of timber gotten, & so ye woulde happely mistrust it, for the slender occasion, resembling it to the miscasting of some good huswiues kaies. God hathe I wene so much wit of himself, that he nedeth not our aduice to enforme hym what thing were sufficient occasion to worke hys wonders for. But & if ye rede in ý bokes of Cassiã, saint Gregory, sait Austyn, saint Hierom, & many other holy vertu ous mē, ye shall (excepte ye beleue them not serue and know, ý god hathe for his
G seruãtes done many a great miracle, in very smal maters. And so much ý more are we bounden to hys goodnes, in that he vouchsafeth, so familyerly in small thinges to shew vs so great a tokē of his mighty godhed. And no reasõ wer it, to withdrawe his thank & honour because of his familier goodnes. And if ye paduenture woulde not beleue theyr wrytinges, go to Christes gospell & loke on his first miracle, whither he might not haue prouided for wine wout miracle. But suche was hys pleasure in a small matter, to do a great myracle, for some
H shew of hys godhed amonge thē whõ he vouchsauf ed, where on the other side a fore Herode ý woulde faine haue seene some miracle, where it stode vpõ his life & might haue deliuered him frõ ý iewes yet would he not vouchsauf, eyther to shew the prowde curyous king one miracle, or speake one worde. So ý times, places, & occasiõs resõ is ý we suffre to rest in his arbiterm̃t & not loke to pscribe & appoint thē at our pleasure, & els blasphemeth thē & say we will not beleue thē.

H Joan. 2. Wherefore Christ turned water into wine. Luc. 23.

¶ The. xii. chapiter.

¶ The author sõwhat noteth the frowarde mindes of many folke that would be very harde to beleue a man in a myracle vpon hys othe and very light

A light and a shrewde tale to beleue a woman on her worde.

NOw where ye require how many wytnes should be requisite & suffice to make you thinke your selfe in reaso, to haue good cause to beleue so strange a thinge, me thynketh ý right fewe were sufficient of thē ý wold say they saw a great good thing done by the power and goodnes of god, excepte it be harde for vs to beleue, eyther that god is so myghty that he may do it, or so good that he woulde do it.

¶But because ye wold wit of me, how many recordes wer requisyte, that thig standeth not so muche in nombre as in weight. Some twaine be more credible than some.x. And albeit ý I se not greatly why I shoulde mistrust any one that semeth honest & telleth a good tale of god in which ther appereth no special cause of lyenge, yet if any witnes will serue you, than would I wit of you, how many your selfe would agree. For I now put case that ther came.x. diuers honest men of good substance out of.x. diuers parties of the realme, eche of them wan offering at one pilgrimage, as for ensāple at our Lady of Ipswich, eche one of them affirming vpon their othe, a myracle done vpon thē selfe, in some great sodayn helpe, wel appering to passe the power of craft or nature, would ye not beleue that amonge them all, at the lest wise twaine of those.x. sayde trewe?

¶No by our lady quhe, not & there were x.&.xx. ¶Why so q I. ¶Mary q he, for were they neuer so many, hauing none other witnes, but eche man telling hys tale for him selfe, thei be but single all & lesse thā single. For euery miracle hath but one recorde, & yet he not credible in his owne cause. And so neuer a miracle well proued. ¶Well sayd I, I like wel your wisdome, that ye be so cyrcūspect that ye will nothing beleue wout good sufficient & full prote. ¶I put you than q I, an other case, that.x. yong women not very specially knowen for good, but taken out at auenture, dwelling all in one towne, wold report & tel that a freer of good fame, hyring their confessions at a pardon, would haue giuen them al in a penaunce to let hym lye with them on your faith would ye not beleue, that amonge so many some of thē said trewe? ¶Yes ý I woulde q he by ý Mary mas beleue they sayd true all.x.& durst well swere for thē, & thei wer but.ii. ¶Why so q I, they be as single witnes as the other, of whom I tolde you before. For none of them cā tel what was said to an other, & yet they be vnsworne also, and therwith be they but women, which be more light & lesse to be regarded, dwelling al in one town also & therby might thei the more easely cōspire a faise tale. ¶They be q he, witnes good ynough for such a matter, the thing is so likely of it selfe, ý a freer will be womanyshe, loke the holy horeson neuer so sayncty. ¶Ye deny not q I, but god may as easly do a good turne by myracle, as anye man may do an euil by nature. ¶That is trew q he, and he list. ¶Well q I, se now what a good way ye be in, ý are of your owne good godly minde, more redy to beleue.ii. simple women that a mā will do nought, than.x. or.xx. men that god wyll do good.

¶The.xiii.chapter.

¶The author sheweth the vntoward minde of many men, whiche in miracles so hyely touching the honour of god & wele of their owne soules, wyl neither beleue other folk ý tel thē, nor them selfe vouchsaufe to go proue him.

BUt sith that this kinde of prose will not suffice you, I dare sai, if ye would seke and enquere, ye shoulde finde many done in your dayes, in the presence of much people. ¶Where shold I se that q he? ¶Ye myght q I, vpō good friday euery yere this.ii.C. yere til within this.v. yere, ý the turkes haue taken the towne, haue sene one of the thornes ý was in Crists crowne, but & bring forth flowers in ý seruice time, if ye would haue gone to ý Rodes? ¶So farre q he? nay yet had I leuer haue gods blessing to beleue that I se not, than go so far therfore. ¶I am well appaied q I thereof, for if ye had leuer beleue than take the payne of a longe pilgrimage, ye wyll neuer be so skyfke in any oppinio, ý ye wyl put your selfe in ieopardy for pertynacy and sworne standing by your parte. ¶Nay mary q he, I warrant you that, I wyll neuer be so madde, to holde tyll it ware to hote. For I haue such a fonde fantasy of mine owne, ý I had leuer shyuer & shake for cold in ý middes of somer, thā be burned in the middes of winter.

¶Verily saied q I, but yet in ernest, where suche a solempne yerely myracle is wrought, so wondersly in the face of the world before so great a multitude, it is a great vntowardnes in a thinge so holy

A merry supposed tale.

Note this miracle of the thorne.

A holy touching the honour of god & helth of our owne soule, both to mystrust all them that say they haue sene it, and eyther of slouth or incredulite, not vouchsaufe himself to proue it. ¶ If I should haue gone quod he, and founde it a lye, than had I walked a wise iourney, and on the other side, if I shoulde haue sene there such a thinge myselfe, yet could I scantly reken my selfe sure. ¶ No q I, that were a strange case. ¶ Not very strange quod he. For where ye spake of miracles done before a multitude, a mā may be discayned therin right well.

B ¶ The. xiiii. chapiter,

¶ The messenger maketh obiection that myracles shewed before a multitude, may be fayned, & by the auctho shewed how the goodnes of god bringeth shortly the trouth of such falshed to light, with ensāples thereof one or two rehersed, & further shewed that many miracles there bee, whiche no good cristen mā may deny to be trew.

Some priesse to bringe vp a pilgrimage in his parishe, may deuise some false felowe fayning hym selfe to come seke a saint in C hys chyrch, and there sodeinly say, that he hath gotten hys syght. Than shall ye haue the belles rong for a miracle. And the fonde folke of the countrey soone made foles. Than women commynge thither with theyr candels. And the person byenge of some lame begger. iii. or. iiii. payre of theyr olde crutches with xii. pennes spent in men and women of wer, thrust thorowe diuers places some with arrowes, & some wyth rusty knyuys, wyll make hys offerynges for one yy. yere, worth twise hys tithes.

¶ Thys is q I, very trouth that suche D thynges may be, and sometime so be in dede. As I remēber me that I haue hard my father tell of a begger, that in kyng Hery his daies the first, cam wō his wife to saint Albonis. And there was walking about the towne begging a fiue or six dayes before the kinges commynge thither, saienge ý he was borne blinde, and neuer sawe in hys lyfe. And was warned in hys dreame, that he shoulde come out of Berwyke, where he said he had euer dwelled to seke saynt Albon, & that he had ben at his shryne, & had not bene holpen. And therfore he woulde go seke hym at some other place for he had hard some say sins he came ý sainct Albonys body shold be at Colon, & in dede such a contencion hath ther ben. But of troth as I am surely informed, he lieth E here at saint Albonis, sauing some reliques of him, which thei there shew shrined. But to tell you forth whan ý kyng was comen, & the towne full, sodaynlye thys blind man, at saint albonis shrine had his sight agayne, and a myracle solemply rongen, and *te deum songen*, so that nothyng was talked of in al the towne, but thys myracle. So happened it than, that duke Humfry of glocester a great wyse man and very wel lerned, hauing great Joy to se such a myracle, called ý pore man vnto hym. And first shewing him self Joyouse of goddes glory so shewed in the gettinge of his sight, & erortinge hym to mekenes, & to none ascribing of any part the worship to him self nor to be proude of the peoples prayse, which would call hym a good & a godly man therby. At last he loked well vpon hys eyen, & asked whyther he could neuer se nothing at al, in al his life before. And whan as well his wyfe as him self affermed faslely no, thā he loked aduisedly vpō his eien again, & said, I beleue you very wel, for me thinketh that ye cā not se well yet. ¶ Yes syr q he I thanke god & his holy marter, I can se nowe as well as any man. ¶ Ye can q the duke G what colour is my gowne? Thā anone the begger tolde him. ¶ What colour q he is thys mans gowne? He told him also, & so forth without any sticking, he told him the names of al ý colours that coulde bee shewed him. And whan my lord saw ý, he bad him walke faytoure, & made him be set openly in the stockes. For though he could haue sene soudēly by miracle, ý dyfference betwene diuers colours, yet coulde he not by the syght so sodenly tell the names of all these colours, but if he had knowē them before, no more than the names of al the men ý H he should sodēly se. ¶ Lo therfore I say quod your frende, who may bee sure of such thynges whan suche pageantes be played before all the towne. I remēbre me now what a worke I haue herde of that was at Lempster in that kings fathers daies wher ý priour brought priuely a strange wēche in to the chyrch ý said she was sent thither by god, & wold not lye out of the chirch. And after she was grated wōin prongratis aboue in ý rode loft, wher it was beleued she liued wout any meate or drink, only by āgels fode. And diuers times she was houseled in sight of ý people wō an host vnconsecrate, & al the peple loking vpō, there

Humfrey duke of glocester.

was

A was a deuice w̄ a smal heare ý cōueied ý host frō ý paten of ý chalice, out of ý priours handes into her mouth, as though it came alone, so that all the people not of the towne only, but also of the countrey aboute tooke her for a very quicke saiuct, & daily sought so thick to see her that mani ý could not come nere to her, cryed out aloude, Holy maiden Elyzabeth helpe me, & wer fain to throw their offring ouer their felowes heddes for preasse. Nowe lay the priour with holy mayden Elyzabeth nyghtly in the rode loofte, tyl she was after taken out & tried in the keping by my ladye ý kinges mother. And by the longing for mete with B voidāce of ý she had eten (which had no saintly sauoure) she was perceiued for no saint, & confessed al the matter. ¶ In faith quod I, it had ben great almes the priour, & shee had ben burned togyther at one stake: what came of the priour.

¶ Quod he ý can I not tell but I wene he was put to such punishement as the pore none was, ý had giuen her in penance to say this verse. *Miserere mei deus, quoniam conculcauit me homo*, w̄ a great threte, that and she did so any more she should say the hole psalm. But as for holy Elizabeth, I herde say she liued & fared wel C and was a common harlot at Calyce many a fayre day after, where she laughed at the matter full merelye. ¶ The more pyte quod I, ý she was so let passe. ¶ That is trouth quod he. But nowe what say you, what trust cā we haue, or at lest way what suretye cā we haue in such thinges, whan we see them fayned so shamefully in the face of the worlde, so openly and so much people abused so farre, that they wold not haue letted to swere, and some to iooperde their lyues thereon, that all thys worcke was D wrought by gods owne hande, tyll the trouth came to light, & the drabbe driue out of the chyrche in the deuyls name.

¶ Verely said I there was abusion in the one syde, and great foly in the other syde. And as that noble duke Humfrey wisely found out the falshed of that blison begger, so dyd that noble lady the kinges mother prudently decypher and founde out that beastlye kythe. And to say the trouth there was cause ynough in both these parties, wherof the people might reasonably gather so much suspiciō, that yf they had made therupon sufficiēt inquisitiō and serch, thei could neuer haue ben so far abusid. For bothe might thei wel mistrusta beggers word who thei had but newly knowē, & well E likely to lye for to win fyrst fauour and after money. And also men might well thinke ý a yong she fait, was not metely to be shrynid quicke, in a monastery amonge a meany of monkes. And yet in cōclusion because no such fayned wonders should enfame goddes very miracles, his goodnes shortly brought them both to knowlege. And so doth his especiall cure & prouidēce bring euer shortly such falshed & faitery to light to their shame and confusion. And as he did in F Berna a great cite in Almaigne bring to knowlege the false miracles, wherbi certayne freers abusyd the people, for which they were openly burnyd. And so god alway bryngeth such false miracles to light. Nay nay quod he, there be many such I warāt you that neuer com to light, and are stil takē for very good. ¶ Ye can not very wel warant it quod I, For sith god brought to light ý false fained miracle of the prestes of the ydol Bell in the olde time, as appereth in ý xiiij. chap. of ý prophet Daniel, it is more like ý amonge christen mē he wil suffer no such thinges longe lye hid. And also how can ye warant that many of those G miracles be false. For while there is no doute but many be trew, and ye knowe not any whicke ye precisely knowe for false, ye be not sure whither any be such or not. ¶ Mary quod he, that reasō holdeth as well on the other syde. For syth I know not any which I pcisely know for trew, I knowe not whither any be trew or not. ¶ Nay quod I that argument will not serue you so. For though no mā byndeth you to beleue that euery thinge ys trewe, that is tolde for a miracle, yet some there be of which ye musse nedes reken your self sure, & of which ye can not if ye be a cristen man haue any H scruple or doute. ¶ Ye quod he. Fayne would I wyt, which were one of those. ¶ Mary quod I, all that are written in the gospell. ¶ Mary quod he that wote I wel, but them we speke not of, for thei wer done by god him self. ¶ Why quod I, be they not so all? If ye will not agre that ye be sure of any which be tolde by sayntes, what say you by the myracles of the apostels written by saynt Luke. ¶ Nay q̄ he, ye mistake me yet, for I do not meane any mistrust in the miracles done of olde time by god for hys apostles or holy martyrs, in corroborāciō & setting forth of ý faith. I meane onely these miracles ý men tel & talk of now a

Psalm. 56.

dayes,

A days, to be done at those images, where these pilgrimages, be & where we se sōe of thē our selfe, pued plainly false. And yet tolde for so trew, and so many false ihrewes to affirme it, so many sympple soules trust it, so much folishe folke beleue it, that a mā may wel wō reasō mistrust al the remenant. ¶ Ye haue ye I, more oft then ones spoken of a differēce betwene ý miracles done by god in olde time, & these miracles ý ar done or tolde to be done now a daies at pilgrimages. But surely if ye grāt the miracles done of old time, we nede no more for ý profe of al our matter. For I trowe that pilgrimagys and miracles done at them be very olde thiges, & not thinges newly begon nowe a dayes, except ye call a thousande yere a go, or. xiiii. hundred yers a go, now a dayes. For I am very sure that so longe a go & yet longer to, did good christen people pray to saintes & go in pilgrimage to theyr holy relyques, & had ymages in great veneracio, & many wonderfull miracles dyd our lorde worke for the comprobaciō of hys hygh pleasure to the conseruacion and encrease of the deuocyon of hys christen people therin, as we fynde largely written & reported in the godly bokes of holy saint Gregory, saint Austin, saint Hierom, saint Eusebyus saint Basyle, saint Crisostom, & many another olde holy doctour of Christes chyrch, whose bokes were not vnwritten this thousād yere. And where ye say that of miracles many be nowe a dayes fayned, so maye it be that some were than also, but neyther than nor now neyther, were nor be all fayned. And any beyng trew al wer thei right few, suffised for our purpose. For if god had but with one miracle declared that the thing contenteth & pleaseth him in his chirch, it must nedes suffise for the chirch against al the heretyques in the world, that euer wold bark against the chyrch therin. And therfore ther cā be no doubte in the matter wher god hath declared his plesure by so many a thousand, and that in euery tyme, not only now a dayes but also a thousand yere or fourtene hundred yere, and yet more to, before our dayes. And as for fained miracles of whych ye speake somuch, albeit that some such hath ben, yet I verely thynke that neyther of olde time, nor now, christ among christē peple suffreth not such thinges to happen oft, nor such delusion to last longe, but (shortly to their shame as it hath apered in some) doth vtter & make opē their falsehed as him selfe said of al such. That ye whisper one in an others eare shall bee pched out alowde vpon the ridge of the house rose. ¶ The. xv. chap.

Pilgrimages were. xiiii. C. yere a go.

¶ The author sheweth that if of those miracles ý are told & writtē to be done at diuers pylgrimages, & commenly beleued for very trew, we certeynlye knew some fallsly fayned, yet were ý no cause to mistrust the remenaunt.

But bee it that amonge so many miracles as be dayly tolde and writē done at diuers pilgrimagys, betwene which miracles, & other, why ye put a difference, we shall as I sayed before, knowe further your minde hereafter. And be it also that of suche as longe haue bee reputed and still taken for trew, your self vndoutedly knewe some for very false, wouldye therfore thinke ý amonge al ý remenāt, there were neuer one trewe? what yf ye finde some fayre womā paynted, whose colour ye had went were naturall, wil ye neuer after beleue ý any womā in the world hath a fayre colour of her self? If ye finde some false flatterers ý longe semed frendely, wil ye take euer after al ý world for such? If some pue sharke ypocrites, whō ý world wold haue sworne good and godly men, shall we therefore mistrust al other for theyr sake, & wene there were none good at all? ¶ By my trouthe quoth he, I rode ones in good company, & to say the trouth for good cōpany to walsighā in pilgrimage, wher a good fellows horse so fel in halting, ý he was faine to hire an other, & let him go lose, which was so lene & so pore & halted sore ý empty as he was he coulde scant keps fote with vs. And whā we had went we should haue left him behind, sodenly he spyed a mare, & forth he lymped on three legges so lusky, ý his maysters horse w four fete, could scāt ouertake him. But whan he caught him & cam agayne, he sware in gret anger al ý othes he might swere, ý he wold trust halting sir Thomas the worse while he lyued. What was that halting sir Thomas quod I. ¶ Mary quoth he theyr parishe priestes as he tolde vs, as lene & as pore and as haulting as his hors, & as holy to. But syns he would while he liued mistrust ý halting priest for his halting horse, if I find an holy horeso halte in ypocrisie, I shal not faile while I liue, to trust al his fellowes ý worse. ¶ Well quod I ye speke merily, but I wote well ye wyll do better whatsoeuer ye saye.

C

F

G

I mery tale

H

A Nor I am sure though ye se some white saffyre or byrall so well counterfeit, and so set in a ring, that a right good iueller will take it for a Diamounde, yet will ye not doubt for al that, but that ther be in many other ringes, al ready set right dyamountes in dede. Nor ye will not mistrust sainct Peter for Judas. Nor though the Jewes wer many so noughty, that they put Christe to death, yet ye be wiser I wote well, than the gentlewoman was, which in talking once w̃ my father whan she harde saye that our Lady was a Jew, first could not beleue it, but saide, what ye mock Iwis, I pray you tel trouth. And whan it was so fully affermed that she at laste bileued it, & was she a Jewe quod she, so help me god and halidom I shall loue her the worse while I liue. I am sure ye will not so, nor mistrust all for some, neither mẽne nor miracles.

A merye tale.

B

¶ The.16 Chapiter.

¶ The authour sheweth that who so would enquere, should sone find that at pilgrimages bee̅ dayly many gret and vndouted miracles wrought & well knowen. And specially he speketh of ỳ great & op̃e myracle shewed at our Lady of Ippiswitche of late vpon the doughter of syr Roger wentworth knight.

C

AND as for the point that we spake of, concerning myracles done in our dayes at diuers images, wher these pilgrimages be, yet could I tel you so̅e such done so openly, so farre from all cause of suspicion, and therto testified in suche sufficient wyse, that he might seme almosse madde that hyring the whole matter, wil mistrusse the miracles. Amõg which I durst boldly tell you for one, the wonderful work of god, that was within these few yeres wrought, in ỳ house of a right worshipfull knight syr Roger wenworth, vpon diuers of his children, and specially one of his doughters a very faire yong gentlewoman of.xii.yeres of age, in meruailous maner vexed and tormented by our ghostly enemy the deuill, her minde alienated and rauing with despysyng & blasphemy of god, and hatred of all halowed thinges, with knowledge & perceiuing of the halowed from the vnhalowed, al wer she nothing warned therof.

D

And after that moued in her own mind and monished by the will of god, to goo to our Lady of Ippiswitche. In the wai of which pilgrimage, she prophesied & tolde many thinges doins and said at the same time in other places, whiche were proued true, and many thinges said, lying in her traunce of such wisdome and learning, that right conning mẽ highly meruelled to hyre of so yonge an vnlearned maiden, whan her self wist not what she saide, such thinges vttered & spoken, as well learned mẽ might haue missed with a lõg study, and finally beyng brought and laide before the image of our blessed Lady, was there in ỳ sight of many worshipful people so grieuously tormẽted, and in face, eyen, loke, and countenaunce so griselye chaunged, w̃ her mouth drawen aside, and her eyen laide out vpon her chekes, that it was a terrible sight to behold. ¶ And after many meruelous thinges, at ỳ same time shewed vpõ diuers psons by ỳ deuil thorowe goddes sufferaunce, as wel al the remenaunt as the maiden her self in the presence of all the companye restored to their good state perfitely cured and sodeinly. ¶ And in this matter no pretext of begging, no suspicion of faining, no possibilitie of coũterfeityng, no simplenes in the seers, her father and mother right honorable and rich, sore abashed, to see suche chaunces in their children, the witnesses, great noumbre, and many of great worshippe, wisdom, and good experience, the maide her selfe to yonge to fayne, and the fashion it self to straunge for any man to faine. And the ende of the matter vertuous, the virgine so moued in her mind with the miracle, that she forth with for ought her father couldе do, forsoke the world and professed religion in a very good & godly company at the mynoresse, where she hath liued well & graciously euer sins.

E

F

G

The.17.Chapiter.

¶ The messenger layeth forth obiections against miracles done at pilgrimages, of whiche he confesseth manye to be true. But he layeth causes & reasons wherby he saith ỳ many menne be moued to beleue and thynk that those miracles that be done ther, bee done by the deuill to sette oure heartes vpon ydolatrie by the worshippyng of ymages in stede of God.

H

¶ But

A But now albeit as I said that I might allege you this myracle, and prove it you i such wise, ý I wote wel ye woulde bee as farre out of all doubte therof, as ye would bee depe in the merualle of the miracle. And paraduenture diuers other could I shewe you done of late at diuers pilgrimages, and prove them wel to, yet would I fain fyrst hyre of you, what distinction and difference is ý, that ye make, & wherefore ye make it betwene ý miracles dons of old time, and these that be nowe a dayes done at B these pilgrimages. ¶ Syr quod he, some what a litle I touched it in ý beginning and made in a maner a glaunce therat. ¶ But lothe wer I to hyt it w̄ a ful shot & a sharpe, as I haue sene some w̄ suche reasons cleue the pricke in twayne, that they semed to bere ouer the but and all. Which reasons I woulde be lothe in so sore maner to allege. Lest I might happely geue you some occasion, to think ý eyther I set to somewhat of myne dwn, or els at the lest wise, lyked wel that side and wer a fauouter of that faccion.

¶ Naye nay quod I, fere not that harbly, for neither am I so suspicious, to mistrust that one thinketh euil, because he C defendeth the worse part wel by the wat of argument and reasoning. And also I trust that all their shottes shall be so far to feble to beare ouer the but, that fewe of them shall touche the marke, manye to faint to perce the paper. And some to hygh, and some to short. And some walk to wyde of ý but by a bowe. ¶ And therfore I require you spare not to bryng forth al that euer ye haue heard, or that ye think may be said in ý matter. ¶ Sir quod he, sith ye can hyre it so indifferētly, I shal not spare to speke it. And surely to beginne with all that I think true, I will not fayle to confesse. For all be it D that I haue long sticked w̄ you to withstand any credence to be geuen to miracles done now a dayes, in which I haue much the lenger sticked because of some whome I haue knowen or this so farre from the beleue of any miracles at all, that in good faith they put me halfe in doubte whether they beleue that there were god at all, yf they durst for drede & shame haue saide all that they semed to thinke, yet to saye the trouth I neuer herde any thyng sayde so sore therein, that euer moued me to thinke that anye reaso wold bere the importune mistrust of them, that among so many an opē miracle as is daily in diuers places done, would wene that none at all were true. But verely as I begon a litle to touche in the beginning, whether these myracles be made by god and for gwd saites, or by the deuil for our deceit and delusion (albeit I beleue and euer wyll as the church doth) yet some men among some such thinges say therin, ý I am drieuen to do as I do in other articles of ý faith, lene fast vnto belief for any reason that I finde to make thē answer w̄. For first thei take for a groūd ý the deuil may do myracles. Or if we lisse not to suffer thē called by that name, the matter shall be therby nothing amended, for if we will haue onely called by the name of myracles thinges by god done aboue nature, yet wil we not deny but ý god suffereth the deuil to worke wōders, which ý people can not discerne frō miracles. And therfore wha thei se thē, miracles shall thei call them, & for miracles shall they take thē. Now sith it so is, that the deuyl may do such thinges, whereby shall we be sure that god doth them, and sithe the deuil maie doo them, and we be not sure that god dothe them, why may not we as wel beleue that the deuil dothe them. ¶ Mary sayd I, ye tolde me that ye sette nought by Logycke, but now ye playe ý Logicie out right. Howbeit ý argumēt G mē may turne on the other side and say, ý sith god may do thē muche better than the deuil, & we be not sure that the deuil doth thē, why should we not rather beleue that god doth them, which may do thē better. And much more reason it is, where a wonderful worke is wrought, there to ascribe it to god the maister of all maistries, rather than the deuil, that can do nothing but by suffrance, except we see some cause that can not suffer ý worke to be rekened gods. ¶ Wel quod he, than is it reason ý we shew you some such case. ¶ It is quod he cause ynough in that we see that god hath in scripture forbodden such ymagerye, & that vnder great maledicion, as in the law which your self spake of before. ¶ *Non facies tibi sculptile.* And in the Psalme. *In exitu Israel de egipto*, where fyrst by the mouth of ý Prophete, discribeth the foly of such as worshippeth those images, that hath eares & can not hyre, handes and can not feele, feete and can not goe, mouth and cānot speake. All whiche absurdities & vnreasonable folyes appeareth as well in the worshippe of our ymages, as in the Painims ydolles. And after he sheweth

Myracles.

The deuil doth nothing but by sufferaunce.

Exodus.20.

Psalme.113.

the

A the maledictions that shall fall thereupon. Seing lyke mote thei be to them al, such as make them, & all such as putteth their trust in thē. And foorthwith he declareth in whō god mē haue their trust, & the profit that procedeth therupō, saying. *Domus Israel speravit in domino, adiutor eorum & protector eorum est.* The house of Israell hath put their trust in our lorde the helper and defender of them is he. Nowe when the wordes of god be clere, open & plaine vpon this side, what reason is it to beleue the cōmentes & glosses of men suche as ye brought foorth right nowe, wherwith ye would winde out agaynst B the true textes of god? What should we geue credence to the ensample of mens doynges against the plaine commaundement of gods writinges? And whan ý onely Christ is our sauiour and mediator to bryng our nature again to god, & our onely protectour and aduocate afore his father, & maye helpe vs best and will helpe vs most, what shall we make either our Lady or anye other creature our aduocate, or pray to them, which of likelyhode hyre vs not? For there can none of thē be present at so many places at once, as they be called vpon. And yf they wer, yet ar they no nere vs thā god himself, nor so fain would ý we did wel as he that dyed for vs. And therfore whā C we not onely do them reuerence (which I wer content wer done them, for gods sake as ye saide before) but also praye to them, we do Christ and god great iniury. For if we prayto them as mediators & aduocates for vs, we take fro Christe his office and geue it them. Yf we aske helpe & helth of them, than make we thē plain goddes and betake to thē ý power of the godhead. For onely god is it, ý geueth all good as witnesseth sait James. ¶ Euery good and very perfite gifte cōmeth from aboue descendyng from the father of lightes. And surely if we consider howe we behaue vs to them though ye saye that al the honor geuē to saintes redoundeth vnto god, sithe it is done as D ye saye: not for theyr owne sakes but for his, yet would I not wene, god bee well content that we shoulde for his sake doo to any creature like honor as to hiselfe. For scripture saith that he wil not geue his glory frō him, nor to any other creature lyke honor as to himself. And therfore ý scholes as I here say deuise a treble difference in worshipping, calling ý one *Dulia* the reuerence or worship that man doth to man, as the bonde man to ý Lorde. The seconde *Yperdulia* that a man doth to a more excellente creature as to aungels or saintes. The thirde *Latria* the veneracion honour and adoration ý creatures doth onely to god. In whiche of these parties ye put the worshippyng of Images, I am neyther so well sene therin to tell, nor so curious greatlye to care. But this I se wel if any of al these iii. kyndes of worship bee better than other the ymages hath it. For they haue all that euer we can doe. For what doo we to god when we do worship hym in that fashiō that they call Latria, but we do the same to saites and ymages both: if it stande in kneling we knele to saites & their ymages, if in praying, we praye as bitterly to them as to god. If in sensing and setting vp of candels we sense them also and set some sainct. vii. cādels against god one. So that what so euer fashiō of worshipping of Latria be, the same is as largely done to saintes and ymages as to god. And this not vnto ymages onely (whiche though they haue no life haue yet some shape and fashion after man) but as mē wene vnto pigges bones also sometyme. For what reuerēt honor is ther daily done vnder the name and oppinion of a saintes relike, to som olde rotten bone that was happely some time as Chaucer saith a bone of sōe holy Jewes shepe. Se we not ý sōe one saites head is shewed in. iii. places. And some one hole saites body lyeth in diuers coū- G treys, if we beleue the lies of the people. And in bothe the places is the one bodye worshipped wher the one or the other is false, & one body mistaken for another, an euill mā happely for a good. And yet will the priestes of bothe places take offeringes and toll men thyther with myracles to. In which case eyther must ye say that the miracles of the one place be false and fained, or els ý miracles make not your matter good nor proue your pilgrimages trewe, and yet might all this gere be muche the better borne yf it were trewe that ye defende the thynges withall, when ye say ý in worshipping H of saintes and images, menne worship neither the one nor the other as goddes, but the ymages for the saintes and the saintes for god. But now as it semeth ý matter is in dede farre otherwise. For the people praye to the saintes for theyr necessities, putting therto trust for their peticions in the saintes them selfe as though god gaue it not but they. And in the images put the people their trust in

Yperdulia. Latria.

Dulia.

A stede of the saintes self. For albeit that
Note. it might stande w̃ reason as ye haue answered me ý presupposed the miracles ī these pilgrimages to be done by god, the people might then w̃ reason go seke and visite such places as god by myracle declared ýhe would haue himself or his holy saintes sought & honored in, yet now this aunswer toucheth the poynt but in part & matcheth not ý hole matter. For the people do not onely visite these places & there do al the worship to the saites that thei can possible do to god, w̃ hope of their helpe from ý saintes self, which thei should wel wit only to be geuen by
B God, & thus by this demenour make the saintes gods felowes, that is to saye the seruauntes matcheth with their master and the creatures mates to the maker) but also vse thēselfin as religious fashiōn, & as feruent affection to the ymages of stone or tree, as either to saint or god. And plainly take these ymages for the saintes self and for god himself. And put in these ymages of their pilgrimages their full hope and hole truste that they should put in god. ¶ Which besides ý I haue said before appeareth wel in this, ý thei will make comparisons betwene
C our Lady of Ippiswitch and our Ladis of Walsingham. As wening that one image more of power thē ý other, which thei would neuer doe, but if in stede of our Lady they put their truste in the ymage self. And the people in speaking of our Lady: Of al our Ladies saith one, I loue best our Lady of Walsingam. And I saith ý other our Lady of Ippiswitch. In whiche woordes what meneth she but her loue & her affeccion to the stocke ý standeth in the chapel of Walsingam or Ippiswiche. ¶ What say you whan the people speke of this fashion in theyr paines and perils. Helpe holy crosse of Bradman. Help our dere Lady of Walsingā. Doth it not plainly appeare that
D either thei trust in ý images in Christes stede & our Ladies, letting Christ & oure Lady go, or take at the lest wise those ymages so, ý thei wene thei wer verely ý one Christ, the other our Lady her self? And so euery way ý faith & deuocion w̃drawen frō god ý shold haue it, and our heartes by these ymages blinded and set vpon the dede stockes & stones. Now see the good fruite also that foloweth therpō. I let passe ouer the faitry and falshed that is therin vsed amōg, sometyme by the priestes, sometime by beggers in fayning of false miracles. Looke what deuocion men come thither with. With the most come thei ý most abuse thēself, suche I mene as most trust haue & blind faith in these blinde ymages. But the most part that cōmeth, commeth for no deuocion at al, but onely for good company to bable thyther warde and drinke dronk there, and daunce and rele homeward. And yet here is not all. For I tell you nothing nowe of many a noughtye packe, many a flecke and his make that maketh their ymages metinges at these holsū hallowes. And many ý semeth an honest huswife at home, hath helpe of a baude to brig her to mischief as she walketh abrode about her pilgrimages. I herde once when I was a child the good scottish freer father Donolde whom I reken surely for a sainct, if there be any in heauē. I herd him preache at Poules crosse ý our Lady was a virgin, & yet at her pilgrimages he made many a foule meting. And loude he cried out, ye men of Lōdon gange on your self with your wiues to Myllesdō in the deuils name, or els kepe them at home w̃ you with sorow. And surely so mani good mē wens it wer best, cōsiderig ý these viages ben but wandring about vanitie or superstiscious deuocion, & the next dore to ydolatrye when men haue their affeccions in stede of god boundē to blockes & stones. And now sith ý this gere is suche, what
G meruaile is it though (as I saide before) ý deuil be glad to geue attendance theron, & do for his part what he may to help his owne deuises forwarde? Or what meruaile is it though god in this cursed world when we fall from him to other, & frō the honor of himself to his saintes, when we do as the paynims did in stede of god worship mammottes, & al this by falling to folow mens glosses before his owne textes, what wonder is it though
H god again serue vs as he serued thē, and suffer the deuil delude vs as he did them, & make vs leane to false miracles as we fal wilfully to false gods? Thus sai thei quod he ý speke on that side, & yet muche more than I can call to mind. But surely sith ye willed me to forbere nothyng I haue as I coulde rather sette to somewhat, not of mine own oppinion, but of mine own inuencion thē any thing left out that I could remember which I had euer herd any man ley, to proue the myracles done at pilgrimages to be vncertain by whō thei bee wrought, or rather to proue ý thei should not be gods miracles but the deuils wonders.

¶ The

F Frier Donolde.

Marke this ye Lōdoners

A

The .18. Chapiter.

¶ The author differreth the answer to the foresaid obieccions, & fyrste by scripture he proueth, ý the churche of Christ cā not errē any necessary article of Christes faith. And in this chapiter ben those wordes of Christe specially touched. *Super cathedram Moysi sederunt, &c. Que dicunt vobis facite, que autem faciunt nolite facere*, concerning the authoritie of the churche.

B Surely quod I for my part I can you very good thāk, for ye haue not faintly defended your part, as though it wer a corrupted advocate, ý would by collusion handle his clientes matter febly for the pleasure of his aduersary, but ye haue saide therein I can not tell whether as muche as any man may saye, but certainly I suppose as much as ye either haue hard any mā say or can your self say. And at the least wise, much more than I haue herd of any mā els, or could haue said of my self. And vndoubted as ye spake of shotyng in the beginning, this gere howe nere it goeth to the prick, we shal see after. But this I promise you, it would fain beare ouer the but and al. For if it might hold & be bidden by, & wer as well able to bee C proued trew, as I trust to proue it false, the butte we shote at wer quite gone, for any sureties ý we could reke of our faith & christendome. But now to come to the poit. Sith it is agreed al ready betwene vs, that at these images & pilgrimages miracles ben ther, either shewed by god for the cōpracio of his pleasure therin or wonders wroughte by the deuill for our delusion and damnacion. If it may either appere to vs, that thei be not done by the deuil, than will it wel folow that thei be done by god. Or if it be proued to be done by god for the good of his church D than wil it be clere enough, that they bee no wonders wrought by the deuill, to ý disceit of christen people. And sithe that either other of these parties proued, implieth the reprofe of our purpose, I wyll assay to shew, & trust right wel to proue you the trouth of our syde, by some one of these waies or paraduenture by both that is to wete as well in prouing ý god doth these miracles, as in reprouing & confuting that thei should be done by ý deuill. And first would I faine mete wī your obieccions and aunswer thē forthwith while thei be fresh, sauing ý me seme. ý better for the while to differ them, forasmuch as som thiges ther be, wherupon it will be requisite, ý we firste bee both agreed: wout which we wer like to walke wide in wordes, & ronne at al ryot so lose, that our matter could neither haue grounde, order, nor ende. ¶ Nowe if I wer in this matter to dispute with a Painim, that would make the question betwene their miracles and ours, al be it I should haue a clere matter in thend, yet must it nedes bee a long matter and much entriked or it shoulde come at the end. And hole bokes would it hold, both ý confuting of theirs, and vnto them the assertacion of our owne, specially for ý F thei receiue not our scripture, and betwene thē & vs nothig cōmune to groūd vpon but reason. And if we shoulde dysput with a Jewe lesse labour should we haue, sith that we should haue with him (though he denie the new testament) yet reason and the olde testament agreed vpon, wherin we should not vary for the text, but for the sentence and vnderstandyng. For therin we should haue hym stylly, withstande vs. But now sith we shall in oure matter dispute and reason with those that agree themselfe for christen men, our dispicions is so muche the shorter, in that we must nedes agree together in mo thiges. For we muste agree in reson wher faith refuseth it not. And ouer that we shall agree vpon the hole corpus of scripture, as well the new testament as the old. But in the interpretacion we may paraduenture stryck, Is it not so? ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ Wel quod I, is ther any other thing wherin ye think ý we shal vary, but ý interpretaciō of ý scripture? ¶ Not ý I remember q̄ he, except the conclusiō it self, whereupon we talk, as of ý worshipping of ymages, or praying to saintes, in which mē thynke ther cā be no great questiō, if ý scripture be wel interpreted. ¶ Ye do q̄ I agree, ý such thinges as ar mēcioned in ý gospel spokē by Christ vnto saint Peter & other apostles & disciples, wer not only sayde to thēself, nor only for thēself, but to thē for their successours in Christes flocke, & by thē to vs al, ý is to wit euery mā as shal apperteine to his part. Wherebymene you ý q̄ he. ¶ I mene q̄ I, as for ensample when he said: *Nisi abundauerit iustitia vestra plusquam scribarum & pharisiorum, non intrabitis in regnum celorum.* Except your iustice abound & excede ý iustice of the Scribes

C

E

G

H

That that was sayde to the Apostles was sayde to their successors.

Math. 5.

A and Pharisees, ye shall neuer come in heauen. And where he sayth, if ý wilte enter into the kingdom of heauen, keepe ý cõmaundementes, dyd not he say such thinges to thē for all christen men that should come after? ¶ I thinke yes quod he, for the seconde worde concernyng ý cõmaundementes. But as for the first, ý their iustice should be better than the iustice of the Scribes and Pharisies, peaduenture he spake specially e to his Apostles theselfe, ý thei shold not bee like ý B Scribes & Pharisies, whiche commaũded other many thinges, and did nothig theselfe. ¶ That is in my minde q̃ I wel taken, & so doth holy saint Austyne expounde it. But sithe ye think he said that worde to his apostles specially, rather than to all his hole flock, whither think you that he saide it onely to them, or els to all other also that shoulde after come in their places and succede thē in office? ¶ Nay for god q̃ he to all that bysshops he saide it, and prelates and spirituall rulers of his churche, that euer shal bee in the church: he, forbidding them to bind and lay vpon other poore mens backes C inportunable burdeyns, to the bearing wherof themself will not once put forth a fynger. ¶ Verye well saide q̃ I, what think you than of that he sayde, Doo ye such thinges they bid you do, but not as ye see thē doo? ¶ In that would our lord q̃ he, that al the people should do al that the prelates should commaunde, as far as was commaũded in the law by god, but he ment no further. And therfore he said that thei sat vpon the chaire of Moises, and he willed ý they should for that Mat.23. cause be obeyed. And therin he mente in such thinges onely as thei shoulde commaunde, ý were by god commaunded ý D people, in the law geuē to Moyses. And that christen men in likewise obeye the bishops and prelates, cõmaunding only suche thinges as hymselfe hath commaunded his people in his ghospell and his owne lawe. ¶ And in nothing els q̃ I: what meaneth it than that our Lord in the parable of the Samaritane, bearing the wounded man into the Inne of his church, and deliuering him to the host after that himself hadde dressed hys woundes w̃ wine & oyle, & left w̃ ý hoste ý. ii. grotes of ý. ii. testamẽtes, pmised ý host beside, ý what so euer ý host would bestow vpō hi more, he wold whā he cãe again recõpence hi therfore. And also in ý place ý we spake of, our sauiour said ý ý Scribes & Pharisees beside the law of Moises on whose seate they sat, dyd lay E gret fardels & fast boũd thē on other mes Mat.23. backes, to ý bering wherof they would not move a finger theself. And yet for al ý he bad ý people do what their prelates wold bid thē, though ý burdē wer heuy. And let not to do it though thei shold seý bidders do clene cõtrary. For which he added, but as thei do, do not you. ¶ By our Lady q̃ he, I like not this glose. For it maketh al for ý bondes, by whiche the lawes of ý church bind vs to more a do, thã the Iewes wer almost w̃ Moses law And I wote wel Christ said come to me, ye ý be ouercharged, & I shal refresh you Mat.11. And his apostles said ý the bare lawe of Acte.15. Moises beside ý ceremonies ý wer set to F by ý Scribes & the Pharisies, wer more thã euer thei wer able to beare & fulfill. And therfore Christ came to cal vs into a law of liberte. And ý was in taking away the band of those wery ceremonial lawes. And therfore saith our sauior of ý law ý he calleth vs vnto, mi yoke (saith he) is fit & easy, & my burden but lyghte. Mat.11. Wherby it apperethý he ment to take away the straite yoke & put on a more easy. And to take of the heuye burdē & laye on a lighter. Which he had not done yf he woulde lade vs with a fardell full of mens lawes, mo than a cart can cary away. The lawes of Christ q̃ I, be made G by himself & his holy spirit, for ý gouernance of his people, & be not in hardnes & difficulte of keping anye thing like to the lawes of Moises. And therof durst I for nede make your self iudge. For yf ye bethik you wel, I wene if it wer at this age now to chose, you would rather bee boũdē to many of the lawes of Christes church, than to the circumsicion alone. The lawes made by the church, are of lesse difficultie thē the lawes made by Christ. Nor to as muche ease as we wene that Christ called vs, yet be not the lawes ý H haue bene made by his churche of halfe the pein nor halfe the difficulte ý hisown be, which hiself putteth in the ghospell, though we set aside the coũsels. It is I trow more hard not to swere at al, than to forswere: to forbere eche angry word thē not to kil: cõtinual watche & prayer thē a few dayes apointed. Thã what an anxiete & solicitude is ther in ý forberig of euery idle word? What an hard thret after the wordly cõpt for a smal mater. Neuer was ther almost so sore a words sayd vnto ý Iewes by Moises, as is to vs by Christ in ý word alone, wher he saith ý we shal of euery idle word geue accõpt at the day of iudgemẽt. What say ye thã by deuorses restrayned, & liberte of ouers Mat.5

A uers wives wōdzawen, wher thei had libertie to wed for their pleasure, yf they cast a fantasy to any ý they tooke in the warre. One of ý ware is inough ꝓ he to make any one mā warre. Now ý is merily said ꝓ I, but though one eye wer ynough for a fletcher, yet is he for store cōtent to kepe twaine, & wold though they wer somtime sore both, & should put him to sōe pain: what ease also cal you this, ý we be boundē to abide all sorowe and shameful death & al martirdome vppon pain of perpetual damnaciō for the profession of our faith. Trowe ye that these easy wordes of his easy yoke & light burdein wer not aswel spokē to his apostles
B as to you, & yet what ease called he them to. Called he not thē to watchig, fastig, praying, preching, walking, hunger, thurst, colde, & heate, beating, scourgig, prisonment, painful & shamefull death. The ease of his yoke standeth not in bodily ease, nor the lightnes of his burden standeth not in the slacknes of any bodily payn (except we be so wanton, ý wher himself had not heauē without pain, we loke to come thither with playe) but it standeth in the swetenes of hope, wherby we fele in our pain a pleasaunt taste of heauen. This is the thing as holy fait Gregory Nazanzeno declareth that refresheth men that are laden and maketh
C our yoke easy & our burdein light, not any deliuerying frō ý lawes of the church or frō any good tēporal lawes eyther, into a lewde liberte of slouthfull rest. For that wer not an easy yoke, but a pulling of ý head out of the yoke. Nor it wer not a light burdein, but all the burdein dyscharged cōtrary to the wordes of sainct Poule & saint Peter both, which as wel vnderstode ý wordes of their maister as these men do. And as a thing consonant & wel agreable therwō do cōmaund vs obedience to our superiours & rulers one & other in thinges by god not forboden,
D although thei bene harde & sore. But see for gods sake how we be rōne a gret wai further thē I thought to go whē I begā, & haue left ý we should go forth wāl. It is no losse ꝓ he, for ther is a good thyng well touched by ý way. Well ꝓ I let vs go back again wher we left syth ye agre ý Christ spake his wordes not to his Apostles onli for their own time, but such thinges as he said to thē he mente to all that should folow thē. And thereof somewhat he spake to thē for ý priestes & Bysshops only. As whē he said, *Vos estis sal terre*, ye be ý salt of ý erth, & sōwhat to ý whole flock as whē he said: *Mandatum nouum do vobis vt diligatis inuicem sicut ego dilexi vos.* I geue you a new cōmādement ý you loue together as I haue loued you. Tel me thē I require you, whā Christ said to sait Peter, Sathanas hath desired to sift the as mē sift corne, but I haue prayed for thee ý thy faith shal not faile: said he thys to him as a pmise of ý faith to bee by gods help ppetually kept & preserued in saint Peter only, or els in the hole churche, ý is to wete ý hole congregacion of christē people professing his name & his fayth, & abiding in ý body of ý same, not being precided & cut of, meaning that his faith shold neuer so vtterly fail in his church but ý it shold hole & entier abide and remain therin. Mary ꝓ he this is good
F to be aduised of. For though Christ for ý more part such thiges as he spake to one spake to al, accordig to his own words, *Quod vni dico, omnibus dico*, ý I saye to one I say to al, yet some thinges he sayd & mēt pticularly as he spake it. As whē he bad saint Peter come vpō the water to hī, he bad not the rēnant come so. And so may it paduēture be ý this word was spokē & mēt toward Peter alone. That wil be ꝓ I very hard to hold. For his faith after failed. But sith ý vpō his firste confessiō
G of ý right faith ý Christ was gods sōne, our lord made him his vniuersal vicare & vnder hī head of his church. And ý for his successor he should bee the first vpon whom & whose firme confessed faith he wold bild his church, & of any ý was only mā make him the first & chiefe head & ruler therof, therefore he shewed hī that his faith, ý is to wete the faith by him cōfessed, should neuer faile in his church, nor neuer did it, notwstādīng his denying. For yet stode styl the light of fayth in our Lady, of whō we rede in the gospel cōtinual assistēce to her swetest sōne wout fleyng or flitting. And in al other we fynd either fleyng frō him one tyme
H or other, or els doubt of his resurrecciō after his death (his dere mother onely except.) For the significacion & remēbrāce wher of the church yerely in the tenebre lessons leueth her candel burning styll, when al the remnant that signifieth his apostles and disciples be one by one put out. And sith his faith in effect fayled, & yet the faith that he professed abode styll in our Lady, the promise that god made was (as it semeth) mēt to hī, but as head of the church. And therfore our lord added thereto. And thou being one of these dayes conuerted, confirme and stregth

Lode not to come to heue with play.

Note.

Math.5.

Math.16.

The whole churche.

Math.23.

Math.14.

Peter head of the churche.

Our Ladyes Candle.

A thy brethre. In which by these wordes our sauior met & promised that the faith shold stād for euer. So ý the gates of hel shold not preuaile thereagainst. Or els might ye say, ý these wordes spoken to saint Peter, fede my sheps, was mēt but for himself, & no cōmaundement to any successor of his or any bishop or prelate. And by ý meane might ye say also, that these wordes of Christes promise made vnto his disciples, ý the holy ghost shold enstruct thē of al thinges, wer only mēt for themself in their owne persons. And B not ý euer he shold enstruct his churche after their dayes. And when he said, whersoeuer be two or thre gathered together in my name, there am I my selfe amōg thē: we shall say by this meanes, ý ye mēt but of his own disciples in his own time while he was here w̄ thē, and not ý he would be likewise present with such other congregacions in his church after. And finally, thē wer these wordes frustrate where he said: Lo, I am w̄ you al ý dayes to ý worldes ende. If he shold mene it but w̄ thē ý heard him speak it, then should it appere, ý he had entended a church only of thē, and for their tyme. And then from their death hither al wer done. Merely sy? q̄ he, I can wel agree, C ý al such thinges was spokē by Christe, to make thē sure that ý faith shold neuer faile in his churche. Howbeit yf I durst doubt in ý point, one thing is ther ý somwhat sticketh in my mind. Doubt on q̄ I betwene vs twayne & spare not, nor let not to tell me what moueth you. Sir q̄ he, I think ý god setteth no more by faith thē he doth by charitie. But as for charitie and good workes with vertuous liuing shall coole and dekay in ý church as our sauior saith in the xxiiii. chapiter of Mathew. Because iniquitie shall abounde, the charitie of many mē D shal coole. And surely me thynketh it is wel nere al gone already. ¶ God forbid q̄ I. For albeit ý it greatly day by daye dekayeth, & much people nought, yet be there manye good men about, & shal bee alway though they be few in comparison of the multitude. And yet is not all one of other vertues & of faith, that is to wit, of knowlege & beleue of thē articles of our faith. I meane of such articles as we be of necessite boūdē to beleue. For al beit ý the flock of Christ shal neuer lack good & deuout vertuous people, yet shal both ý bell be sinners, & also muche more the multitude shall euer haue the faith that I speake of, than shall haue the gooones of liuing. ¶ Why so q̄ he? For E two causes q̄ I. One, the malice of the people wherby thei wil not be to redy to liue wel as to beleue well. For ý people themself will better kepe ý faith the other vertues, sith it is a thing of lesse labour to know what thei shold beleue, & to beleue it also when thei know it, then it is to worke wel. For though the knowlege & beleue bring many men to the labour of good workes, yet ý world commonly & the frailte of our flesh w̄ the enticemēt of our ghostlye enemies, make vs willingly & wittingly well knowyng & beleuing the good, yet to walke in ý worse as doth somtime the sicke man, that beleuing his phisicion, & hauing had also F right often good proofe by his owne experience to his paine before, that some certain meate or drinke shall doce hym harme, doth yet of an importune appetite fal for his litle pleasure to his great pain & hurt. ¶ Another cause is q̄ I, the goodnes of god, which howe far so euer his people fal frō the vse of vertue, shal not yet as himself hath promised suffer thē to fal frō ý knowlege of vertue, not onely for ý manifestacio of his iustice, ý their own cōscience may condemne thē in doing the thinges ý themselfe knowe to be nought: but also to ý entent thei may stil haue among thē a ypetual occasion G of amendement. For if ý faith wer once gone, & the church of Christ falle in that error, ý thei beleued vice to bee vertue, & idolatry to be ý right way of gods worship, thā had they no rule to geue thē to better. And therfore while we be not in error of vnderstanding & faith, howe so euer we fal, or how oftē so euer we sin, we see ý way to turne again by grace to gods mercy. But if faith were gone, all wer gone, & thā had god here no churche at al.

It is lesse labour to beleue then to worke well.

The 19. Chapiter.

H ¶ The author proueth ý if the worship of ymages wer idolatrie than ý churche beleuing it to be lawful and pleasant to god, were in a misbelieue & in a deadly error. And than wer the faith fayled in the churche, whereof Christ hath promised the contrary as is proued in the chapiter before.

SUrely sy? q̄ he, that God made not his church for a while, but to endure tyll the worldes ende. that is there no christen mā but he wil wel agree. And sithe his churche cannot stand without faith, whiche is ý entrig

Hebrues.11. Fayth shal be alway in the churche.

A entrie into christendome (for as saincte Pouls saith, *Accedentem ad deum oportet credere*, whoso will come to god must nedes beleue) No man wil deny but that fayth is & alway shalbe in his chirche. And that his christe not in fayth onely and the knowledge of the truethes necessarye to be knowne for our soule health, but also to the doing of good woorkes and auoyding of euils, is, hath been, & euer shalbe specially gyded and gouerned by God & the secret inspiracion of his holy spirit. ¶ Well quod I then, if the chyrch haue fayth, it erreth not in beliefe. ¶ That is trouth quod he. It should erre quod I, if it beleued not all the truthes that we be bound to beleue. ¶ What elles quod he. What and we beleued quod I al that is trewe, and ouer that some other thyng not only false, but also displeasāt to god did we not thē erre in our necessary beleue: wherby mene you that ye he: ¶ As thus ye I, if ỳ one beleued in all the thre parsones of the trinite, ỳ father ỳ sōne & the holy gost, & therwō wer perswaded ỳ ther wer a fourth person beside, equal, & one god with thē. ¶ He must ye he nedes erre in his necessary beleue, by which he is bounden to beleue in ỳ trinite. And ỳ felowe beleueth in a quaternitie. That is ye I ỳ hole trinite & one moe. But we be not only not boundē ye he to beleue in any mo, but also boūdē not to beleue in any moe. ¶ Very wel ye I, thē erreth he asmuch and as far lacketh his right beleue that beleueth to much, as he ỳ beleueth to litle, & he ỳ beleueth some thyng ỳ he should not, as he that beleueth not some thing ỳ he shold. ¶ What els ye he, & what thē. ¶ Marye this ye I, yf we beleue that it were lawfull & well done to pray to sainctes, & to do reuerence theyr ymages, & doo honour to their reliques, & visit pilgrimages. And than wher we do these thiges thei wer in dede not well done, but wer displeasaunt to god, & by him reputed as a minishment & a withdrawing of the honor dewe to himself, & therefore afore his magestie reproued & odious & taken as ydolatrie, were not this opinion a deadlye pestilent errour in vs, & a plain lacke of right faith? Yes for god ye he. ¶ But ye grant ye I, ỳ the church cā not erre in the right faith necessary to be beleued, whiche is geuen & alway kept in ỳ church by god. Trouth ye he. Thā foloweth it ye I, ỳ the church in ỳ it beleueth saintes to be prayed vnto, reliques and ymages to be worshypped, and pilgrimages to bee visited and sought, is not deceued nor doth not erre, but that the beleue of the church is true therin. And therupō also foloweth that the wonderful woorkes done aboue nature, at such ymages & pilgrimages, at holye reliques by prayers made vnto saites, be not done by the deuil to delude the church of Christ therwith, sithe the thing that the churche doth, is wel done & not Idolatrie. But by the great honor done vnto saintes, god himself the more highly honored, in that his seruauntes haue so muche honour for his sake. And therof foloweth it, that himself maketh the miracles in comprobacion thereof. ¶ Also if it be true that ye haue granted that God kepeth and euer shall kepe in his church the right faith and righte beleue by the helpe of his owne hande that planted it, then can it not be that he shal suffer the deuill to worke wonders lyke vnto his own miracles to bring his hole church into a wrong faith. And then yf those thinges be not done by the deuyll, I trow ye will not then denye, but they be done by god. And so is yet again our purpose double proued. Fyrst in that ye grant that god wil not suffer his church to erre in his right faith, secōdly (which pursueth thereupon) by that he hath by many a visible miracle declared, ỳ this faith and maner of obseruaunce is very pleasāt and acceptable vnto him, which miracles sith they bene pued to bee done vpon good grounde and cause, appeare well to bee done by god and not by oure ghostly enemy.

The. 20. Chapiter.

¶ The messenger alledgeth that the perpetual being & assistence of Christ wō his church to kepe it out of al damnable errours, is nothing els but his being with his churche in holy scripture, wherof the author declareth the contrary.

HOw thynke you ye I, is ther any thyng in this matter amisse? I cā not well tell ye he, what I myght aunswer therto. But yet me thik that I come to this point by some oversight in graunting. ¶ Well ye I, mē say sometyme when they would saye or doo a thyng and cannot well come thereon, but misse and oversee themselfe in the assaye, it maketh no matter they saye, ye maye beginne agayne and mende it, for it is nother masse nor mattyns. And all be it in this matter, ye haue nothyng grauted but ỳ is in my mind as true as

A the mattins or the masse either, yet if ye reken your self ouer swift in graunting I gene you leue to go backe & cal againe what ye wyll. ¶ In good faith ye be full hard wer it in myne owne mynde, other wise to think, but ý god shal alwai kepe the right beleue in his church. But yet sithe we come to this conclusion by the granting therof, let vs loke once again therupō. And what yf men wold say, as I hard once say my self, that God dothe paraduenture not kepe alwaye fayth in
B his church, to geue thē warning wō, whē they do wel, & when the contrary. But sith he hath geuē thē and left with them the scripture, in which they may sufficiently se, both what thei should beleue, & what thei should do, he letteth thē alone therwith, wōut any other speciall cure of his, vpō their faith & beleue. For theri thei may see all that them nedeth yf they wil loke and labour therin. And yf they will not, the fault is theyr owne slouthe and folye. And whoso be willing to mēd & be better, may alway haue lyght to see how, by recours to the reading of holye scripture, which shal stande him in like
C stede as ye said before, that god kept the faith for, by his speciall meanes in hys church. ¶ If this ye I wer thus, wherof should Christes promise serue. *Ego vobiscū sum omnibus diebus vsque ad finem seculi.* I am wō you al the dayes tyl the ende of ý worlde. Wherfore shold he be here wō his church if his being here shold not kepe his right fayth & beleue in his church? ¶ Mary ye be these wordes well agreeth wō al. For god is & shalbe to the worldes ende with his church in his holy scripture. As A-
D braham answered the riche man in hell saying thei haue Moises & the prophetes not meaning ý they had thē all at ý time present wō thē, but onely that they hadde their bookes. And so Christe forasmuch as the scripture hath his faith cōprehended therin according to his own wordes. *Scrutamini scripturas, quia scripture sūt que testimonium perhibende me.* Serch you the scriptures for thei bere witnes of me. Therefore he said. *Ego vobiscum sum vsque ad siēn seculi,* I am with you to the ende of the world, because his holye scripture shall neuer fayle, as lōg as the world endureth. Heuen and earth shall passe away, but my wordes shall neuer passe away. ¶ And therfore in his holye writing is he with vs stil, and therin he kepeth and techeth vs his right faith if we list to loke for it, & els as I said our own fault & folye it is.

Math.28.

Luke.16.

Iohn.5.

Math.24.

¶ If God ye I bee none otherwise wō vs but i holy scripture, thē be those wordes of Christe, I am wō you to the worldes ende, somewhat straungely spoken, & vnlike the wordes of Abraham whereunto ye reféble thē. For Christe lefte neuer a boke behind him of his owne makyng, as Moises did and the prophetes. And in their bokes was he spoken of, as he was in the gospell. Wherfore if he had spokē & ment of scripture, he would haue sayd that thei should haue wō the in stil his Euangelistes and writers of his gospels as Abraham said thei haue Moyses and the prophetes, which wer the writers of the bokes ý the Iewes had: Christe also said, I am with you tyll the ende of the world, not I shal be, but I am, which is the word appropried to his godhed. And therfore ý word am, is ý name by which our lord wold as he tolde Moises, be named vnto Pharao, as a name which frō all creatures (syth they be all subiecte to time) clerelye discerneth his Godhead, which is euer being & preset wōut difference of time past or to come. In whiche wise, he was not in his holye scripture, for ý had begining. And at those words spoken, was not yet all written. For of the chiefe part which is the new testamēt ther was yet at ý time neuer one worde written. And also we be not sure by any
G promise made that the scripture shall endure to ý worldes end, albeit I think verely the substaunce shall. But yet as Isai, promise haue we none therof. For where our lord saith ý his wordes shall not passe awaye, nor one iote thereof bee losse, he spake of his promises made in dede, as his faith and doctrine taught by mouth & inspiracion. Ye mente not ý of his holye scripture in writyng there should neuer a iote be loss, of which som partes be al ready loss, more paraduenture then we cā tel of. And of ý we haue the bokes in some parte corrupted with
H mislewriting. And yet the substaunce of those wordes that he ment bene knowē, where some parte of the writing is vnknowen. Ye sayeth also that his father and he should sende the holy gost, & also ý he wold come himselfe, wherto al this if he ment no more but to leue the bokes behinde them and go their way? Christe is also present among vs bodily in ý holy sacramente. And is he there presente with vs for nothyng? The holye ghoste taught me ye thynges, I thynke vnwritten, & wherof some part was neuer

Math.28.

Exod.3.

I am.

Math.24.

Christe is bodily presente in the sacramente.

compryseb

A compyled in the scripture, yet vnto this day, as the article which no good christē man will doubt of, that our blessed Lady was a perpetual virgin as wel after the byrthe of Christ as afore. ¶ Our sauiour also said vnto his apostles, ý whē they shoulde bee accused and brought in iudgement, they should not nede to care for answer, it should euen then be put in their myndes. And that he ment not only the remembraunce of holy scripture, whiche before the Painim iudges were but a colde and bare alleging, but such new wordes geuen them by God inspyred in their heartes so effectuall, and cōfirmed with miracles, that their aduersaries though thei wer angri therat, yet should not be able to resist it. And thus with secrete helpe & inspyracio is Christ with his churche, and wyll bee to the worldes end present & assistent. Not only spoken of in writing.

The. 21. Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth ý if it so were in dede as the messenger saide, that is to wit that Christ continued with his church none otherwyse but onely by the leuyng of his holy scripture to them, and that all the faith also were only therin, than should it yet folow ý as farre as the necessitie of our saluacio requireth, god geneth ý church ý right vnderstādig therof. And therupō foloweth farther, ý the church cā not erre in ý right faith. Wherupō is inferred eftsone, al that the messēger wold haue fled fro by force. And therron also specially foloweth, that all ý sectes of holy scripture whiche heretiques alledge agaynst ymages or any point of ý come beleue of Christes catholike church, can nothing serue their purpose.

D But now would I wit, syth ye rekē him none otherwise preset thē in holy scripture, whither then dothe he geue hys churche the right vnderstandyng of holy scripture or not? ¶ What yf he doo not quod he. ¶ Marye quod I than your selfe seeth well, that they wer as wel without. And so should the scripture stande thē in as good stede, as a paire of spectacles shold stand a blinde freer. ¶ That is very trueth q he. But therfore hath his wisdome and goodnes prouided it so to be writen, that it maye bee wel vnderstanden, by the collacion and consideracio of one text with an other. ¶ Nay it not also bee q I, that some of them which do rede it diligently, and diligently compare and consider euery text, how it may stande with other, may yet for al that, mistake & misvnderstand it? ¶ Yes quod he it may be so. For elles had there not bene so many heretiques, as there hath bene. ¶ Very trueth q I. But now if all the faith be in holy scripture, and no part therof any where els, but that it must be therin altogether lerned, wer it thā sufficient to vnderstande some part a right, and some other parte wrong, in the necessary pointes of oure faith, or must we as farrefoorth as concerneth ý necessite therof misvnderstād no part? ¶ We must q he mistake no part, as farre as necessarily concerneth our faith. But we musse haue so ý right vnderstanding of all together, that we conceiue no damnable errour. ¶ Well sayd q I, then yf we must, we may. For if we maye not, we musse not. For oure lord bindeth no mā to an impossibilitie. We may q he. If we may q I, thē may we eyther by good hap fall into ý ryght vnderstanding, or els by naturall reasō come to it, or els by supernatural grace be led into it. ¶ That is trouth quod he, nedes must it be one of these wayes. ¶ Wel q I, we wil not enserch whiche, But I would first wit, whither Christ haue a church in the world continually and so shal haue to the worldes ende, or els hath one somtyme, & sometime none at all, As we might thynk, ý he had one, while he was here himselfe, and paraduēture a whyle after, and happely none at all neuer sith, nor shall not again we wot nere when. ¶ Nay quod he, that cā not bee in no wise, but ý he musse nedes haue his churche continue styll somewhere, for els how could he be with thē cōtinually to the worldes end, in scripture or otherwise, yf they (with whome he promised to bee, and continue to the worldes ende) should not continually so lōg endure? Or how could those wordes of Christ be true. Lo I am with you all the dayes to the worldes ende, if before the worldes ende he were awaye some dayes, as he were in dede fro ý churche some dayes, yf in some dayes he hadde no churche. ¶ Well quod I, yet would I witte one thing more. Can he haue a churche without fayth. ¶ Nay quod he, ý were impossible. ¶ Forsoth quod I, so were it. For his churche is a congregacion

Matth. 28.

Churche.

A cion of people gathered in to his faith.
Fayth. And faith is the first substanciall diffe-
Reason. rence discerning christen men from he-
then, as reason is the difference deuy-
ding man frō all kindes of brute bestes.
Now thē if his churche be and euer shal
be continuall wōut any times betwene
(in which there shall be none) & without
faith it may neuer be, and no part of the
faith is as ye say els where had, but in
holy scripture, & all it must be had, and
also as we were agreed a litle while a-
fore, ther must be none errour adioyned
therto, and therefore as far as toucheth
B the necessitie of faith, no parte of scrip-
ture may be misse taken, but all must be
understanden right, and maie bee right
understanden by hap, reason, or helpe
of grace, it necessarily foloweth that by
one or other of these wayes, the churche
of Christ hath alway and neuer fayleth
ý right understādīng of scripture, as far
as logeth for oue necessite. That folo-
weth in dede q̃ he. ¶ Mel q̃ I, let passe
for ý while, what foloweth further? And
sith ý churche so hath, let vs first agree
by which of these. iii. wayes the church
hath it, whyther by hap, reson or grace.
C ¶ By hap q̃ he wer a pore hauing. For
so might it hap to haue and hap to faile.
¶ Thē q̃ I sith it hath it euer, it can not
be by hap, what thinke you then of rea-
son. ¶ As litle q̃ he as ani mā thinketh.
For I take reason for playne enmye to
faith. ¶ Ye take peraduenture wrōg q̃
I. But now sith ye so thynk, ye leue but
the third way, which is ý help of grace.
The spirit of god ledeth the churche into all trouth.
¶ No surely q̃ he. ¶ Merely q̃ I, where
reso may betwene diuers textes stād in
great doubt, which way to lene, I think
that god with his holy spirite ledeth his
church into the cōsent of his trouth. As
himself said that the holy goost (whom he
wold send) shold lede thē into al trouth.
John.16. He said not the holy goste should at hys
D commyng write them al trouth, nor
tell them all the hole trouth by mouth,
but that he should by secret inspiracion
lede them into all trouth. And therefore
surely for a true cōclusiō in such menes
by god himself, by the helpe of his grace
(as your self graunteth) the right vnder
standyng of scripture, is euer preserued
in his churche for all suche mistaking,
wherof might folow any damnable er-
rour concerning the faith. And thereof
doth there fyrste folowe, that besyde the
scripture selfe, there is an other present
assistence, and speciall cure of god, per-
petuall with his churche, to kepe it in ý
right faith, that it erre not by misseon-
derstanding of holy scripture, contrary
to the oppinion that ye purposed, when
ye saide, that Christes being with hys
church, was onely the lenyng of his ho-
ly scripture to vs. And ouer this, if God
wer no otherwyse present then ye speke
of, yet sith it is proued that his churche
for all that euer hath the right vnderstā-
dyng of scripture, we be commen to the
same point again, that ye would so fain
flit from. For if the scripture (& nothing
but the scripture) doth contein al thyng
that we be bounden to belene, and to do
and to forbeare, and that god also there-
fore prouideth for his churche, the right
vnderstandyng therof, concerning euer-
F ery thyng necessary for vs, that is contey
ned in scripture, thē must ther nedes fo-
low thereupon, the thyng that ye feared,
lest ye had wrōg, & vnaduisedly graūted
ý is to wit, ý god alway kepeth the right
faith in his church. And therupon folo-
weth further, the remnant of all that is
questiō betwene vs, that the faith of the
church in the worship, that it beleueth
to be wel geuen vnto saintes, reliques &
ymages, is not erronius but right. And
thereupon foloweth also that the myra-
cles done at such places be none illusi-
ons of damned spirites, but the mighty
G hand of god, to shew his pleasure in the
corroboration therof, & in the excitaciō
of our deuocion therto. ¶ In dede q̃ he,
we be cōme back here wō going forward
as men walk in a mase. ¶ Ye haue not
yet q̃ I lost al that labour. For though
ye haue halfe a checke in this pointe, yet
haue ye (if ye perceiueit) mated me in an
other point, by one thing, that is agreed
betwene vs now. ¶ What is that q̃ he.
This q̃ I, ý I haue agreed as well as
you, that god hath geuen his church the
right vnderstandyng of scripture in as
H farrefoorth as longeth to the necessitye
of saluacion. ¶ In what point quod he,
hath that mated you. ¶ Why quod I se
you not that? Saye then wyll I not tell
you, but yf ye hyer me, or yf I tell you,
yet shal ye not wynne the game therby.
For sith ye see it not your self, it is but a
blynde matter. ¶ Let me know it yet q̃
he, and I am agreed to take none aduan-
tage thereof. ¶ On that bargaine be it
quod I. ¶ Ye wote well quod I that a-
gainst the worshipping of ymages, and
praying to saites, ye sayd certain textes
of scripture to proue it forbodē, & reputed
of God for Idolatrye. For aunswere
whereof, when I sayde that men muste
lens

A lene to the sentence that the church and holy doctours of ý church geue to those textes, ye said thei were but mens false gloses against gods true textes. And now sith ye graunt & I also, ý the church can not misse vnderstand the scripture to the hinderance of the right faith, in thinges of necessite, & that ye also knowlege this matter to be such, ý it must either be the right beleue & acceptable seruice to god or els a wronge & erronious opiniõ and plain ydolatrie, it foloweth of necessite, ý the church doth not misse vnderstand those textes, that ye or any other can alege, and bryng foorth for that purpose. But that al these textes be so to be taken and vnderstande, as they nothing make against the church, but al against your owen opinion in this matter. And this heue ye sodeinly answered your self, to all those textes out of hand, w̃ a glose of your own, as true as any text in the byble, & which all the world wyll neuer auoide, except thei would make the scripture serue the church of nought, or rather to their hinderance thē furtherāce in the faith. For so wer it, if it might be that god geueth thē not the good vnderstanding therof, but suffreth them to be deceiued and deluded in errours, by the missetaking of the letter. ¶ Mary quod he, this is a blind mate in dede. ¶ Surely quod I these two thinges seme to me two as true pointes, and as plaine to a christen man, as any peticion of Euclidis geometry, is to a resonable manne. For as true as it is, ý euerye hole thyng is more then his own half, as true is it in dede, and to euery christen man, faith maketh it as certain. First ý Christes church can not erre in any such article, as god vpon pain of losse of heauen will that we beleue. And thereupon necessarily foloweth, ý there is no text of scripture well vnderstanden, by which christen people ar commaunded to doo the thing, which ý church beleueth that thei may leyfully leue vndone, nor any text wherby we be forbodē any thing, which the church beleueth that they may lawfully do.

The churche cannot misse vnderstande the scripture.

Two thinges moste perfyte and true.

¶ The. 22 Chapiter.

¶ Because the messenger had in the beginning shewed himself desirous & greedy vpon the text of scripture, with litle force of the old fathers gloses, & with dispraise of Philosophie and almost all the. vii. liberall sciences, the authour therefore incidētly sheweth what harme hath happed sometyme fall to diuers of those yong men whō he hath knowen to geue their studye to the scripture only, with contempt of Logike and other seculer science, and litle regarde of the olde interpretours. Wherfore the author sheweth that in the study of scripture, the sure way is, with vertue and prayer, first to vse the iudgement of natural reasō, wherunto seculer litterature helpeth muche. And secondly the commentes of holy doctours. And thirdly aboue al thing, the articles of the catholike faith receiued and beleued through the church of Christ.

And for because we speake of scripture now, and that the church in thinges nedely requisite to saluacion hath the right vnderstanding of holy scripture, wherin I perceiue ye be studious of the text alone, without great force of the olde fathers interpretacions or any other sciēce, of which ye reken all. vii. (saue gramer) almoste to serue for nought. I haue of you so good opinion, ý I truste all your studye shall turne you to good. But surelye I haue seen to som folk so much harme to grow therof, ý I neuer would aduise any mā els, in the study of scripture to take that way. ¶ Why so quod he. ¶ For I haue knowen quod I right good witz, ý hath set all other learning aside, partelye for slouth, refusing the labour and payn to be suffeined in that learning, partly for pride, by which thei coulde not endure ý redarguciō that should sometime fall to their part in dispysicions. Which affeccions, their inwarde secrete fauour toward themselues, couered and cloked vnder the pretext of simplicite, and good christen deuocion, borne to the loue of holy scripture alone. But in litle while after the damnable spirite of pride that vnware to thēself lurked ī their hartes, hath begonne to put out his hornes and shew himself. For then haue thei lōged, vnder the praise of holy scripture, to set out to shew their owne studye. Whiche because thei would haue seme the more to be set by, they haue first fallen to the dispraise & derisiō of al other disciplines. And because in speaking or preching of such cōmune thinges as all christē men know, thei could not seme excellēt, nor make it appere & seme, ý in their studye thei had done any gret maistry to shewe thēself, therfore merueloulsy thei set out para-

A paradoxis & strange opinions, against the comen faith of Christes hole church And because thei haue therin the old holye doctours against them, they fall to the contempt and dispraise of the, either preferryng their owne fonde gloses against the old conning & blessed fathers interpretacios, or els lene to soe wordes of holy scripture, ý seme to say for them against many mo textes, ý plaily make against the, without receiuing or eare geuing to any reason or authoritie of any mā quick or dede, or of ý hole church of Christ to the cōtrary. And thus once B prowdly perswaded a wrong way, thei take the bridle in the teth, & renne forth lyke an hedstrong horse, ý all the world can not plucke them backe. But with sowyng sedicion, setting forth of errors and heresies, and spiling their preching with rebuking of priesthode and prelacie, for the peoples pleasure, they tourne many a man to ruyne and themselfe also. And then the deuill deceiueth them in their blynde affeccions. ¶ They take for good zele to ý people theyr malicious enuy. And for a great vertue their ardēt appetite to preache, wherin they haue so C great pride for the peoples praise, that preache I wene thei would, though god would his owne mouth commaund the the contrary. ¶ Why should ye wene so quod he, or whereby can ye be sure that ye do not now misse conster theyr good mynde? Hard is it oftymes to iudge an other mannes dede that hath some apparence of euill, because the purpose & entent may make it good. And what peryl is it then where the dede appereth good, there to iudge the mynde and entent for nought, which who can see but god? As 1.Reg.6 the scripture saith, *Dominus autem intuetur cor.* Only god beholdeth the hart. And therfore saith our sauiour, iudge not before the tyme. ¶ I iudge not quod I, but vpō opē thynges and well apparant. For I D speke but of those, whose erronious opinions in theyr preaching, and theyr obstinate pride in the defence of theyr worldly worshippe well declareth theyr myndes. And some haue I sene, whiche when thei haue for their perillous preaching ben by theyr prelates prohibited to preache, haue (that notwithstanding) proceded on stil. And for the meintenāce of their disobedience, haue amended the matter with an heresy, boldly and stubburnly defendyng, that sythe they had connyng to preache they were by God bounden to preach. And ý no mā nor no law that was made or coulde be made, E had any authoritie to forbid them. And this thei thought sufficiently proued by the wordes of the Apostle. *Oportet magis obedire deo quam hominibus.* As though these mē were Apostles now specially set by god to preache heresyes and sow sedicion among christen men as the very apostles were in dede sent and commaunded by God, to preache his verye fayth to the Iewes. One of this sorte of this new kinde of preachers beyng demaunded, why that he vsed to saye in his sermons about, ý now a dayes men preached not wel the ghospel, answered ý he thought so, because he saw not the preachers per F secuted, nor no strife nor busines arise vpō their preaching. Which thinges he said & wrote was the fruit of the gospel, because Christ said. *Non veni pacem mittere sed gladium.* I am not come to sende peace into the world but the sworde. Was not this a worshipfull vnderstanding, ý because Christ would make a deuision among infidels, frō the remnant of them to win som, therfore these apostles wold sowe some cocle of dissenciō among the christen people, whereby Christ myght lese some of the? For the fruit of strife among ý hyrers, and persecucion of ý preacher cannot lightly growe among christē mē, but by the prechig of som strauge newelties, & brynging vp of some newe G fangle heresies, to the infeccion of oure olde faith. One wist I that was for his partinacy in that oppinion, ý he would and might and was bounden to preache (ani prohibicion notwithstanding) whē he was after diuers bolde and open defence therof, at last before folke honorable and fewe, reasoned withall, and not onely the law shewed hym to the contrary of his oppinion, whiche lawe was made at a generall counsell, but also by plaine authoritie of holy scripture pro- H ued that his oppinion was erronius, he so perceiued himself satisfied, ý he mekely knowleged his errour, and offered to abiure it and to submitte himselfe to penance. But on the morow whē he came forth in open presence of the people, and there sawe many that hadde oft hearde hym preache, of his secrete pride, he fel in suche an open passion of shame that those shold hyre hi go back wō his worde, which had before had his sermōs in gret estimacion, ý at ý first sight of ý people, reuoked his reuocaciō, & said out alowd ý he might wel be herd, that his opinion was true, & that he was the daye before deceiued

Actes.5.

Marke.10.

Howe strife & persecucion doth grow among christen men.

A deceiued, in ý he had cõfessed it for false. And thus he held his owne stubburnely wõut reason, til the bokes were shewed him again, & himself rede thẽ before al ý people, so that he perceyued the audiẽce ý stode about him, to fele and vnderstãd his proude foly, in the defence of his indefensible errour. And thereupon at the last, yelded himself again. Such secrete pride had our ghostly enemye conueyed into ý heart of him, which I ensure you semed in all his other outward maner, as meke a simple soule, as a man should haue sene in a somers daye. And some of thẽ let not with lyes & periury to defend B thẽ self, and some to stande in defence of their errours or false denying of their own dede, to their gret paril of the fier, if their iudges wer not more merciful then their malice deserueth. And al this done because (as them self doth at last cõfesse) thei think if thei abiure, thei shall after be suffred to preache again. Such a scabbed itche of vainglory catche they in their preaching, ý though al ý world wer the worse for it, & their own lyse lye theron, yet would thei long to be pulpeted. And this I saye hath comen of some ý haue w̃ contempt of all other lernyng geuen thẽ to scripture alone. Whose affeccions of pride & slouth hath not in the beginning bene perceiued to thẽ selfe, but haue accompted their vices for deuociõ. C ¶ Would ye thẽ quod he condemne that maner of studyng, by which a man hath so great affeccion to the scripture alone, ý he for the delite therof, seleth little sauor in any thing els, but that we should lese time in philosophy ý mother of heresies & let scripture alone. ¶ Nay quod I that mind am I not of. Ther was neuer thig writtẽ in this world ý cã in any wyse be comparable with any part of holy scripture. And yet I think other liberall scyence a gift of god also, and not to be cast away, but worthy to wait and as hande maides to geue attendaunce vpon diuinite. And in this point I think not thus alone. For ye shal finde sainct Hierom, D sainct Austine, sainct Basil, and many of the old holy doctours open & plain of the same opinion. And of diuinite reken I the best parte to be conteined in holye scripture. And this I saye for him ý shal haue time therto, & frõ youth entendeth to the churchward, and to make himself with Gods helpe mete for the office of a preacher. Howbeit if any man eyther happen to beginne so late, ý he shal peraduenture haue no tyme therto, or elles any man of youth to haue that feruente appetite vnto scripture, that he can not fynde in his heart to rede any thyng els (which affeccio whoso happeth to haue geuen him, is very fortunate, if he with grace & mekenes gyde it well) thẽ would I counseile him, specially to studie for the vertuous framing of his own affeccions, & vsing great moderacion & temperance in ý preching to other mẽ. And in all thyng to flee the desire of prayse & shewe of connyng, euer mistrusting his own inclinacions, & liue in drede & fere of the deuils subtil sleight & inuencions. Who though he lye in a continuall awaite vpõ euery preacher to catche hym in to pride if he can: yet his yeest enterprise and proudest triumph standeth in F the bringing of a man to the most abuse of that thing, ý is of his own nature the best. And therfore great labour maketh he & gret boste, if he bring it about that a good wit maye abuse his labour, bestowed vpon the studyng of holy scripture.

Very good counsaile.

¶ For the sure auoiding whereof, my poore aduise wer in the studyng therof, to haue a speciall regard to the writynges and cõmentes of olde holy fathers. And yet or he fall in hand w̃ the one or the other, next grace & help of god to be gottẽ with abstinence and prayer and clenes of liuing, afore all thing wer it necessary, to come well and surely ensructed, in all suche pointes and articles as the churche beleueth. Which thinges once G firmely had, and fastlye for vndoubted trouthes presupposed, then shall reason and thei be two good rules to examine & expowne all doubtful textes by, sith the reder shall be sure that no text is so to be vnderstande, as it standeth against thẽ both, or against any point of the Catholike fayth of Christes church. And therfore if it seme to stãd against any of thẽ, eyther shall the light of naturall reason with the collacion of other textes, helpe to find out the truth, or els (which is the surest way) he shall perceyue the trouth in the commentes of the good holy doctours of olde, to whom god hath geuen H the grace of vnderstanding. Or finally yf al ý he can eyther fynd in other mens workes, or inuent by goddes aide of his owne studyng, cã not suffice to satisfie, but that any text yet seme vnto him cõtrary to any point of the churches faith & beleue, lette hym then as saint Augustine saieth, make hymselfe very sure ý there is some fawte either in the translatour, or in ý writer, or how a daies in ý writer

Nothyng can bee compared to scripture.

A or finally that for some one let or other he vnderstandeth it not a right. And so let him reuerently knowlege his ignorauncе, lene and cleue to the faith of the churche as to an vndouted trouth, leauing that terte to be better preiued whā it shall please our lorde with his lyght to reuele and disclose it. And ī this wise shall he take a sure waye, by whiche he shal be sure of one of two thiges, that is to wit, eyther to perceiue and vnderstād the scripture right, or els at the lest wise neuer in suche wise to take it wrong, ý B euer may turne his soule to perill.

Lene to the faith of the churche.

The.23.Chapiter.

¶ The messenger obiected against ý counsell of the author in that he wold that the student of scripture shoulde lene to the commentours & vnto naturall reasō, which he calleth enemy to faith. And there vpon the aunswer of the author to those obiecciones, specially prouing that reason is seruant to fayth and not enemy, and must wō faith and interpretacion of scripture nedes be concurraut.

¶ Syr quod he I will not saye naye but this way will do wel. Howe beit I fere me that we wer likely to bylde vp many errours, if we square our timber and stones by these.3 rules, mens gloses, reasō, & fayth, not ý we finde in scripture, but ý we bring wō vs to scripture. For first for as the commētours ý ye speake of, either theyr cōmentes tell vs the same tale ý the terte dothe, or els an other. If thei tell me the same, I beleue them onely because ý tert saith ý same. And if thei tel me another, than beleue I thē not at all, nor nought I should, except I should beleue menne better than god. And as for reasō, what greater enemy can ye finde to faith thā reason is, which coūterpledeth faith in D eueri point. And would ye then send thē twaine forth to schole together that can neuer agree together, but be readye to fight together, aud either scratch out others eyes by the waye? It semeth also somewhat straunge, that whē god hath left vs in his holy scripture well & sufficiently his doctrine, whereby he would we shoulde haue warning of all suche thyng as he woulde we shoulde beleue and doo or leue vndone, and hath left vs ý scripture for none other cause but for that it shoulde stande vnto vs for the witnesse of his will, declared vs by writing, that we should not say nay but we were warned, and none other cause ¶ why the scripture shoulde be geuen vs, but to tell vs his pleasure and stirre vs to fulfyll it, we shall now not shape our fayth after the scripture, but first frame vs a faith our selfe, and then shape the scripture of god thereby, and make it agree thereto. This were in dede a good ealy waye for a slouthfull mason that were an euill workeman, to make hym a squier and a ruler of lede, that whē he lyste not to take the labour to hewe the stone to the squier, he may bend ý squier to the stone, and so shall he yet bring thē together at the lest waies. ¶ As for the olde commentours quod I, thei tell you thesame tale that the tert doth, but they tell it you more plaine, as we shal more F talke of after. But surely ye begylde me nowe in that ye set reason so shorte, for verely I would neuer haue wente, that ye would in scripture like worse a wise man, then an vnreasonable reder. For I can not see why ye shoulde reken reason for an enemy to faith, except ye rekē euery man for your enemy, that is your better and hurteth you not. Thus were one of your.v.witts enemy to an other. And our felyng shold abhorre our sight because we may see further by.iiii.mile then we maye sele. Howe can reasō (but if reason be vnresonable) haue more dis- G daine to hyre the trouth, of any point of faith, thē to see the prose of many thiges natural, whereof reason can no more attaine to that cause than it can in the article of the faith. But stil for any power that reason hath to perceiue the cause, she shall iudge it impossible after she prouе it trew, but yf she beleue her eye better then her wit. ¶ Whē ye se the Adamant stone draw yrō to it, it greueth not reason to looke thereon, but reason hath a pleasure to behold the thing, that passeth her power to perceiue. For it is as plain against the rule of reason that an heuy body should moue alone any other mocion then downward, or that any bodily thyng should drawe an other H without touching, as is any article of ý faith. For neuer was there yet cause by reasō assigned ý men may preine for probable, but only ý it is a secrete propertie of the stone, which is as much to say as I wote nere what. And yet as I say reasō cā beleue ý thing wel inough, tbe not āgry therw̄ nor striue against it. And yet al ý rules ý euer the lerned tel her still ý it may not be. ¶ Ye quod he, but a mans own eyē tel him ý it may be. And ý must nedes

What is left vs i scripture.

An Adamant stone.

A nedes content him. ¶ Wy a man then better trust his eies quod I the his wit? ¶ Ye mary quod he, what may he better trust then his eyen? ¶ His eyen may quod I be deceyued & wene thei se that thei se not, if reason gene ouer his hold, excepte ye thinke the iugler blow his galles through the gobletes bottom, or cut your gyrdell afore your face in. rr. peces and make it hole agayne, & put a knyfe into his eye & se neuer the worse. And tourne a plum into a dogges torde into a boyes mouthe. ¶ Now happened it madly ye euyn with this worde came one of my folke and asked whether thei B shoulde make redy for dyner. ¶ Abyde q I, let vs haue better meate first. And therwith your frende and I began to laugh. ¶ Wel q I make none haste yet for a lytell whyle. And so wente he his way halfe out of coũtenance, wenynge that he had done or said somewhat like a fole as he was one that was not very wise in dede, & wonte so to do. And then said I to your frende. Nowe ye se that reaso is not so proude a dame as ye take her for. She seeth done in dede by nature that she can not perceyue how, and is well contented therwith. She seeth a C fonde felowe deceyue her sight and her wyt therwith and taketh it well & merily, & is not angry that the iugler will not teche euery mã his craft. And wene ye thẽ that she wil take it so hyghly that God him selfe her maister and maker should do what him liste, and than tell her what, and tel her not how? ¶ I pray you quod I, that our lord was borne of a virgyn how know you? ¶ Mary quod he by scripture. ¶ Howe know you q I that ye shold beleue the scripture? Mary q he by faith. ¶ Why q I, what dooth faith tell you therin? ¶ Faith q he telleth me that holy scripture is thinges of D trouth wrytten by the secrete teching of god. And wherby know you q I that ye shold beleue god? ¶ Wherby q he? this is a strange question. Euery man quod he may well wete that. That is trouth q I. But is there any horse or any asse that wottyth that? ¶ None q he that I wot of, but if Balams asse any thing vnderstode thereof. For he spake like a good reasonable asse. If no brute beast can wyt that q I, and euery man may, what is the cause why that man may, & other beastes may not? Mary q he, for man hath reason & thei haue none. ¶ A well thẽ q I, reason must he nedes haue then that shall perceyue what he should

Balams asse. Nu. 22.

beleue. And so muste reason not resyste faith but walke with her, & as her handmaide so wayte vpõ her, that as cõtrary as ye take her, yet of a trouth faith goth neuer without her. But likewise as if a maide be suffred to ronne on the bryde, or be cup shotten, or ware to prowde, she will then ware copious and chop logicke with her maistres, & fare somtime as she were frantike: so if reason be suffred to renne out at riot, & war ouer hye herted & prowde, she will not faile to fal in rebellyõ towarde her maistres faith. But on the other syde, if she be well brought vp & well gyded & kepte in good teper, she shal neuer disobey faith being F in her right mynde. And therfore let reason be well gyded for surely faythe goth neuer without her.

Faith goth neuer with out reason.

¶ Nowe in the study of scripture, in denysynge vpon the sentence, in consyderynge what ye rede, in ponderyng the purpose of diuers commentes, in comparynge together diuers textes that seme contrary and be not, albeit I denye not but that grace and goddes especiall helpe is the great thynge therin, yet vseth he for an instrument mannes reason therto. God helpeth vs to ete also, but yet not without our mouthe. G Now as the hande is the more nymble by the vse of some feates, and the legges and fete more swyfte & sure by custome of goynge and rennynge, and the hole body the more wyldy and lusty, by some kynde of exercise: so is it no doubte, but that reason is by study, labour, and exercyse of Logike, Philosophy and other liberall artes corroborate & quickened, and that iudgement bothe in them and also in oratours, lawes and storyes muche ryped. And albeit poetes ben with many men taken but for paynted wordes, yet do thei much helpe the iudgement, and make a man among other thynges well furnyshed of one speciall H thynge, without which all lernynge is halfe lame. ¶ What is that quod he. ¶ Mary quod I, a good mother wyt. And therfore are in myne oppinõ these Lutherians in a madde mynde, that would now haue al lernyng saue scripture only clene cast away, which thiges (if the tyme will serue) be as me thinketh to be taken and had, and with reason brought as I saide before in to the seruice of diuinite. And as holy saint Jerom saith, The Ebrues well dispoile the Egypcyens, when Christes lerned men take out of the pagame wryters

Reason by liberall artes is quickened.

Notes

A the riches and lernynge and wysdome that God gaue vnto them, and employ the same in the seruice of diuinite about the profite of goddes chosen children of Israell the churche of Christ, which he hath of the harde stony paynyms made the children of Abraham.

¶ The. 24 Chapiter.

¶ The messenger maketh obiections against the author, in that he coũsayled the student of scripture to bryng the articles of our faith with him for a speciall rule to conster the scripture by. And the author confirmeth his B coũsail geuen in that behalfe, declaring that without that rule, mẽ may sone fall into greate errours in the study of holy scripture.

With this your frẽde helde (as he said) him selfe somewhat cõtẽt that reason was not so greate an enemy to faith as he semed: but yet he thought that he shouldе haue nede rather to be well bryded, than to beare much rule in the interpretacion of scripture. But C as for the other point that we shold nedes bryng the faith with vs all redy, as a rule to lerne the scripture by, whẽ we come to the scripture to lerne the faith by, that he thought in no wise cõuentẽt, but a thinge he said muche like as if we woulde go make the carte to drawe the horse. ¶ Well quod I we shall se anone whether the carte draw the horse, or the horse the carte. Or whether we be yet happely so blynde, that we se not well which is the carte, which is the horse. ¶ First quod I tell me how olde would ye that one were ere he come to the study of scripture. ¶ By my faith quod he, D I would haue a christen mannes childe begyn therin very yong, and therin cõtinew all his life. ¶ In good faith quod I, that like I not amysse, so that ye do not mean that ye woulde haue him all his life lerne nothing els. And yet that could I suffer to and alow right wel in some. But yet if he did neuer in his life lerne ought els, how olde thinke ye that he should be, or he lerned the articles of his beleue in the byble? ¶ I can not redely tell quod he, for I haue not sene it assayed. ¶ Well quod I sith we be not sure howe longe it would be in lernyng there, were it not best then that for that whyle he were taught his crede before in his owne mother tonge?

¶ I deny not that quod he, that he shold E conne his crede before, bycause euery christen mans childe by the lawe sholde knowe his faith as sone as he coulde, but I say he shoulde not therwith take vppon him to iudge and examine holy scripture therby. ¶ Well quod I let this christen childe of ours alone for a whyle. And let vs consider if there were a good olde ydolater, that neuer hadde herde in all his life any thynge of our beleue, or of other god then only the mã in the mone, whom he had watched and worshipped euery frosty nyght. If this man might sodeynly haue that hole byble F tourned in to his owne tonge and rede it ouer, thinke ye that he shoulde therby lerne al the articles of the faith? ¶ I thinke quod he that he myght. ¶ Thynke ye so quod I? I put case that he beleued that all the boke were lyes? ¶ Nay quod he, that maye he by the boke him selfe lerne the contrary. For the boke in tellynge his tale affirmeth his tale and teacheth it to be trewe. ¶ Ye say very trouth quod I, if it were al one to rede a thing and lerne a thing. But nowe might there be another boke made also with lesse wõders and fewer G and therby lesse vnlikely, and yet all vntrewe. And howe shoulde his mynde geue him than that this boke tellynge so incredible wonders should be trewe? ¶ Nay quod he that thinge must he nedes beleue, or els he can perceyue nothynge. ¶ Well quod I then is there one poynt of faith one great lesson to be lerned without the boke that musse be lerned some where eyther by God or man, or els the hole boke will do vs lytell seruice. And of whom we shall lerne that, we shall se hereafter. But now suppose that this olde ydolater were thorowly persuaded in his mynde that all the boke were trew, thinke you than H that he shoulde fynde out therin all the articles of our faithe? ¶ I thynke quod he that he shoulde. ¶ Thinke ye so quod I? be it so than. But thinke ye that he shall fynde them out all in a weke? ¶ Nay quod he, that can he not do. ¶ Well quod I than, syth he shall not at the leste wyse fynde them out all on a day, let vs leue him a lytell whyle in sekyng, and we shall retourne agayne after to him and loke what he shal haue founden. And in the meane season we shall go loke agayne vpon our good lytell godson, the boy pardee that we christened right now, and taught hym his

crede

A crede and set him to scripture, were it nede that this childe knewe no more of his faith, but his crede before he go to scripture? ¶ He thinketh quod he that it were ynoughe. ¶ Be it so than q I. ¶ What if it shold fortune him to finde some texte of scripture that sholde seme to him to be cōtrary to his crede. As for ensample, if he happened vpō the reding of these wordes. *Dii estis & filii excelsi omnes.* Goddes be ye all and the children of the hye God, what if he wouldе wene that syth in these wordes it is said, all good men be the children of god, our sauyour B Christ were not goddes onely begoten sonne, but his sonne in suche wise, as god by the prophet calleth all good men? ¶ That coulde he not thynke quod he, For he shoulde in other partes of scripture finde many places, ý should shewe him well the contrary. ¶ Well said q I and very truth. But now in the meane tyme, will ye that he shal byleue as that texte shal seme to sounde to him against his crede, till he haue founde an other texte in scripture, that answereth it, & semeth to him to say more playnely the cōtrary. ¶ May quod he not one houre. For he seeth, that though other good mē C be called goddes children & goddes, yet as thei be not very goddes, so be thei not goddes very naturall children by generacion, but by acceptaciō, where as the crede sayeth of our sauyour, that he is goddes onely bygottē sonne, that signifieth him to be his sonne by generaciō. ¶ That is quod I very trew, & well and resonably considered, & accordyng vnto the very right faith. But now consider, that ye make him by & by fall to ý squaryng of his stones, like that slouthfull mason that ye spake of with his leden rule. For now ye make him to examine D the trouth of this texte of the psalme, by the article of ý faith, which he brought with him, and by a collectiō & discourse of reasō. And so forthwith ye finde both these rules necessary to the discussion of scripture. Of which twayne ye wouldе in the beginning admit neither nother. ¶ But nowe go further. What if ye wouldе vpon this texte, *Homines & iumenta saluabis deus* (God thou shalt saue both man and beastes) wene that bestes had immortall soules as men haue, and that man & beaste should be both saued at laste, and so that no dedely synne shoulde be punyshed with euerlastyng payne, till he came to other textes that shoulde proue well the contrary: were that best? or els were it better ý besyde his crede he had E knowlege before of these articles of our faith, that onely our soules be immortall, & not beastes also, And that the paine of hell shalbe for sinners euerlasting, And that he may therby with reason ioyned therto, perceyue that this texte, thou shalt saue both men & bestes, is ment by some other kinde of sauyng & preseruing here in this world & not of bryngyng both to heauen? ¶ All this may he knowe q he by scripture selfe well ynough. ¶ That wote I well quod I. And yet as playne as Christ speketh of hell in the gospell, Origene for al that, which neither was a naughty man nor vnlerned in scrip- Origenes. F ture, coulde not so clerely se it, but that he said the contrary. And toke the wordes of Christe in a wronge sense. And would peradūture with one that wold stycke onely vpon the wordes of scripture (leuyng the right sense thereof, which God & his holy spirit hath taught his church) bryng him to a baye therin, that he shoulde be fayne not our childe only, but also a wel elderly man and in scripture well forwarde, to take him in cōclusiō to the faith of Christes church. ¶ Nowe if our child should rede on the texte of scripture, without care of the comentes, and without any further in- G structions of the pointes of our faith, thā be specified in our cōmon crede, made Our commen crede was made by the apostles. in the beginnynge as a briefe remembrauce by the apostles, not settynge out in soo shorte a thyng and clerely declarynge all that we be bounden to beleue. All be it that he shoulde well fynde in scripture many plaine and open textes, whereby the godhedde of our sauyour, and his egalyte with his father maye well and sufficiently be proued, yet were he not vnlykely by such other textes as seme to shewe him to be lesse then his father, to fall in to the secte and he- H resy of the Arrians. And against those other textes prouyng his egall godhed, to deuise suche false gloses as thei dyd, were as beyng before taught and confirmed by the faithe of the church, that our sauyour is one God and one egall substaunce with his father, shall well perceyue and vnderstande thereby, that all ý textes that seme to make him lesse, be nothynge to be vnderstanden of his godhedde, but of his manhode onely. As when we commonly speake of our selfe, and of our owne nature, and saye we shall dye and wormes ete vs vp, and tourne all to dusse, we mean

Psal. 81.

Goddes children by generacion and acceptacion.

Psal. 35.

l. y. all

A all this by our body onely, and nothing entende thereby to denye the immortalite of our soule. ¶ We maye not dyne to day if I shoulde reken you the tenthe parte of such thynges as we must nedes (vpon losse of heauen) beleue, whiche neyther our childe with his onely crede (and much lesse our olde ydolater without crede) shoulde soo finde oute by scripture, but that thei were bothe well likely to take the scripture to the wrong parte, excepte we take with vs for a rule of interpretacion, the articles of our faith.

B ¶ The. xxv. chapiter.

¶ The authour takynge occasion vpon certayne wordes of the messenger, declareth the preeminence, necessitie, & profite of holy scripture, shewynge neuertheleſſe that many thiges haue bene taught by God without wrytynge. And many great thynges so remayne yet vnwrytten of trewthes necessary to be beleued. And that the newe lawe of Christe, is the lawe so wryttē in the harte, that it shall neuer out of his church. And ý the law there wryttē by god, is a right rule to interpretē ý wordes writte i his holy scripture. Which rule w̄ reason & the olde iterpretours, the authour sheweth to be the very sure waie to wade with, in the greate sterme of holy scripture.

C

Wy than quod he, this were as much to saye, as that God had not wel wryten his holy scripture, if he haue caused it to be wryten so, as men may be so sone deceyued therin, ý thei were as likely and (as it semeth by you) more likely to fall into a false way, thā finde out the trewe. And better were it than that God had not gyuē vs the scripture at all, than to geue vs a waye to walke, wherein we were more likely to synke than saue our selfe. ¶ Holy scripture quod I, bothe is such as I haue sayed, and yet nothinge foloweth it thervpon, that God hath not caused it to be wryten well or that it had bene better to haue kept it from vs. And albe it that in this point were a great occasion of a longe tale, in declarynge and makynge open, that God hath in that wrytynge of holy scripture vsed so hyghe wisedome, & shewed such a wonderfull temperaunce, that the very straunge familiar fashyon thereof, may to good men and wise well declare, that as it was wrytten by men, so was indited by god, yet passynge ouer the praise, I will speake one worde or twayne for the answere of suche blame as ye lay therto. For it is almoste a comen thyng amōg men so to speake sometyme, as though thei coulde amende the workes of God. And few men be there I wene, but thei thynke that if thei had bene of goddes councell, in the makynge of the world, though thei dare not be so bold to say, that thei coulde haue made it better, yet if thei might haue ruled it, he shoulde haue made many thinges of an other fashyon. And for all that, if he woulde yet call vs all to councell, and chaunge nothyng till we were vpon euery thing all agreed, the worlde were well likely till domys day to go forth on, as it goth all redy, sayyng that I wote nere whether we wolde all agre to be wynged. ¶ But as for the scripture shortly, God hath so deuised it, that he hath geuen the worlde therin an inestimable treasure as the cause standeth. And yet we shoulde happely nothynge haue neded therof, if the woundes of our owne folly had not of our great necessitie, and goddes great goodnes requyred it. For at our creacion he gaue but two preceptes or thre, by his owne holy mouth to our firste parentes. And as for all that was for theim to do beside, the reason whiche he had planted in their soules, gaue them sufficient warnyng, wherof the hole some stode in effecte, in the honour of God and goddes frendes, with loue of eche to the other, and to their offspryngе and lynage. But the preceptes that he gaue by mouth was thre. Twayne commandynge generacion and etynge. The thirde forbedynge the tre of knowlege. And that was for theim continuall, where the other twayne al be it thei were therto bounden by the precepte, yet were not thei and their posterye bounden therto at all houres and al places. But nede was it in the begynnyng to geue theim knowledge therof, for as muche as thei had no hunger to warne theim of the one, nor sensuall rebellyous appetite to warne them of the other. But after that thei were by god ones admonished thereof, than did reason interprete the remenaunt, wherby thei wist that thei should ete for conseruacion of their bodies, and ingendre, for propagacion of their kinde. And sith thei perceiued that these two thynges was the ende and

D E F G H

The preceptes geue be goddes mouthe were thre.

entent

A thei might haue the more drede to trãs-
gresse theim. And there in wrytynge
he gaue a warnyng also of Christ, that
god wolde once sende theim springyng
of theim selfe, to whom thei sholde geue
hyrynge in stede of Moyses. Of whom
also as well before as after by Patriar-
kes and prophetes, by figures and pro-
phesyes, God ceased not in such wise to
foreshewe his comyng, his cause, his li-
uyng, his ouenge, his resurrection, and
his holy actes, that if pryde and enuy
hadde not letted it, the figures and pro-
phesyes set and compared with his cõ-
B nynge, conuersacion & doynges might
well haue made all the Jewes to know
him. And for the percepuyng and good
vnderstandynge of the lawe written, he
sent alwaie some god men, whose wor-
des, well lyuynge, and sometyme also
manifeste miracles shewed therewith,
neuer lefte them destitute of sufficient
knowledge that longed to lerne the
lawe. Not to plete it & for glory to dis-
pute it, but to teche it agayne mekely.
And as mannes frayltie coulde suffre
it, specially to fulfill it and kepe it.

C Yet after all this, when the worlde
C was in a more decaye and ruine of all
vertue, than came our sauiour Christe
to redeme vs with his death, and leue
vs his newe lawe, wherof was long be-
fore pphecied by the prophete Hieromy.
Hie. 31. Lo the dayes be commynge saide our
lorde, whan I shall ordre and dispose to
the house of Israell, and the house of
Juda, a newe couenaunt or testament.
I shall gyue my lawe in their myndes.
And I shal wrypte it in their harte. And
I will be their lord, and thei shall be my
people. This lawe wryten in mennes
hartes, was accordynge to the wordes
of the prophete first brought by our sa-
uyour to the house of Israell, and the
D house of Juda, to whome as him selfe
Vnto whome Christ was specially sẽt. Mat. 15. saith he was specially sent. I am not
sent saith our lorde, but vnto the shepe
that are perished of the house of Israell.
And also he said, it is not good to take
the brede fro the borde of the children, &
cast it to dogges. But yet not onely the
redy towardnes of some paynyms, cau-
sed them to be partakers of that brede,
but also sone after the stubburnes and
obstynate infidelite of the Jewes, cau-
sed sainct Paule and the apostles to say
Act. 13. vnto their face, The gospell of Christe
was ordeyned by god to be first preched
vnto you. But syth that ye refuse it, Lo
we departe from you to the gentiles.

And so was in their stede, the churche E
gathered of all the worlde abrode. All
whiche notwithstandinge, both were
there at that tyme out of the Jewes con-
verted and made many a good christen
man, & many of the same people tour-
ned vnto Christe sence, and in conclu-
sion the time shall come, when the re-
menaunt that shall be than lefte, shall
saue theim selfe by the same faithe.

¶ This is called the lawe of Christes
faith, ỳ lawe of his holy gospell, I mene
not onely the wordes written in the
bookes of his euangelistes, But much
more specially the substaunce of our F
faith it self, which our lord said he wold
write in mennes hartes, not onely by-
cause of the secrete operacion of God &
his holy spirite, in iustifyenge the good
christen, eyther by the workynge with
mannes good will, to the perfection of
faithe in his soule, or with the good in-
tente of the offerers, to the secret infu-
sion of that vertue in to the soule of an
innocent enfant. But also for that he
firste without wrytynge reueled those
heuenly misteries by his blessed mouth,
thorow the eares of his apostles & disci-
ples in to their holy hartes, or rather as G
it semeth it was inwardely infused in
to sainct Peter his harte, by the secrete
inspiracio of God, without either wri-
tynge or any outwarde worde. ¶ For
which cause when he had vpõ Christes
question demaundynge, of whom saye
you that I am, answered & saide: Thou
arte Christ the sonne of the liuyng god,
which arte commen in to this worlde.
¶ Our sauyour said agayne vnto him.
Thou arte blessed Symon the sonne of
Johã, for neyther flesche nor blonde hath Mat. 16.
reueled and shewed this to the, but my
father that is in heuen. And thus it ap-
pereth that the faith came in to sainct H
Peter his harte as to the prince of the Peter prince of the apostles.
apostles without hyrynge by secrete in-
spiracion, and in to the remenaunt by
his cõfession and Christes holy mouth.
And by theim in like maner, first wout
writyng by onely wordes & prechynge, The lawe of euer it was written in the boke, was written in mens hartes.
so was it spredde abrode in the worlde,
that his faith was by the mouthes of
his holy messengers put in to mennes
eres, and by his holy hande written in
mennes hartes or euer any worde ther-
of almost was written in the boke. And
so was it conueniẽt for the lawe of life,
rather to be writtẽ in the lyuely mindes
of men, thã in the dead skindes of beastes.
And I nothynge doubte, but all had
it so

A It so ben, that neuer gospell hadde ben
written, yet shoulde the substaunce of
this faith neuer haue fallen out of chri-
sten folkes hartes, but the same spirite
that planted it, the same shoulde haue
watered it, the same shoulde haue kepte
it, the same shoulde haue encreased it.
¶ But so hath it lyked our lorde, after
his hye wisdome to guide, that some of
his disciples haue writtē many thinges
of his holy life, doctrine & faith, and yet
far frō all, which (as sainct Johā saith)
Joan.21. the worlde coulde not haue cōprehēded.
B ¶ These bokes are tēpred by the secrete
coūsaile of the holy gost so plain & sim-
ple, that euery mā may finde in thē that
he maie preiue. And yet so highe againe
The difficulte of scripture & so harde, that no man is there so con-
nyng, but he may finde in them thinges
farre aboue his reche, farre to profoūde
to perce vnto. Now were to the christen
people ỳ pointes of Christes faith (with
which pointes our lord would haue thē
charged) knowen, as I saye and plāted
before, & by reason therof thei farre the
better vnderstode those bokes. And all
though there myghte happely be some
textes, which were not yet of necessitie
C for them to perceyue, yet by the pointes
of their faith were thei warned, that no
texte might there be cōstrewyd cōtrary
to their faith. ¶ And none Euange-
list was there nor none Apostle, that by
writtyng euer sente the faith to any na-
cion, but if thei were firste enformed by
worde, & that god had begon his church
in that place.
¶ And for my parte I woulde lytell
doubte, but that the euangelistes and
apostles bothe, of many great and se-
crete misteries spake much more opēly,
and muche more plainly by mouth a-
D monge the people, than euer thei put it
in wrytinge, for as much as their wry-
tynges were lykely ynoughe at that
time, to come into the hādes of paganes
and paynyms, such hogges and dogges
as were not metely to haue those pre-
cious perles put vpon their nose, nor
that holy foode to be dashyd in their
teeth. For which cause sainct Peter in
his firste sermon vnto the Jewes, ab-
stayned frō the declaracion of Christes
godhed and egalytee with his father, as
our sauyour him selfe (when the Jewes
that were anworthy to hyre it, were of-
fended. With that he tolde them plain-
ly that he was the sonne of God) with-
drewe the doctrine from them agayne,
and couered it with the verse of the pro-
phete, I haue said ye be goddes & sonnes
E of the hye God all, as though he woulde
saye, what greueth it you that name in
me, which name God by the prophete
hath geuen to all good men. In which
demeanoure he denyed not the trouth
that he hadde saide of him selfe, but he
blynded their wylfully wynkyng eies,
in hydynge and puttynge vp agayn the
iewell, that he began to bryngе forthe
and shewe thē, the bryght lustre where
of their bleryd eyes might not endure to
beholde. ¶ And what marvell though
the apostles thus did in their speche a-
fore infidels, or wrytyng that myghte
come into pagans handes, whan it ap-
F pereth vpō the epistles of sainct Paule,
that among the christen flocke where he
taught them by mouthe, he tolde them
not all the trouthes at one tale, Not
onely for that it were to longe, but also
for that in the begynnynge, thei coulde
not happely well abyden it. And ther-
fore as Christe saide to his disciples, I Joan.16.
haue more to say to you, but ye be not a-
ble to be are it yet, which ones appered,
what tyme that vpon the disclosynge of
the great mistery of the holy sacrament
the holy flesche of his body, the hyrers G
saide, who can abyde this harde worde,
and there with wente almoste all theyre
waye, so dyd sainct Paule I say by the
Corinthians, not teche thē all at ones, 1.Cor.3.
And therefore he saith in his Epistle to
them, I haue geuen you hetherto but
milke and not stronge meate. And wis-
dome speke we (saith he) among folke
that be parfit. Nor I mene not this that
there were any pointes of the substaūce
of the faith, whiche he shewed to the
clergy that he kept from the lay people,
or shewed vnto one man, that he kepte
frō a nother, but that to no man lightly H
he shewed all at ones. But bycause
some cam frō the Jewes, and some cam
of the gentils, therfore as thei were, so
were thei handelyd, not onely by grace
but also by wysdom, and not onely in
the pointes of the faith, but also in the
rightes and ceremonyes, either of the
church or of Moses lawe: wherof some
ceremonyes were forthwith abolyshed,
some not by and by, and some taken in
to the churche of Christe and obserued
styll. But in conclusyon when they
were mete therefore, they were all
taught, all that God woulde haue them
bounden to beleue. And than doubte
I nothyng, but that many thynges that
nowe be very darke in holy scripture,

The sōnes of the hye god. Psal. 81.

A were by the apostles (to whom our lord opened their wittys, that thei mighte vnderstande scripture) so plainly declared, that thei were by the people well & clerely vnderstanden. I say not all the hole scripture, in which it maye be that many a secret mistery lieth yet couered, concernyng the comyng of Antechrist, and the date, maner and fassion, of the finall iudgement. wiche shall neuer be fully disclosed, till the tymes appointed by goddes hye prouidence mete and cōuenient for them. And frō tyme to tyme as it liketh his maiestie to haue thinges knowen or done in his churche, so is no B doubt, but he tēpereth his reuelacions, & in such wise dothe insumate & inspire thē into the brestes of his christen people, that by the secrete instynete of the holy gost thei cōsent and agre together in yne, except heretikes that rebell and refuse to be obedīēt to god & his church. Who be therby cut of from the lyuely tre of that vyne, and waryng withered braunches, be kepte but for the fyre first here and after in hell, excepte thei repēt and call for grace, that may graft them into the stocke againe. But as it nay be that many thynges be there not all at ones reueled and vnderstanden in the C scripture, but by sondry times and ages mo thinges and mo by God vnto his churche disclosed, & that as it shall like his high goodnes & wisdome to dispēce & dispose, so in thinges to be done maye fall in his churche variete mutaciō and chaūge, so am I very sure that the holy gosse that God sente into his churchē. And Christ him selfe, that hath promised vnto the ende of the worlde to perseuer and abyde in his church, shal neuer suffer his catholike churche neither to agree to the makynge of any lawe that shal be to God damnably displesaunte, nor of any trewth that god would were D beleuyd to determine or byleue the contrary. For than hadde Christ which is all trouthe broken his promise, and (whiche were blasphemy and abhominable to thinke) were waren vntrewe. And therfore ouer this as it may be that as I said before, some thinges in holy scripture be not yet fully perceiued and vnderstanden, so am I very sure, that the churche neither doth nor can do dānably conster it wrong, which it should if thei shoulde conster it so as it shoulde make an article of mysse byleue, aud of a false erronyous faith. As if thei shold by mysse construction of the scripture bringe vp and beleue that Christ were E oue God, and egall with his father and with the holy goost, if the trouth were otherwise in dede. And therfore sith the church (in which Christ is assistent and his holy spirite) can not to goddes displeasure, and their damnacion fall in any false byleue, in any such substāciall point of the faith, it must nedes be therfore, that Arrius and al other heretikes be drowned in damnable errours. The contrary oppinion of whose execrable heresies, the churche was in the begynnynge taught, by the mouthe of Christ him selfe. And after of his blessyd apostles, F which redde and declared the scriptures amonge the people in their time, shewyng then what wise the wordes of holy scripture proued the trouth of such articles of the faith, as thei taught thē by mouth. And how such textes as semed the contrary, were not conerary in dede. And therwith declared them of those textes the right vnderstaddinge.

¶ And albe it that our sauyour shewed and plainly proued that in the scripture was geuen good tokens and sufficient knowlege of him, yet to the entent we should well knowe that is owne worde and ordenaunce nedeth none other authoritie but him selfe, but is to be byleued and obeyed, be it written or not G written, some thinges dyd he therfore byd to be done, and some thinges also to be byleued, whereof we haue in holy scripture no wrytinge in the worlde. Sainct Paule commaūdeth the people of Thessalonica in his epistle, to kepe ÿ 2. Thes. 2. tradicions that he toke them either by his wrytinge or by his bare worde. For the wordes that he said among thē, our lord had tolde them him for them. And therfore he wryteth vnto ÿ Corynthies, that of the holy howsyll the sacramēt of the awter he had shewed them the matter & the maner by mouth, as our lordes H had him self taught it to him. And therfore no doubte is there, but that by the apostles was the churche more fully taught of that matter, than euer was written in all the scripture. There was lerned the maner and forme of cōsecraciō. There was lerned much of the misticall gestures and seremonies vsed in the masse. And if any mā doubte therof, let him consider, where shoulde we els haue the begynnynge of the water put with the wyne in to the calyce, For wel we wote that ÿ scripture biddeth it not. And euery wise man maye well wytte, than

The name of the finall iudgement doth lye couered.

Heretikes.

There was mo thinges taught of the sacramēt than was written. 1. Cor. 11.

Of the water put with the wyne in the calyce.

A than whan the gospell sheketh onely of wine, there durste no mã in this worlde haue bene so bolde to put any thinge els therto. For when the gospell sheketh of wyne onely tourned into his precious blode, what man woulde aduenture to make any mixture of water? And now is ẏ church so well acertened of goddes pleasure therin without any scripture, that thei not onely dare put in water, but also dare not leue it out. And wherby knewe the church this thing, but by God & his holy apostles, which taught in their time? And so wente it forth frõ
B age to age, continued in the church vntyll this day, begonne by God in the begynnynge, without any mencion made in holy scripture.

¶ How be it Luther saith because it is not cõmaunded by scripture, we maye chose therfore whether we will do it or leue it. For this one poynt is the very fond foundacion and ground of all his grest heresyes, that a mã is not boundẽ to beleue any thing but if it may be proued euidently by scripture. And there vpon goth be so farforth, that no scripture can be euident to proue any thing that he lyst to deny. For he will not agre it for euident he it neuer so plain.

The grounde of al Luthers heresies.

C And he will call euident for him that texte, that is euident against him. And somtime if it be to playne against him, than will he call it no scripture, as he plaith with the pystle of sainct James. And because the olde holy doctours be full and hole against him, he settyth thẽ all at nought. And with these worshipfull wise ways he proclameth him selfe a conquerour, where besides all the remenaunt, wherin euery childe may se his proud frantike foly, he is shamfully put to flight in the first point that is to wyt that no thing is to be byleued for a sure trouth, but if it appere proued and
D euident in holy writ. And yet had that point at the firste face some visage of ꝓbabilite. How be it, to say tho trouth, he were a lewde lorell that wolde nothing do that his maister would byd hym, nor nothyng byleue that his maister would tell him, but if he take it him in wryting, as Luther playth with Christ. Of whose wordes or actes he will beleue nothynge, excepte he finde it in scripture, and that playne and euidẽt. Now must he by that meanes condemne the church of Christ, for that thei saintifie not the saturdaye, which was the sabbaoth daie institute by God among the Jewes, cõmaunding the sabbaoth daye to be kepte holy. And albeit the matter of the precepte is morall and the date legall, so that it maie be chaũged, yet wil there I wene no man thinke, that euer the churche woulde take vpon them to chaunge it without speciall ordinaũce of God, wherof we find no remẽbraũce at all in holy scripture. By what scripture is euidẽtly knowen that euery mã and woman hãth power to minister the sacramẽt of baptesme? Let it be shewed, either by commaundement, consaile, licence or example expressed in scripture.

E Of the chanynge of the sabbaoth daie

¶ Many thinges are there like, which as holy doctours agree, were taught the
F apostles by Christ, and the churche by the apostles, and so comen down to our dties by cõtinuall succession fro theirs. But I will let all other passe ouer and speke but of one. ¶ Euery good christen man I doubte not beleueth ẏ our blessyd lady was a perpetuall virgyn, as wel after the byrthe of Christ as before. For it were a straunge thinge that she should after blessyd byrthe, be lesse minded to clennes and puryte, and set lesse by her holy purpose and promise of chastyte, vowed & dedicate vnto God, then she dyd before. For surely who so consideretb the wordes of the gospel in saint
G Luke, that she had vowed virginite. For when the aungel had said vnto her, Lo thou shalte conceiue in thy wombe and brynge forth a childe, & thou shalte call his name Jesus, she answered him, how may this be? for as for man I know none, which though it be spoken but for the time thã present, yet must it nedes signifie that she neuer woulde knowe none, after the maner of spekynge. By which a nonne myght say, as for man there medeleth none with me, signifienge that neuer there shall. And in cõmon speche is that
H figure much in vse. By which a womã saith of one, whõ she is determined neuer to mary, we maye well talke together, but we wedded not together, meanyng that thei neuer shall wedde together. And in such wise men our lady when she saide, how may this be for I knowe no man, meanynge that she neuer would medle with man. Or els had her answere nothynge ben to purpose. For the aungell said not, Lo thou art conceyued, whiche if he had saide, she might well haue mervayled onely for that she knewe no man all redy. But when he said thou shalte conceyue this

Luke. ca. 1. Mary vowed virginite.

coulde

A coulde be no meruaile vnto her, for that
she knew no man all redy. And therfore
sith she meruayled how it might be that
euer she should conceyue & haue a child,
it must nedes be that her answere ment
that she neuer would medle with man.
And therfore she meruailed, because he
said it sholde be and she knewe not how
it coulde be, but the wayes by which she
was at full point with her selfe that it
sheulde neuer be, so that then he shewed
her howe it should come aboute, by the
holy gost commynge in to her, and the
power of god on highe shadowyng her.
B And then she assented and said, Lo here
Luke.1. the hāde maide of God, be it done to me
after thy worde as thou tellest me. And
thus appereth it euidently, that she had
than a full determined purpose of vir-
ginite. And that as it semeth such as she
thought not lawfull to chaūge. For els
whan the aungell did the message, she
might haue enclined therto thoughe she
had before ben in another minde. Now
whā she had then so full & fast a purpose
of perpetual virginite before the byrthe
of her blessed childe, which came amōge
C his other heuenly doctrine to call and
exorte the worlde frō all pleasure of the
flesshe to the puritie and clennes of the
body and soule, and from the desire of
carnall generacion to a gostly regene-
raciō in grace, more were it then won-
der if she should haue then more regard
of fleshly delite, or cure of worldly pro-
creacion, than euer she had before her
celestiall cōception of her maker, made
mā in her blessed wombe? Or what mā
coulde thinke it that euer God woulde
suffre any erthly man after, to be con-
ceyued in that holy closet taken vp and
cōsecrate so specially to God? This re-
uerent article of our ladyes perpetuall
D virginite, the church of Christ beynge
taught the trouth by Christ, ppetually
hath byleued sence the time of Christ.
And yet is there no worde thereof in
Christes gospell written, but rather di-
uers textes so sownyng to the contrary,
that by the wronge vnderstandynge of
Eluidius erroure. them, the heretike Eluydius toke the
occasiō of his heresy, by which he wolde
that our lady after the byrth of Christe
had other children by Joseph. How can
we than say that we could without the
lernyng of the faith before, finde out all
the pointes in the scripture, when there
be some that all christendome beleue,
wherof the scripture gyueth no playne
doctrine, but rather semeth to say the cō-
trary. ¶ But as I began to say, the ho- E
ly apostles beinge taught by their great
maister Christ, did teche vnto ȳ church
as well the articles of the faith, as the
vnderstandyng of such textes of scrip-
ture, as was mete and cōuenient for the
matter. Wherby it is not vnlikely that
the gospell of saint Iehan, & the epistles
of saint Paule, were than better vnder-
standen among the cōmon people, than
thei be peraduenture now with some,
that take them selfe for great clerkes.
And as the apostles at that time taught
the people, so did euer some of them that
herde thē teche forth, and leue their doc-
trine and tradicions to other that came F
after. By reason wherof, not onely cam
the rytes and sacramentes and the arti-
cles of our faith from hande to hande,
from Christ and his apostles vnto our
dayes, but also the great parte of the By whome came the vnderstandynge of scripture.
right vnderstandynge of holy scripture
by good and godly wryters of sundry ti-
mes. By whose good & holsome doctrine
set forth by their vertue with goddes
good inspiracion grace and helpe of the
holy gost, we haue also the knowledge
and percepuyng what was the faith of
Christes churche in euery time sence.
And therby perceyue we that these here- G
tikes be not onely barkers against the
faith that nowe is, but also that hathe
ben euer sence Christ dyed. ¶ And ther-
fore is holy scripture as I said the hyest
and the best lernyng that any man can
haue, if one take the right way in the
lernynge. ¶ It is (as a good holy saint
saith) so meruaylously tempered, that a
mouse may wade therin, and an Oly-
phaunt be drowned therin. For there is
no man so lowe, but if he will seke his Howe a man mai wade throw scripture.
way with the staffe of his faith in his H
hāde, and holde that fast and serche the
way therwith, and haue the olde holy
fathers also for his gydes, goyng on w
a good purpose & a lowly harte, vsynge
reason and refusyng no good lernyng,
with calling of God for wisdome grace
& helpe that he maie well kepe his way
and folowe his good gydes, than shall
he neuer fall in parell, but well & surely
wade thorowe, and come to such ende of
his iourney as him selfe woulde well
wyshe. But surely if he be as longe as
Longyus, and haue an hye harte & truste
vpon his owne witte (as he dothe) loke
he neuer so lowly (that setteth all ȳ olde
holy fathers at nought) that felowe shal
not fayle to synke ouer ȳ eres & drowne.
And of al wreches worst shal he walke,
that

A that forsyng lytell of the faith of Christes churche, cōmeth to the scripture of God, to loke & trye therin whether the church byleue a right or not. For either doubteth he whether Christe teche his churche trewe, or elles whether Christ techeth it at all or not. And thā he doubteth whether Christ in his wordes dyd say trewe, whan he said he woulde be with his church till the ende of ý world. And surely the thyng that made Arrius Pelagius, Faustus, Manicheus, Donatus, Eluidius and all the rable of the olde heretiques to drowne them selfe in those damnable heresies, was nothing B but highe pride of their lerning in scripture, wherin thei folowed their owne wittes and lefte the cōmon faith of the catholike church, preferryng their own gay gloses before the rypght catholike faith of all Christes church, which can neuer erre in any substaciall point that God would haue vs bounden to beleue. And therfore to ende where we began, who so will not vnto the study of scripture take the poyntes of the catholike faith as a rule of interpretacion, but of dystydens and mysterusse study to seke in scripture whether ý faith of the churche C be trewe or not, he can not faile to fall in worse errours & farre more ieoperdous than any man can do by philosophy, wherof the reasons & argumentes in matters of our faith haue nothing in like authoritie.

The thynge that made heretikes to erre

¶ The. xxvi. chapiter.

¶ The messenger sayenge that him semed he shoulde not beleue the church, if he sawe the church say one thyng, & the holy scripture another thinge, bycause the scripture is ý worde of god, D the author sheweth that the faith of the church is the worde of god as wel as the scripture, and therfore as well to be byleued. And that the faith and the scripture well vnderstanden be neuer contrary. And further sheweth that vpon all doubtes risynge vpon holy scripture concernyng any necessary article of the faithe, he that can not vpon all that he can hyre in the matter on both the sides percepue the better and trewer parte, hath a sure and vndoubtable refuge guided him by the goodnes of God to bryngе him out of all perplexite, in that God hath commaunded him in all such doutes to byleue his churche.

TRuely syr quod he, me thinketh it is wel said that ye haue said. And in good faith to say the truthe I see not what I shoulde answere it withall. C And yet whan I loke backe agayne vpō holy scripture, and consyder, that it is goddes owne wordes, whiche I wote well ye will graunt, I finde it harde in myne hart to beleue all the men in the hole worlde, if thei wold say any thyng, wherof I shold se that the hole scripture saith the contrary, sith it is reason that I byleue God alone far better thā them all. ¶ In that q I, ye say very trouthe. But now I put case that God woulde F tell you two thinges whether of them would ye beleue best. ¶ Neyther other quod he, but I would beleue theim both firmely & bothe a like. ¶ What if neyther other q I, were likely to be trewe, but semed bothe twayne impossible. ¶ That shoide quod he make litell force to me. For that ones knowen, that god telleth them, semed thei neuer so far vnlikely, nor neuer so far impossible, I neither shold nor could haue any doute, but that thei were bothe twayne trewe. ¶ That is well said quod I. But nowe and it so were, that those two thinges semed the one to ý other clene contrary, G what would ye than thinke, and which wold ye thā byleue. ¶ Yet coulde I not q he doute any thynge, but ý thei were very trew both, but I wold verely thik, that I did not wel vnderstande ý one of thē. ¶ What wold ye than do q I, if he bad you beleue thē bothe. ¶ Mary quod he, than would I pray him tell me first how he vnderstandeth them bothe. For though I beleue that thei be both trew, in that sense and purpose that he taryth his owne wordes, and may in that maner vnderstanden, well stande & agree together, yet can I not beleue thē bothe H in that sense & vnderstandyng, wherein thei repugne & be directly contrary eche to other. ¶ That is q I so wel said, ý in my minde no man can amēde it. ¶ But now would I wit quod I, whether that the faith of the churche be the worde of God, and by God spoken to the churche or not. ¶ Yes quod he, God speketh to his churche in the scripture. ¶ And is nothing goddes wordes q I, but scripture? ¶ The wordes that God speake to Moyses, were thei not goddes wordes all, till thei were wryten? And the wordes of Christ to his apostles were thei not his wordes till thei were wryten?

Yes

A ¶ Yes than quod he. But nowe syth he hath perfyted and finished the corpus of holy scripture, all thyng that he would christen people should beleue, & all that he would the church shoulde do, and all that he woulde the churche shoulde ꝛchew, al this hath he lefte thē his minde sufficiently in holy scripture. ¶ And none otherwise quod I beside? I had wente we had ben at another pointe, in that ye se the sabboth daie chaunged in to sonday without any worde of scripture, gyuyng any cōmaundemēt of the chaunge in the newe testament, frō the B cōmaundement geuen for the satyrday in the olde. And also for the pointe that we spake of, touchyng the ypetuall virginite of our lady, wherof is no worde wrytten in scripture. But syth I perceyue that the great affection and reuerēce that ye bere to the scripture of god, not without great cause but without any measure, maketh you in the case that ye take all authoritie and credence from euery worde of God spoken beside the scripture. ¶ I would aske you therfore this question. If god in holy scripture tell you two thinges that seme the C one contrary to the other, as for ensample if he tell you in one place he is lesse than his father and in another place that he and his father be all one, which of these wyll you beleue. ¶ Mary quod he bothe twayne. For thei maie stande together wel ynoughe. For he was lesse as men, & was all one & egall as God. ¶ Very truthe it is quod I that ye saye. But nowe if ye hadde bene borne in the daies of Arrius the heretike, he woulde not haue receyued nor holde him selfe cōtēt with this answere, But he would haue agreed you the first parte and put you further to proue the seconde parte. D And vnto that terte he wold haue made you a glose, that his father and he were one not in substaunce but in will. And that glose he would haue fortified and made somewhat semely with an other worde of Christ, in which he prayed his father sayenge, as thou and I bothe one so make thou that thei and we may be made one, meuyng by his christen people which shall neuer be one with him in substaunce. So that for the inequalite of Christ by reason of his mānhode, ye must agree with him. But for vnyte of godhedde, he will not agree with you but put you alwaie to proue it. ¶ Well quod he and thoughe he so did, yet if I were prouided therfore, there be textes ynowe that plainly proue it. ¶ That is E quod I very truthe. But yet is there none but he shal alwaie set you another against it, and a glose as false for yours as ye shall haue an answere for his in such wise as he maie abuse a right wise and well lerned man, as he did in his owne dayes, and many daies after many a thousande. Than if it so were, that in that dispicions ye coude not make your audiece to discerne the truthe, nor peradventure persuade them to beleue the truth, bycause the false parte might happe to haue to the myndes of many a more face of truth, as it had at ý time to F many that thā were of ý sede, what way wold ye winde out? Mary q̃ he I wold beleue well my selfe the truthe and go to God, and let theim that wolde beleue the false parte, go to the deuill. ¶ Ye should quod I haue taken therin a good sure way. But nowe if ye had bene in that tyme (albe it ye be nowe fast & sure in the truthe) ye myght haue happed whyle the matter was in question, and many great clerkes and wel scriptured men, and some semyng right holy, set on the wronge syde, ye might haue happed I say so to haue bene moued with G the reasons on bothe the sydes, that ye shoulde not haue wyste on which parte to determine your byleue. And what would ye than haue done? ¶ Quod he ye put me nowe to a pynche, and I shall answere you as I haue herd say that Doctor Mayo doctor Mayo, sometyme almoygner to king Henry the seuenth, answered ones the kyng at his table. It happeth that there was fallen in communicaciō the story of Joseph how his maisters Putiphers wife a great man with the kyng of Egypte, woulde haue pulled him to bedde, & he fled away. ¶ Nowe maister H Mayo (quod the kynges grace) ye be a tall stronge man on the one syde, and a connynge doctor on the other side, what woulde ye haue done if ye had bene not Joseph, but in Josephes stede? ¶ By my trouthe syr quod he & it like your grace I can not tell you what I woulde haue done, but I can tell you well what I shoulde haue done. ¶ By my trouthe quod the kyng that was very well answered. And sythe that answere serued him well there, I shall make the same serue me here. For surely if I had bene in Arrius daies in ý point that ye spake of, what I would haue done that wote I nere. But what I shoulde haue done that can I wel tell you and surely trust

I

A I wold haue done so to. ¶ What is that quod I. ¶ Mary I would haue bylieued the best quod he. ¶ The best quod I? That were beste in dede, if ye wyst which it were. But ẏ cause is put, that the reasons groũded vpon scripture semed vnto you in such wise, eche to impugne and answere other, that ye stode in suche a doute, that ye coulde in no wise discerne whether syde sayd best.

¶ By god quod he I had forgotte that, well than were it best quod he, and so would I haue done I thinke, knele me downe and make my speciall prayour

B to God, that it might please his godnes in so great a parell not to leue me perplexed, but vouchesafe to encline myne assent vnto that side that he knewe very trewe, and would I should beleue to be trewe, and then would I boldely beleue the one which God shoulde haue put in my minde. Had not this bene the beste waye? ¶ If it were not quod I the best, it might peradũture serue for a secõde.

Two secõdes. ¶ A seconde quod he, than ye take it for nought. ¶ Nay quod I, there be two secondes after two maner countynges. One nerte vnto the worst another nerte

C vnto the best. And your way is surely farre fro the worst. But yet dare I not assent that it were the best tyll I vnderstande it better. And therfore I pray you tell me this. If after your speciall prayours made, ye wrote the one parte in one paper, and the other parte in an other, and laide theim bothe on the grounde, and then set vp a staffe betwene them bothe, woulde ye be then indifferent to take the one syde or the other after, as it shold happe your staffe to fall? ¶ Why not quod he. Or els put it vpon two lottes, & than at aduenture drawe the one and take it. For when I

D haue done as much as mine owne witte will serue, & haue herde therto all that I can of other men, and yet by neither can percepue the better oppinion, what shoulde I do or what coulde I do further than praye for grace to gyde my choyce, and so at aduenture boldely take the one and holde it faste, doubtyng nothyng but God assisted my choyce, if I haue a ferme faith in his promise, by which he promiseth that if we aske we shall haue askyng as saint James saith without any doubte. And why shoulde not I in such perplexed case after helpe called for of God, take the one parte at aduenture by Lot as did the apostles in

Act. 1. the chosyng of a new, to fulfill the place of the trastour Judas? ¶ Lottes quod I be well lawfull in the choyce of suche two thinges as be bothe so good that we be likely to chose wel ynoughe whether so euer we take. But nowe if ye were in the case that I haue herde my father merply say euery man is at the choyce of his wife, that ye shold put your hãde in to a blynde bagge full of snakes and eles together. iii. snakes for one ele, ye wold I wene reken it a perillous choice to take vp one at aduenture thoughe ye had made your special prayour to spede well. Nor ye ought not in such case to aduenture it vpon your prayour & truste in God without necessytie. ¶ That is E peradventure trouthe quod he. But in our case there is necessitie. For there were none other waye to auoyde ẏ perplexite, but euẽ take the one by prayour and ferme truste in God, whiche neuer deceyued theim that truste in him. ¶ If there were ẏ I none other waye somewhat were it than that ye say. But now consider your case agayne. And whan it soo were, that ye coulde not vpon that ye herde the Arryans and the catholike part argue together, percepue whether parte were the better. And therefor of

G those two tales tolde you by god in many textes of holy scripture, some semynge plainely to say that Christ was not egall with his father, some semyng as plainely to say the cõtrary, ye coude in no wise finde any reason, wherby ye coulde finde your selfe moued to take the one parte for more probable thã the other. I put case than that God woulde him selfe say to you, I haue shewed the trouthe of this matter to such a man, & how my scripture is to be vnderstanden concernynge the same. Go thy wayes therfore to him. And that thing that he shall tell the that thinge beleue thou. Would ye say nay good lord I wil aske H no man but thy self, and therfor tell me thyne owne mouth, or els I will take the one parte at all aduẽtures, & thinke that thou wold haue it so, or els wold ye thinke that God were your good lord, & had done much for you in that it liked him so graciously for your surty to bryng you out of such a great pplexite, wherby ye should for your owne minde haue remayned in an insoluble doute in a matter of the faith, wherin it is damnable to dwell in doute, or (whiche yet much worse were) haue declined peradventure into an inuineyble errour? Merely quod he great cause shoulde I

Lottes.

haue

A haue had hyghly to thanke God. ¶ Ye would not than quod I first make your prayour and than with good hope (that grace shall guyde your fortune) take the one parte at aduenture by Lot, but ye would in your prayour thanke God for that prouision. And then woulde ye get you to that man as fast as ye could. ¶ Very trouthe quod he, Than if that man shoulde tell you that Arrius & his rompany were heretikes all, and toke textes of scripture wronge ye would beleue him? ¶ Ye verely q̃ he that wold I. I put case quod I that ye had not douted before, but had bene in your selfe at B clere pointe, that the Arrians oppinion were the trouthe, yet ye would against Arrius and al his, & against your owne mynde also leue vnto his worde whom God had beden you beleue. ¶ What els quod he? ¶ What if ye asked him quod I whether god haue sufficiētly shewed that pointe in scripture, so that it maie by the wordes of holy wrytte well and euidently be proued, that he tolde you: yea. And that therupon he would bring in all the textes that ye had well in remembraunce all redy, and that ye layed C against them all that you coulde lay for the contrary, so ferforth that whan eche of you hadde layed all your textes and all your gloses, that eyther of you bothe coulde bryngе forthe, tyll ye both confessed, that neither of ye bothe coulde any further thing finde therein, he sayenge still that his waye were the truthe, and that he had by scripture wel proued it vnto you, and your self on the other syde for all that euer ye had herde him saye, perceyuynge in your owne mynde none other, but that ye had by scripture better proued the other parte, which would ye now beleue, that way D that as far as ye se God saith him selfe in holy scripture, or els that mā whom god sent you to and bade you beleue? ¶ Nay verely q̃ he I wold beleue him. ¶ Well said q̃ I. But whether woulde ye onely beleue him that the trouth of the matter were against the Arrians, or els would you beleue him further, in that he said he hadde soo proued it vnto you by scripture. ¶ I wold quod he beleue him therin also. For sith God so had cōmaunded me, and had shewed me that he had him selfe instructed ý man, in what sense the scripture were to be vnderstanden, I coulde none otherwise thinke, but that were trewe, & thoughe it appered to myne owne reason the cōrrary. ¶ Very well said quod I. Nowe E if God had said vnto you that ye should beleue that man cōcernyng the matter selfe, and of scripture had nothyng spoken, than woulde ye haue byleued hym yet in the matter? Woulde ye not although he should haue told you that he vnderstode no scripture at all? ¶ That is trewe quod he. ¶ Nowe if he shoulde then haue tolde you that the Arrians were heretikes in that pointe, and their oppinion erronyous and false, ye wold haue byleued him? What els quod he. What if he had told you therwith q̃ I, that he wyst nere whether it might be F well proued by scripture or not? ¶ Yet woulde I quod he neuertheleſſe byleue to be trewe the matter selfe that he had tolde me. What would you than thinke quod I of those textes, that ye did reken before well and plainly to proue the cōtrary. ¶ I woulde quod he than reken, that thei were mente some other wayes than I coulde vnderstāde. For I coulde not doubte but beyng truely vnderstāden, thei coulde neuer witnes against the trouthe. ¶ In good faith quod I ye say meruaylously well. Do ye not q̃ I, take it for al one, whether God bid you G do a thyng his owne mouthe, or by holy scripture? ¶ Yes quod he sauynge that I take the byddyng by scripture for the more sure. For there wot I well God speketh & I can not be illuded. ¶ Nowe quod I this man that God byddeth you go to, and in all thing byleue him, will it make any chaūge in the matter whether it be man or woman? ¶ No chaūge at all quod he. ¶ What if it were a certaine knowen cōpany of men & women together quod I, would that make any difference? ¶ Neuer a whit quod he. ¶ Than quod I in case it appere vnto you, as I suppose it dothe, to you and to H euery christen man els, ý in all pointes of faith, bothe in thynges to be beleued aboue nature, and in thinges also that are of necessitie to be knowen and beleued, which may be perceyued by reason geuen vs with nature. God gyueth vs in cōmaundement that we shall beleue his church, than are ye full answered. For than haue ye the man that ye must nedes resorte vnto, for your finall answere and solucio of all pointes and doubtes, in any wise concernynge the saluacion of your soule. Of whiche pointes no man can deny, but one of the most especiall pointe is to take in holy scripture alway the right sense. Or els

In all doubtes beleue the church.

if

A If we can not attayne the right vnderstandynge, yet than at the leste wyse to be sure, that we shall auoide & eschewe all such mysletakyng, as might bryngе vs into any damnable errour.

¶ The. xxvii. chapiter.

¶ The author prouyeth that god hath cõmaunded vs in all thinge necessary to saluacion to geue firme credence and full obedience vnto his churche. And a cause why God will haue vs bounden to beleue.

B That is trouth quod he, if this may appere. But where shall it appere that God commaũdeth vs in all such thinges to beleue the churche? For first me thinketh that were a very straunge maner of commaundynge. For of the church be all we ý shoulde (as ye say) be by God cõmaũded to beleue the church, & all we together make the hole church. And what reason were it than to commaunde vs to beleue the churche. Whiche were no more in effecte, but to byd vs all beleue vs all, or eche of vs to beleue other. And then if we fell at diuers oppinions, why shoulde that one C parte more beleue the other, than be beleued of the other, sith bothe the partes be of the churche and make the churche amonge them? saynge that alway that parte semeth to be beleued whiche best & most clerely can alledge the scripture for their oppinion. For the wordes of God muste breke the strife. He is onely to be beleued & his onely sonne of whom him selfe commaunded. *Ipsum audite*, hyre him saide the father at the tyme of his baptisme. And therfore the man that ye speke of whom God sendeth me to, and whom he byddeth me hyre and beleue, is our sauyour Christ onely, & not any D congregacion of men. Whose wordes if we beleue before the wordes of God, and in the stede of the scripture of God put our truste and confidẽce in the doctrine and ordenaunce of the churche, it were happely to be fered, lest we fall in the reprofe that is touched in the gospel where is said, in vayne worship thei me with the doctrine of mẽ, and where our sauiour also reproueth the Scribes and the Pharesyes sayng vnto them, wherfore do you breke and transgresse the cõmaundemẽt of god for your tradicios. ¶ I truste quod I yet at last we shall agre. But much a do me thinketh it is to come to it. But sith we muste as ye say & truthe it is, hyre our sauyour Christe & beleue him, is it ynough to hyre him and beleue him, or be we besydes that also bounden to obey him? ¶ To obey him also quod he. For els were he better vnherde. ¶ Wel said quod I. But whether are we bounden to hyre him & obey him in some thinges or in all thinges? ¶ In al thinges quod he without excepcion that he commaunded vs to do. ¶ Than if Christe quod I bydde vs beleue & obey his church, be we not bounden so to do. Yes quod he. ¶ Than may we quod I no more doubte to be trewe, what so the churche byddeth vs beleue, than the thinge that our sauyour him selfe byddeth vs beleue, if he bydde vs hyre his churche as his father bad vs hyre him. ¶ That is trouth q̃ he if he so do, but me thinketh it were a straunge byddyng as I saide to bydde eche of vs beleue other. ¶ It semeth not quod I so straũge a thing to saint Paule. For he meruaylous effectually beseceth christen people to agre together all in one mynde, and in the faythe to tell one tale, suffering no sectes or sylmes amõg them. Which agremẽt and consent can neuer be where no man geueth credẽce to other. But among christen people it will sone be, if euery man gyue credẽce to the church. ¶ But yet quod he sith all be of ý church, of diuers partes, which shall beleue which? ¶ Ye take that q̃ I for a great doubte and a thing very perpler, which semeth me very plaine. For either first the churche hath the truth & beleue al one way till some one or some fewe begynne the chaunge, and than thoughe all be yet of ý church, till some by their obstinacy be gone out or put out, yet is it no doubte but if I will beleue the church I must beleue the ý still beleue ý wate, which al ý whole beleued before. ¶ Or els if there were any thig that was peraduenture such, that in the church sometyme was doubted and reputed for vnreuered and vnknowen, if after ý the holy churche fall in one cõsẽt vpon the one side, either by common determinacion at a generall counsaile, or by a perfyte persuasion and beleue so receiued throughe christedome, that the christen people thinke it a damnable errour to beleue the contrary, than if any woulde after take the contrary waye, were it one or mo, were it fewe or many, were thei lerned or vnlerned, were thei ley people or of the clergie, yet can I nothing doubte which parte to beleue

Mar. 17.

G

Note. F

1. Cor. 1.

H

I

A if I will beleue the churche. ¶ That is trouth quod he, but ye proue me not yet that god hath bode me beleue ȳ church. ¶ Ye somwhat interrupted me quod I with your other subtelte, by which ye would it shoulde seme an absurditie to byd vs beleue the church. For as much as therby ye said it should seme that we were commaũded nothing els, but eche to beleue other, and than in diuers oppinions takē, we coulde not wyt which parte should beleue which. Wherof sith I haue shewed you the cōtrary, and remoued that blocke out of the waye for stomblyng, we shall I thinke sone se the B other point, that Christ cōmaundeth vs to beleue his churche. For as his father said of him selfe hyre him, so said he of his church whan he sent it abrode to be spred forthe. ¶ For whan he had gathered his churche of his apostles and his disciples, & therupon sent them forth to preache, said he not vnto them, he that hyreth you hyreth me? Did he not also cōmaunde that who so would not hyre the church should be reputed and taken as paynyms & publicans? ¶ That was quod he, where men would not amende C their lyuyng. Was it not quod I generall where a man wolde not amēde any damnable faute? Yes quod he. Is mis-beleue quod I none suche? Yes mary quod he. Than is quod I the church his Iudge vpon his beleue, to shewe him whether it be trewe or false. So it seme-th quod he. Hath his lyuyng quod I nothinge a do with faith? Howe mene you that quod he? ¶ Thus quod I, as if Luther late a frere & hauyng now wedded a Nonne, were cōmaũded to amēde his lewde lyuynge and put away that harlot, whom he abuseth in continuall incest and sacrilege vnder the name of D a wife, and he would say that he did wel ynoughe, and that their vowes coulde not bynde them, were he not bounden to beleue the church and obey therto as well concernynge his beleue as his lyuyng? ¶ Yes verely quod he. Than appereth it quod I that we be by Christe commaunded to hyre, beleue and obey the churche, as well in matters of faith as of maners. Which thing well appereth also by that our lorde woulde that who so were disobedient should be taken as a paynyme or a publicane. Of which two the one offended in mis-beleue the other in lewde lyuyng. And thus it appereth that not onely Christ is the man that ye be sent vnto & cōmaũded by god

Mathe 18.

to beleue and obey, but also the churche E is the person whom ye be by Christ cōmaunded to hyre and beleue and obey. And therfore if ye will in faith or lyuynge or auoydynge of all dānable errour (that ye might fall in by mysseunderstandynge of scripture) take a sure and vnfallyble way, ye must in all these thinges hyre beleue & obey the churche, A sure & vnfallible way. which is as I say the perso whō Christ sendeth you to for the sure solucion of all such doubtes, as to the mā in whose mouth he speketh him selfe, and the holy spirite of his father in heuen. ¶ And surely this is much to be marked. For it F is the perpetuall order which our lorde hath continued in the gouernaunce of good men from the begynnynge, that like as our nature first fell by pride to the disobedyence of God with inordynate desire of knowledge like vnto god, so hath God euer kepte man in humilite, straynyng him with ȳ knowledge of confession of his ygnorauncе, & bynd-ynge him to the obedience of beleue of certayne thinges, wherof his owne wit woulde verely wene the contrary. And therfore are we bounden not onely to beleue agaynsse our owne reason, the G poyntes that God shewed vs in scripture, but also ȳ God techeth his churche without scripture againsse our owne mynde also, to gyue diligent hyrynge, Beleue the churche without scripture. ferme credēce, and faithfull obedīece to the church of Christ, cōcernyng the sense & vnderstandinge of holy scripture, not doubting but sith he hath commaunded his shepe to be fedde, he hath prouided for them holesome mete and trewe doctrine. And that he hath therfore so farre inspired the olde holy doctours of his churche with the lyght of his grace for our instruction, that the doctrine wherin thei haue agreed, and by many ages consented, is the very trewe faith and H right way to heuen, beyng put in their myndes by the holy hande of him, *Qui facit vnanimes in domo*, that maketh the church of Christ all of one mynde.

¶ The xxviii. chapiter.

¶ The messenger este sonys obiected against this, that we shoulde beleue the churche in any thynge where we finde the wordes of scripture semyng playnly to say the contrary, or beleue the olde doctours interpretacions in ani necessary article, where thei seme to vs to say ctrary to ȳ texte, shewing that we may perceyue the scripture

as

A as well as they myght. And the aunswere of the authoure prouyng the authoritie of the old interpreters and the infallible authoritie of the church in ý god techeth it euery trueth requisite to ý necessitie of mans saluacion. Which he proueth by a deducciō partly dependyng vpon natural reason.

IT semeth me ꝯ he, that all this goeth well ý we should beleue the church as Christ, as long as thei say as Christ saith, for so me thinketh mēt our Lorde. ¶ But nowe yf

B they tell me tales of theyr owne, wherof Christ neuer spake worde nor menepon made therof in holy scripture, I mai thā say with the prophete Hieromie: *Non mittebam prophetas, & ipsi currebant. Non loquebar ad eos, & ipsi prophetabant.* Those prophetes (ꝯ our lorde) rāne forth of their own head and I set them not, & prophesyed of their own heades whan I spake nothyng to them. And than how much may I more say so, yf they saye me a thing, wherout Christ or holy scripture saith the cōtrary, shal I beleue ý church aboue Christ? Wer that a good humilitie to be obedyent more to men thā to god? More ought

C I me thinketh to beleue god aboue speaking in his holy scripture hymself, than all the olde fathers, if they make a glose against the text. For they doo not themself for their oppinions say and write, ý they haue them by inspiracion or by reuelaciō, or by miracle. But by wisdom, study, diligence, and collacion of one text with another. By al which meanes men may nowe perceiue the sentence of scripture as well as thei myght than. And yf ye will paraduenture saye that grace holp thē whiche I wil wel agree, than wyll I say againe that gods grace is not so farre worne out yet, but that it may as well helpe vs as it holpe them, &

D so may we be for ý right vnderstanding of scripture equall with them, and paraduēture one ace aboue them. Wherby when we perceiue that they went wrōg and other after them, shall we than cal it humilitie so to captiue and subdewe oure vnderstandyng, whereby God hath happelye geuen vs lyghte to perceyue theyr errours, that wythoute thanke geuen hym therefore, we shall so sette hys gyfte at noughte, that we shall beleue them before hym selfe, and tell hym that hym selfe badde so? And therefore me thynke where the olde doctours or the whole churche telleth me the tale that God dothe, there he bydeth me beleue them. But where God sayeth one thyng in scripture and they tell me an other, it thynketh me that I shoulde in no wyse beleue them. ¶ Wel quod I than in somewhat ye say, ye wil beleue the churche, but not in all. In anye thyng beside scripture ye wyl not, nor in the interpretacion of scripture ye wyll not, and so where ye sayde that ye beleue the church in somewhat, in very dede ye beleue ý church in right nought. For wherein wyll ye beleue it yf ye beleue it not in the interpretacion of scripture? For as touching the text ye beleue the scriptures selfe and not the churche. ¶ Me thynketh quod he the text is good ynough and playne ynough nedyng no glose yf it be well considered and euery parte compared with other. ¶ Harde it wer quod I to finde any thing so playn that it shoulde nede no glose at all. ¶ In faith quod he thei make a glose to some textes, that be as plaine as it is, ý twise two make four. ¶ Why quod I, nedeth that no glose at al? ¶ I trow so quod he. Or els the deuil is on it. ¶ I wisse ꝯ I, & yet though ye would beleue one ý wold tell you, that twise two ganders made alway foure gese, yet ye would be aduised ere ye beleued hym, that woulde tell you that twise two gese made alwaye foure ganders. For therein might ye be deceiued. And him would ye not beleue at al, ý wold tel you, that twise two gese wold alwat make foure horse. ¶ Tut ꝯ he, this is a mery matter. They must be al the twise twaine alway of one kinde. But gese & horse be of diuerse. ¶ Wel ꝯ I, than euery man ý is neither gose nor horse seeth wel ý there is one glose yet. But now ꝯ I, the gese & the ganders bee bothe of one kinde, & yet twyse two gese make not alway. iiii. gāders. A swete matter ꝯ he, ye wote what I meane wel ynough. I think I do ꝯ I. But I thik if ye bring it forth, it wil make another glose to your text, as plain as your text is, and ye will in al holy scripture haue no glose at all. And yet wyll ye haue collacion made of one text with another, & shew how they may be agrred together, as though al that were no glose. Ye ꝯ he but would you that we should beleue the churche if it set a glose that wyll in no wise agree with the terte, but that it appeareth playnlye that the terte well considered saieth cleane the contrarye? To whom doth that appeare quod I so

Hie. 23.

E

F

G

H

A plainly, whan it appeareth one to you, and to the whole church another. ¶ Yet yf I see it so quod he, though holye doctours and all the whole churche would tell me the contrary, me thinketh I wer nomoze bounden to beleue them al, that the scripture meneth as they take it, thã yf they woulde all tell me that a thynge were white which I see my selfe is black. ¶ Of late quod I, ye wouldе beleue the churche in some thyng. And nowe not only ye would beleue it in nothing, but also wher as god wold the church shold B be your iudge, ye would nowe be iudge ouer the churche. And ye wyll by your wit be iudge whither the churche in the vnderstandyng of holy scripture ý God hath wzitten to his church, doo iudge a right oz erre. As foz your white & black neuer shall it be that ye shall see ý thing black that all other shall see white. But ye may be sure that if al other se it white and ye take it foz blacke, your eyen bee sozе deceiued. Foz the church will not I thinke agree to call it other than it semeth to them. And much meruaile wer it if ye should in holy scripture se better than the old holy doctours and Chzistes whole church. ¶ But fyzste quod I ye C must consider that ye and I do not talke of one doctour oz twayne, but of the cõsent and comen agrement of the olde holy fathers. Noz that we speake not of ý doctrine of one mã oz two in the church but of the comen consent of the church. We speake not also of anye sentence taken in any text of holy scripture, wherby riseth no doubt oz question of any necessari article of our faith, oz rule of our liuing (Foz in other bye matters may there be takẽ of one text. x. senses peradventure, and all good ynough withoute warantise of the best.) But we speak of such two diuers and contrary senses ta D kẽ, as if ý one be true, ý other must nedes be false, & ý as I say concerning some necessary point of our faith oz rule of oure liuing, whiche is also depending vppon faith & reducible therto. As if one wolde boldly bzeke his vow foz ý he thought ý no man wer boundẽ to kepe any. Such poyntes, I say let vs consider, they bee ý we speake of. And this remembzed betwene vs, thã wyl we somwhat se what your saying doth pzoue. ¶ I shall not much nede quod I to stycke with you in disputing, by what menes the scripture is vnderstanden, sith ye be agreed with nature and diligence the grace of God muste nedes go, oz els no diligence oz helpe of nature can pzeuaile. Noz I will E nothing denye you, but that god maye & wyll also, geue his grace nowe to vs, as he gaue of olde to his holy doctours, yf there bee as muche towardnesse and no moze let oz impediment in our self than was in them. I will also graunt you ý we maye nowe by the same meanes by which they might than vnderstande the scripture as well as they did than, and I will not much sticke with you foz one ace better. And wer it not foz the sinnes that we sinke in, we might percase vnderstande it better by quater tre deuce, hauing their labours therein & our own therwith. But sithe I am so gentle to F graunt you so many thinges, I trust ye wyl grant me this one, that yf any such point of our faith, as god wouldе haue men bounden to beleue, they did vnderstande the scripture one waye and we another beig the one to the other so clene contrarye, that yf the one were true, the other must nedes be false, ye wyll than graunt I saye, that eyther they erre oz we. ¶ That must nedes be quod he. We wyll also graunt quod I, that in suche poyntes as we speake of, the errour wer dãnable. Foz we speake of those pointes onely, to the belief wherof god wil haue vs bounden. I graunt ý he. Foz dam- G nable wer it i such case to beleue wzõg. And wzong should they oz we beleue yf they oz we beleued a wzong article, because they oz we thought that the scripture affirmed it. And as dannable wer it and yet muche moze, if we beleued a thyng wherof we beleued that the scripture affirmeth the contrary. Foz thẽ beleued we that the scripture were false. This is ý I very well said. But foz the moze playnnesse let vs put one example oz twaine. And what point rather than the article touching the equalite in godhead of our sauioz Chzist wõ his father. H Foz yf the contrary belieſe were trewe, than wer this alway damnable & plain ydolatrie. Very trouth quod he. May not quod I the other example be the matter that we haue in hande, concernyng sainctes reliques, ymages, and pilgrymages, which thinges if it be (as ye say many recken it) ydolatrye, than is it yet wozse to doo therein as we doo, than yf oure belieſe were wzonge in the other poynte. And that as muche wozse, as the saintes oz ý ymages either, be wozse than the holy manhead of Chzist. That is quod he very true. Than quod I let the fyzst poynt alone because therin we bee

A be all agreed, and speake of the seconde, if the old fathers toke the scriptures one waye and we the contrarye. Though it might be that we wer able to vnderstād the scriptures as well as they, yet if thei so vnderstode thē that they thought this kynde of woorship not forbidden but cōmaunded and pleasaunt to god, and we newe men on the other syde thoughte it vtterly forbidden and holden for ydolatrie: the one parte did not in dede vnderstande the scripture right, but were in a damnable errour. That will no man deny quod he. I doubt not now quod I but that your selfe seeth verye well howe
B many thinges I might here lay for them to proue you that thei erred not so. First their wittes as much as our new mens, their diligence as great, their erudicion greater, their studye feruent, their deuocion hotter, their nomber farre greater, their time continued longer by many ages perseuering, the contrary oppiniōs in fewe and those alway sone faded, thei taken alway for catholike, the contrary part for heretiques. Here might I laye you the holines of their life and the plenty of their grace wel appearing therby, and that our lord therfore opened theyr eyen and suffered and caused them to see the trouth. And albeit he vsed therein
C none open myracle nor sencyble reuelacion, whereof as ye say thei none allege or pretende for the prose of their oppinions in their interpretaciōs of holy scripture, yet vsed he the secret supernaturall meane, by which his grace assistente w̄ good men that labour therfore, by mocions insencible to thē selfe, inclineth theyr assent vnto the true side, and that thus ȳ olde holye fathers dyd in the point ȳ we speake of, and in such other, perceiue the right sence of holy scripture so farforth at the leastwise, as thei wel knewe that it was not contrary to their belief. And here might I laye you also that if it had
D bene otherwise and that they had therin damnably bene deceiued, than liuyng & dying in damnable error they could not haue bene saintes, as God hath shewed them to be by many a thousand myracle both in their liues & after their deathes. With this might I also lay & very well conclude, that sythe those holy doctors and the churche, bee (as by their bookes plainly appereth) al of one fayth in this poynte and suche other, that therby wel appeareth that the church is in ȳ trueth, and is not in the vnderstandyng of the scripture that speaketh of the matter any thyng deceiued, but thei clearely de-
E ceiued that do vnderstand those textes of holy scripture to the contrarye. These thinges as I say, & yet many other moe might I saye. But sithe ye did your self put the church and thē both in one case, and so thei be in dede: I wil rather proue you the trueth of them by the trueth of ȳ church, than the trueth of the church by the trueth of thē. And so semeth me good reason. For surely sithe they were but members of his church, god had his speciall cure vpon them moste especiall for the profite of his churche, by whose hole corps he more setteth than by any mem-
F ber therof, sainct, apostle, euangelist, or other. And therfore must I yet aske you againe whither the church may haue any damnable errour in the faith by mistaking of scripture or otherwise. That is quod he somewhat harde to tel. Now quod I somewhat I meruaile that ye remember not that your selfe hath agreed all ready, that these woordes of Christe spoken vnto Peter, I haue prayed ȳ thy faith shall neuer faile, were not onelye ment by the faith in Peter his owne person, but also by the faith of the churche. For to him was it spoken as head of the church. Yes I remember ye he right wel that I agreed it. But I remember also ȳ
G notwithstanding mine agremēt ye wer content that we should ensearche again and again the matter otherwise beside, wherin mine agrement should not bind me. Lo quod I that had I forgotten again. But let it than alone for the while and tell me this. Did not Christ entend to gather a flock & congregacion of people that should serue god and be his special people? Yes ye he ȳ is very trouth. For so saith plain scripture of Christ in sondrie places. As where the father of heauen saith vnto Christ in the psalme. *Postula a me & dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam*, ask
H of me and I shall geue the paynim people for thine inheritaunce, and many other places. And els vndoubtedlye his whole cōmyng had bene in maner frustrate and in vaine. That people quod I whiche should be an inheritaunce did he entende should endure for his owne dayes onely whyle he lived here, or els that it should go forth & continue long after. Nay quod he that shall contynue whyle the worlde lasteth here tyll domes daye, and after in heauen eternally. Shall this people quod I haue among them the knowledge and vnderstandyng what he wouldе they should

Luke.22.

Peter head of the church.

The differēces betwene the olde doctours and the new.

A do to please God with all? Ye quod he.
Whither shall they quod I, haue thys knowledge for a while in the beginning and than lese it, or shall they haue it styl as long as they continue? Here he begã a litle to stagger. Why quod I, can ye call them his people anye longer yf they lese the knowledge howe to serue hym & please hym? if thei for slouth to doo their duetie as slacke seruantes sometime do, yet may thei mende and doo better another time. But if they lese the knowlege of their duetie, thã wote thei nere which
B way to amend, as he that knoweth fornicacion for synne, may fall by frailtye to fornicacion. But sith he knoweth it for nought, though he synned more in ẏ doyng, than if he had not knowen ẏ prohibicion, yet dothe the knowledge geue him warning and occasiõ of repẽtance & amendement, which must nedes lacke if he had lost the knowledge. Upõ this he graunted that it must nedes be ẏ thys people must nedes haue alway ẏ knowledge how to serue and please our Lord, or els they ceased to be his people. Is not this people quod I called ẏ churche? Yes quod he. Than the church ẏ I alway hath and alway shal by your reasõ haue the knowledge and vnderstãding,
C how god maye be serued and pleased. Trouth quod he. Is quod I that knowledge fully had wythout the knowledge of such thinges as god bindeth vs to beleue? Nay quod he. What if we knew them in suche wise quod I as we coulde rehearce them on oure fingers endes, & yet beleued thẽ not to be true, wold this knowledge serue? In no wise ẏ he. For if ye beleued them to be false, though ye so knew them that ye could rehearce thẽ by rowe, ye could take no warning by them to please and serue god with them,
D which is the cause wherfore the church should of necessitie know them. This is quod I very well sayde. Than sythe ye grant ẏ the church shal euer ẽdure, and that it could not endure wout the knowlege of such thinges as may please god, nor those thinges can bee all knowen yf knowledge lacked of those thinges that god byndeth vs to beleue, nor the knowledge of thẽ any thyng serue to ẏ knowledge and warnyng geuen vs of goddes pleasure, but yf we not onely can tel thẽ but also beleue them, whiche beliefe ye graunte is called faith, of this it consequentye foloweth that the churche all wayes hath and all wayes shall haue the knowledge and belief of such thiges as God will haue it bounden to beleue. E
That is trouth quod he, because God hath lefte holy scripture to the churche, and therein is all, and the churche beleueth that to be true. And therfore therein and thereby hath the churche all that warning and learning of goddes pleasure that ye speake of, without whiche it can not endure. Are ye there yet agayne quod I? We haue sondry wayes proued & agreed betwene vs, that this knowledge and faith was before scripture and wryting, and many thinges of necessitie, to be bothe beleued and done, that are not in holye scripture. And yet F after al this to long to bee repeted ye retourne agayne to the firste pointe so often confuted, that nothing is learned nor knowen but by holy scripture. But nowe go to and suppose it were so, what shoulde ye winne thereby? For what if God quod I hadde lefte the scripture to the churche locked vp in a close chesse, & that no manne shoulde looke therein, would that haue serued? Nay parde ẏ he. What if he hadde lefte it open and written in such wise that no man could read it? That were all one quod he. What if euery man quod I could reade it and no man vnderstande it? As litle G wold it serue quod he as the other. Thã ẏ I sithe it serueth the churche to learn goddes pleasure therein, and that can it not as ye grant your self, but if ẏ church vnderstande it, it foloweth of this that ẏ churche vnderstandeth it. And thus euery waye for the fayth and knowledge of goddes pleasure, yf it bee as ye saye all knowen by the scripture, and no part otherwyse, yet alwaye to this poynte ye bring it in the end, that the church hath the sure knowledge thereof. And then that be so, ye shall not as ye lately said ye should, in any diuerse textes of scripture seming to make a doubtous article of our fayth, & to bring in question what H we be bounden to beleue, after ye haue read in scripture al that can be readde and heard on bothe sydes all that can be sayde, than take whiche part semeth to your self most profitable.

Faith was before scripture.

The church hath the knowledge of scripture.

For if ye stande still for all that in a doubte, than after your bytter prayers made to god for his grace and gyde in ẏ choyce, go take you the one part at aduenture and cleue therto, as though ye were sure by your confidence in god, that hys grace had enclined your assent to the surer syde. But sith he hathe shewed you playnly by reason that he hath geue his

church

A churche in all suche thinges knowledge of the trouth if ye will take the sure wai and put your self out of all perplexite in the point it selfe, and the scriptures that touche it, ye shall take for the truth that way that the churche teacheth you therin howe so euer that matter seme beside vnto your self or to any man els.

The.29. Chapiter.

¶ The authour prouetb by scripture that God instructeth the churche of Christe, in euery trouth necessarilye requisite for our saluacion.

B Truly quod he ye wynde it well about. But yet ye made as though ye wouldе haue shewed that God had in scripture tolde me, that he had and euer would tell hys churche ȳ trouth in al such maters. And now ye bring it to the poynt, not the holye scripture telleth me ȳ tale but mans reason. And surely as I shewed you before, I dare not wel trust reason in matters of faith and of holy scripture. I began quod I to proue it you by scrypture, and ye than putte me out in the beginning. Howbeit this reason hath scripture for his foundaciō and groūd. And though it somewhat bylde further thereon, yet is not reason alwaye to bee mistrusted where fayth standeth not againste it, nor god sayeth not the cōtrarye. Excepte reason bee so farre out of credence with you, that ye wyl not now beleue him yf he tell you ȳ twise twaine make foure. I wene you will fare by reson as one did once by a false shrewe. Hs sware that he would not for .xx. li. heare hym say his crede. For he knew him for suche a lyer that he thought he shold neuer beleue his crede after, if he hearde it once of his mouth. Howbeit quod I let vs yet se whither god hiself in scripture tell you the same tale or no. God telleth D you in scripture that he would bee with his churche to the ende of the worlde. I thinke ye doubte not thereof, but those woordes he spake to the whole churche that than was and euer shall bee from the apostles dayes continued till ȳ ende of the world. That in good faith quod he must nedes bee so. Than were this in good faith ynough ꝙ I for oure purpose, syth no man doubteth, wherfore he will be with his church, except we shold thinke that he would be therwith for nothing, wherfore should he be with it but to kepe it and preserue it w̄ the assistence of his gracious presence from spiritual mischiefe specially, and of all other specially frō infidelitie and frō ydolatrye: which was the speciall thyng frō which he called his churche out of the gentiles which els as for moral vertues and politicall yf they had not lacked the ryght cause and ende of referryng theyr actes to god, were many of them not farre vnder mani of vs. Let vs go further. Doth he not in the .xiiii. .xv. .xvi. Chapiter of sainct John againe and agayne repete, that after his going he will come again to them. And saith he will not leue them orphanes, as fatherlesse children, but wil come again to them himself. Let vs adde now therunto ȳ woordes before reherseed, that he will be with them till the woordes ende, and it appeareth playn ȳ he mēt all this by his whole church that should be to the woordes end. Whan he said vnto them I call you frendes, for al that I haue heard of my father I haue made knowen to you, he spake as to hys perpetuall churche and not to the Apostles alone, but if he saide to them alone these woordes also, I commaund that ye loue eche other, so that none should loue eche other after but only they. Now lest the thinges that he taught themshold by the church after be forgotte, which was more to bee doubted than of themselfe ȳ heard it, he said vnto them also. These thynges, quod he, haue I spokē to you abiding here with you. But the comforter whiche is the holy ghost (whome my father shall sende in my name) he shall teache you al thing, and he shal put you in minde and remembrance of al thyng that I shal haue saide vnto you. So that here ye see that he shall againe allwaye teache the churche of new, the old lessōs of Christ. And he said also to them, that this comforter, this holy gost, the spirit of trouth, should be sent to abide ī the for euer, which cannot be ment but of ȳ whole church. For the holy ghosse was not sent hither into ȳ earth here to dwel with the apostles for euer, for thei dwelled not so long here. Now if the spirit of trouth shall dwel in the church for euer, how can the churche erre in perceiuing of the trouth, in such thinges I mene as god wil binde them to knowe or shall be necessary for them to know? For onely of such thinges ment our lord, whan he said that the holy ghost shal teach them al thing. For as saint Poule saith, the manifestacion and shewyng of ȳ spirit, is to the vtilitie and profite. This holye

Reason is not to be mistrusted where faith standeth not against it.

Mat.28.

John.14.

John.15.

John.16.

The churche cannot erre.

A spirite also was not promised by our sauiour Christe, that he should onely tell his church again his words, but he said farther, I haue quod he, besides al thys many thinges to saye to you, but ye bee not able to bere them nowe. But whan he shal come that is the spirit of trouth, he shal lede you into all trouth. Lo oure lorde saide not that the holy gost sholde write onto his churche all trouth, but ý he should lede them by secrete inspiracion and inclinacion of their heartes into all trouth, in which must nedes be conceiued both informacion and ryght be-
B lief of euery necessary article, and of the right and true sense of holy scripture, as farre as shall bee requisite to conserue ý church frō any dannable errour. Now whan the holy ghoste shall by gods promise, bee for this purpose abiding in the
John.14. churche for euer, and Christe hymself hath also sayde that he wyl not leue hys church as orphanes, but wil com hiself, and be with it vnto the ende of ý worlde and sayth also that his father is in hym, and he is in his father, and ý his father and he be bothe one thing, not bothe one parson, but both one substaunce, & with
C the holy ghost bothe one god, than must it nedes folow that to the worldes ende, ther is w̄ the church residēt ý whole trinitie. Whose assistēce being to ý church perpetuall, howe can it at any time fall from true faith to false errours and heresies?

The whole Trinitie is resident with the churche.

The. 30. Chapiter.

¶ Whereas the messeger had thought before, ý it wer hard to beleue ani thig certainly saue holy scripture though the scrypture did agree therein and commaunde it, the authour sheweth
D that sauing for the authoritie of the churche, menne coulde not knowe what scripture they shoulde beleue. And here is it shewed that God wyll not suffer the churche to bee deceiued in ý choyse of ý very scripture of god from any counterfeit.

Owe is it I suppose well and clerelye proued by scripture the thyng that I promysed, that is to wytte that ý church can not erre in any such substaunceyall article as God wyll haue vs bounden to beleue. But yet for as muche as ye regarde nothing but scripture onelye, this wouldde I fayne wytte of you, whyther ye beleue that Christe was borne of a virgine. What els q he. Why beleue you that quod I? The ghospel sheweth me so quod he. What yf it dyd not quod I, were than youre Crede out of credence, but yf he bryngе wytnesse with hym? The Crede quod he is a thyng by it self. Yet is it quod I no parte of the ghospell as the Pater noster is. And yet I thynke, yf ghospell hadde neuer bene written, ye wold haue beleued your Crede. So thynke I too quod he. And wherefore quod I, but for because the churche should haue shewed you so? But lett our Crede alone a whyle and go we to the ghospell selfe. Whiche ghospel telleth you that Christ F was borne of a virgin? The ghospell of sainct Luke, quod he. Howe know you that quod I? For I reade it so q he in the boke. Ye reade quod I suche a booke. But howe knowe you that sait Luke made it? Howe know I quod he other bookes, but by that they beare the names of their authors writtē vpō thē. Knowe you it wel ther by quod I? Many bokes be ther that haue false inscripcions, and ar not the bokes of them that they be named by. That is trouth quod he. But yet though men did peraduenture erre and faile in the name, as yf he shold repute a boke of stories to be made G by Titus Liuius, which he neuer made but some other honest conning man, yet wer the bokes neither lesse eligaunt nor lesse true therfore. Nor in likewise if the churche dyd mistake the verye name of some Euangelist and ghospel, yet were the ghospell neuer the lesse true. That is quod I wel I said. But how be ye sure ý that the matter of the boke is true? Mary quod he for I am. That is quod I the reason that a mayde layeth for her owne knoweledge of her maydenhead. But she could tell another how she knoweth she hath it, sauing that she is lothe to come so nere as to bee a knowen ý she H could tel how she might lese it. But here is no suche feare. Tel me therfore wherby wot ye that the matter of that boke is true? I thinke quod he that god sheweth me so. That is well thought q I. But he tolde it you not mouth to mouth. No quod he. But he hath tolde it to other in the begynnyng or els it was wel knowen in the begynnyng whan he wrote it. And he was knowen and beleued by his lyuyng, and the myracles that god dyd for him. And after that it was once knowen, the knowledge wente forth fro manne to manne. And God hath so

wrought

A wrought with vs that we beleue it because the whole Churche hath alwaye done so before our dayes. Nowe come you quod I to the very poynte. For many thinges hath bene true, that in processe after hath lefte to be beleued. And many a thing hath in ỳ beginning been knowē for false, and yet hath after happed to be beleued. But the gospels & holy scripture, god prouideth that though ye case some of it may perishe and bee lost, whereby they might haue harme, but not fall in errour (for the fayth shoulde stand though ỳ scriptures wer all gone) yet shall he neuer suffer his church to be deceiued in that poynte, that they shall take for holye scripture any booke that is not. And therefore saieth holye sainct Austine, I shoulde not beleue the ghospell, but if it were for the churche. And he sayeth good reason. For were it not for the spirite of God keppyng the trouth thereof in his church, who could be sure whiche were the very ghospels? There were many that wrote the ghospel. And yet hath the churche by secrete instructe of god, reiected the remenaunt and chosen out these fowre, for the sure vndoubted trewe. That is quod he sure so. This is ỳ I so sure so, that Luther himself is driuen of necessitie to graunt this, or elles he perceiueth that there were none holde nor suretie in scrypture it selfe, yf ỳ church might be suffered by god to be deceiued in that pointe, and to take for holy scripture that writing that in dede wer not. And therfore he confesseth that this must nedes be a sure ifallible groūd that God hath geuen this gifte vnto his churche, that his churche can alway discerne the worde of god from the word of mēne. In good faith quod he, that must nedes be so, or els all would faile. Quod I than ye that would beleue the church in no thing, nor geue sure credence to the tradicion of the church, but if it wer proued by scripture, now see it proued to you, that ye coulde not beleue the scrypture, but if it were proued to bee scrypture by the iudgement and tradicion of the church. No quod he, but whē I haue learned once of the church, that it is holy scripture and the worde of God, than I beleue it better than I beleue all the churche. I might by a light person somtime knowe a muche more substanciall man. And yet whan I know hym, I wil beleue him muche better than hym, by whom I knowe him, if thei varyed in a tale and were contrary. Good reason ỳ

Fayth dothe stand without scripture.

B

C

D

A singuler great gifte.

I. But the churche biddeth you not beleue the contrarye of that the scripture sayeth. But he telleth you that in suche places as ye would better beleue ỳ scripture than the churche, there ye vnderstande not the scripture. For what so euer wordes it speaketh, yet it meaneth not the contrary of that the churche teacheth you. And the churche can not bee deceiued in any suche weightie poynte. Whereby shall I know quod he? Why be we at that point yet quod I? haue we so sone forgotten the perpetual assistēce of the Trinitie in his churche, and the praiour of Christ to kepe the faith of his churche fro fayling, and the holye ghost sent of purpose to kepe in the church the remembraunce of Christes wordes and to lead them into all trouth? what wold it haue profited to haue put you in remēbraunce of the assistence of god with the children of Israell walking with them in the cloude by day, and in the piller of fyre by night in their earthly viage, and therby to haue proued you ỳ much more special assistence of god with his christē churche in their spiritual viage, wherein his especiall goodnes well declareth his tender diligence, by that he dothe vouchsafe to assist and comfort vs with the continuall presence of his precious body in the holye sacrament? All this would not help, if manifest reason that I made you, and euident scripture that I reherled you, cannot yet print in your heart a perceiuing that the assistence of god in his churche must nedes preserue his churche from all damnable errours in the faith, and geue his church so farre forth the vnderstanding of scripture, ỳ thei may wel perceiue that no part therof well vnderstande, standeth against any article that the church beleueth, as parcel of their christen faith. Nay quod he I perceiue it well whā I remēber it, but it was not ready in remembraunce.

E

F

G

The presence of Christes bodye in the sacrament.

H

The. 31. Chapiter.

¶ In that the churche can not erre in the choise of the true scripture, ỳ authour proueth by the reason whiche the kinges highnes in his noble and moste famous booke obiecteth against Luther, that the churche cannot erre in the necessarye vnderstanding of scripture. And finallye the authour in this chapiter doth briefely recapitle certaine of the principall pointes that be before proued. And therewith endeth the first booke.

A Yet would I quod I aske you one thing, wherefore thynke you, wil not Christ suffer his churche to bee deceiued in the discerning of holye scripture from other writing, and suffer them to take a booke of holy scripture, that wer none in dede? Leste men might quod he, of some false boke reputed of holy scrypture, haue greate occasion geuen them to conceiue the wronge doctrine and wronge oppinions of the faith, yf God woulde suffer his church to take a false deuised booke for holye scripture and for his owne holye woordes. Ye saye B quod I verye trouthe. Nowe what yf in the verye scripture he shoulde suffer his churche mistake the verye sentence in a matter substaunciall of oure faith, wer they not in like parell to fal by false vnderstanding in to like errours, as thei myght by false wrytinges? Yes that they were quod he. Forsooth quod I, so were thei and in muche more. For in a false booke mistetaken for scrypture, though thei hadde it in neuer so high reuerence for some good thinges that thei founde in it, and thereby shoulde haue great occasion to beleue false errours C wrytten in thesame, yet hauing as the churche alway shal haue, the true faith, firste in hearte, thei shoulde finde many shiftes to kepe out ý errours. But nowe yf we falselye shoulde vnderstande the true scripture, there were no waye to scape frō damnable errours. And therefore maye I saye to you, as the kynges highnesse most prudētly layed vnto Luther, sith god wyll not suffer his church to mistetake a booke of scripture, for perill of damnable errours that might ensue thereon, and like perill maye there ensue by the misconstruing of the sentence as by the mistetaking of the boke, it muste nedes folowe that God will in thynges of oure faith no more suffer thē to take a false sentence for true, than to D take a false booke for scripture. And with this reason his hyghnesse concluded hym so clerelye, that he durste neuer since for shame touche that poynte againe, nor any colour coulde laye, but that vpon his own confession in al substanciall pointes concerning the fayth or knowledge of vertue pleasant to god the churche hath so right vnderstādyng of scripture, that it wel and truely perceiueth, that no terte therein cā be right vnderstanden, against any article that the churche beleueth for thing to bee beleued of necessitie. And this point durst E he neuer since touch nor make aunswer thereto, albeit that the kinges hyghnes with this one pointe alone plainely turneth vp and destroyeth the grounde and foundacion of all heresies that Luther would haue beleued. And therefore of al thinges had Luther gretest cause to answer this pointe earnestlye, and would vndoubtedly if he had wist how. Surely ye your frend I meruayle not though he did not. For this pointe is so clere he coulde not, And I am herein fully satisfied. Than bee you quod I satisfyed in this also, that the faith of the churche F is a right rule to cary with you to ý study of scripture, to shape you ý vnderstādyng of the textes by, and so to take thē as they maye alwayes agree ther withall. Be it quod he. Than are ye quod I also fullye aunswered in this that where ye saide ye shoulde not beleue the churche telling a tale of their owne, but onely telling you scripture, ye now perceiue that in suche thinges as we speake of, that is to witte necessarye pointes of our faith, if they tell you a tale whiche if it were false were damnable, ye muste beleue and maye bee sure that sythe the churche can not in suche thinges erre, it G is very true all that the churche in suche thinges telleth you. And that it is not their owne woorde, but the woorde of god though it bee not in scripture. That appeareth well quod he. Than are ye quod I, as fullye satisfied that where ye lately saide that it were a disobedience to god and preferryng of the churche before himselfe, if he shal beleue the churche in suche thinges as god in his holye scrypture layeth hymselfe the contrarye, ye nowe perceiue, it can in no wyse bee so. But sithe his churche in suche thynges as we speake of cannot erre, it is impossible that the scripture of God can be cō- H trary to the faith of the church. That is very true quod he. Than it is as trewe quod I, that ye bee further fullye aunswered in the principall poynte that the scriptures layed agaynste ymages and pilgrymages and woorship of sainctes, make nothing agaynst them. And also that those thinges, ymages I meane & pilgrymages, and prayng to sainctes, are thinges good and to bee hadde in honoure in Christes Churche, sythe the churche beleueth so. Whyche as ye graunte and see cause why ye shoulde graunte, can in suche poyntes not bee suffered for the speciall assistence of god and

The churche that alway haue the true faith.

Note.

The faith of the churche is a right rule to the study of scripture.

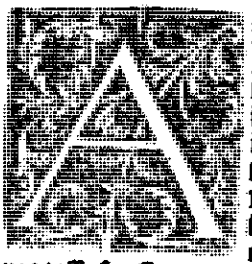
A and instruccion of the holye ghost to fal in errour. And so bee we for this matter at lasse with muche worke comen to an ende. And therefore will we nowe to diner. And youre other obiecciones that ye haue layed, by whiche ye wold proue those thinges reprouable and make the seme ydolatrie, whiche we deferred afore, those will we talke of after diner. By my trouth quod he, I haue another tale to tell you that all this gere graunted tourneth vs yet into as muche vncertaynte as we were in before. Ye quod I than haue we well walked after the balade. The further I goo tho B more behynde. I praye you what thing is that. For that long I to heare yet ere we goo. Naye quod he it were better ye dyne fyrste. My Ladye wyll I wene bee angrye with me, that I kepe you so longe therefro. For I holde it nowe well towarde twelue. And yet more angrye wouldde ware with me, if I should make you sit and muse at your meat, as ye wouldde I wote well muse on the matter if ye wyst what it wer. If I were quod I lyke my wyfe I shouldde muse more theron now and eate no meat for longing to know. But come on than ¶ let vs C dyne fyrste. and ye shall tell vs after.

¶ The end of the first booke.

¶ The seconde boke.

The. 1. Chapter.

D ¶ The mellenger recapiteling certayne thinges before proued, and for hys parte agreyng that the Churche of Christe can not in anye necessarye artycle of the fayth fall in anye damnable errour, dothe putte in doubt and question, whiche is the verye churche of Christe allegyng that thei paraduenture whome we call heretyques wyll saye that them selfe is the Churche and we not. Whereof the authoure sheweth the contrarye, declaryng whereby we maye knowe that they can not be the churche.



After diner we walked into ye gardine. And there shortely sitting in an arber begane to go forth in our matter, desiring him to shew what thing myght that bee, that made our lōg forenomes processe frustrate, and left vs as vncertayne as we beganne. Syr quod he ye shal I shortelye shewe you. Where as there was principally in question whither worshyppyng of ymages and reliques, praying to saincte, and going on pilgrimages, were lawfull or not. E And that I putte you in mynde that me layde agaynste them certayne tertes of holy scripture, and also sayd vnto you, that it semed the tertes selfe whiche bee the woordes of God were of more authoritie against them than the glosses of menne, that in suche wyse expownde the tertes as thei maye seme to make for them: ye layed on the other side the consente and agremente and common Catholyke faith of the churche; whiche ye sayde, and in dede to saye the trouthe, both by reason and scripture ye proued, that it could not be erronious, and that the churche couldde not erre in the fayth that God wouldde haue knowen and beleued. Ye proued the matter also by myracles. In whiche whan I laide diuers thinges mouing men to doubt, partely lesse they wer not true but specially lest thei wer not done by god for corroboracio of the faith, but wer percase by gods sufferaunce done by the deuil for our delusion, deseruing so to be serued by oure falling from the worshippe of God himself to the woorship of his creatures: ye proued me yet againe that the miracles wer true, and ye thei must nedes be done by god. And that ye proued me by thys that it should els folow, that the church had a wrong beliefe and a damnable. H Which ettsones ye proued well and substantially to be impossible. And for as muche as there fell in the waye, occasion to speake of the contrarietie that semed some tyme to fall betwene the tertes of holye scrypture selfe, and the commen perswasyon and fayth of the Churche, where I sayde that it was thoughte reasonable to beleue the scripture beyng Goddes owne woordes, rather than the wordes of mēne ye therin proued that the commen fayth of the

G The churche cannot erre in fayth.

H Miracles must nedes be done by goo.

The common faith of the churche is goddes owne wordes.

A churche was as wel Gods own wordes as was holye scripture selfe, and of as great authoritie, and that no student in scripture should presume to trye examine, and iudge thy catholike faith of Christes churche by the scripture, but by ý catholike faith of Christes churche should examine and expowne the textes of scripture. And ý in the study of scripture this wer ý sure way, wherin sholde geue ye laide great light the writyng of the olde holy doctours, wherby we be acertained that the faith that the churche hath nowe, is the same faith and ý same pointes ý thei had thã of olde i euery age & euery time. And in this part ye proued

The churche hath the right understandig of scripture.

B yet againe by reason and holy scripture that the churche hath by the teaching of god and the holy ghost the right understandyng of scripture, in all poyntes ý are of necessitie to be knowen. And ther vpon ektsones ye deduced and proued, ý no texte of scripture well understanden could stande agaynst the worshipping of ymages and reliques, and the sekyng of pilgrimages, but that all these thiges be well proued good and pleasãt to god, & the miracles done in such places done by god, sithe his speciall assistence so informeth and instructeth his churche in so great and so substancial an article, so highly touching the honor or dishonour

C of god, that it cannot be suffered to fall to superstition and idolatrie in stede of faith and honor done to god. And this is quod he as far as I remember ý whole some and effect of all that hath hitherto bene proued betwene vs. Very true q̃ I. And this is of you verye well remembred, and well and sommarily reherſed. But now quod he all this gere granted we be neuer the nere. Why so quod I? Mary quod he, for a manne that beleued the worship of ymages to be wrong and vnlawfull might graunt that, that the churche doth not erre, & that the church

D hath the right faith, and that the church doth not mistake ý scripture. And whan all this were agreed, he might say, that the churche paradventure dothe not beleue as ye say it dothe. For he mygthe happely denye the churche to bee ý people that ye take it for, and saye that it is the people that beleueth as he beleueth, that is to wit, all these kyndes of worshippe to bee wronge, and that beleueth them whom ye take for the church to beleue wrong. If he and his company q̃ I be the churche, he muste tell where hys felowes bee? Why so quod he, yf menne should aske you and me where ý church is, we couldе tell no one place but many diuers countreys. Lette hym quod I, in lykewyse assigne some companyes that bee knowen for congregacions together in diuers countreys. Why quod he in the begynnyng and a good whyle after, the Churche of Christe in euerye place hydde it selfe, that men couldе not tell in anye countrey where they were, nor durste not come out and shew themself. That was in the beginning quod I, whyle the persecucion lasted. But whan the persecuciõ ceased once, it was soone knowen in euerye countrey wher the churche was. Marye quod he, yf F I shoulde take that parte, I woldе happelye saye that in that case it is styl, and that the churche is that companye paradventure that ye (whiche cal your self the churche) doo vse to call heretyques, whiche nowe doos knowe one another well ynough, and cal themself and their felowes aboute the worlde the verape churche, thoughe they dare not professe it openly, because that ye (that cal your selfe the churche and them heretyques) doo persecute them as the churche of the Paynims did in the begynning. And therefore they doo hide themselfe as the churche did in the beginnyng. But and G yf ye woulde cease youre persecucion once, and lette them line in resse, ye shoulde see them flocke together so fast, ý they should sone shew you the churche with a wete finger. Thei might quod I, peradventure shewe a threwde sorte within a while, yf they were suffered, and the churche that the Prophete Dauid speaketh of. *Odi ecclesiam malignantium*, I Psal. 25. hate the churche of malicious menne. But they shall neuer shewe them selfe the churche of Christe. The churche of Christe wheresoeuer it was in all the persecucion, vsed to come together to the preachyng and prayer, thoughe it H were priuilye in woodes or secrete houses. They vsed also the sacramentes among themselfe, as baptisme, confirmacion, matrimonie, holye order, priestes, and Bishoppes among them, fastinges, vigiles kepte, the Sondayes halowed, the Paasse sayde, holye seruyce songe, and theyr people houseled as well appeareth not onelye by the stories of the Churche, but also of the paynims. And partelye well appeareth by a pistle of Plinye wrytten to the Emperoure Trayane. And suche thynges muste there bee therein, yf it bee any churche

What thinges the churche vsed.

A or congregacion of Christ. Nowe these people ye speake of, vse no suche thiges amōg themselfe, and therfore thei cānot be the churche of Christ. They preach ye he priuily amōg themself, and al remanaunt they doo in our churches. This quod I plainely proueth that thei cānot be the churche of Christ. For the church of Christ euer fled and forbare the temples in whiche ydolles and mammettes were. And it was a plaine renaying of Christes faith to doo anye obseruaunce therto, though they did it onely w̄ theyr body for feare, and thought the contrary with their heart. For our lord sayth, he that denieth me before the worlde, I will denye him before my father in heauen. And holy scripture saith. *Spiritus sanctus effugiet fictum.* The holye ghost fleeth frō fayning. But these men whom you call the church, come to the churches where the ymages be, which thei take for ydols and there they come to seruice with vs, whō thei take for ydolaters. And where they teache among themself that we doe nought, they come to our churche as I saye, and in face of the worlde they do ye same, knele to ymages as we doo, set vp candels as we do, pray to saintes as we do, and happely more lowde with theyr mouthes while they mocke them with their hartes. And ouer this many mock also the sacramētes which thei receiue.

A playne renaying of Christ.

Math. 10. Sapi. 1.

And this putteth me in mynde also that besides all this, ye cannot say that these be the churche whom we cal heretikes, but ye muste tell whiche kynde of them is the churche. For al cannot bee, sithe the churche is and muste bee all of one belief, and haue all one fayth. And as it was written in the actes of the Apostles. *Erat multitudo credentium, anima mea cor unum.* The multitude of faithful beleuing men were all of one mynde, and of one heart. And in the church is the holy gost *qui facit vnanimes in domo*, whiche maketh all of one minde in the house of god, that is in the churche. But as for among heretikes, there be as manye diuers myndes almost as there be men. The churche of Christe also is a thing that alway hath stande and continued. But the sectes of heretikes and theyr churches neuer continued but shortly decaied and vanished quite awaye, so farrefoorth that of all ye olde heretikes thei bookes also bee gone and loste, whan there was no law made yet to brenne them, so that it is eth to see that god hymselfe destroyed them, & the world cleane gaue them vp at somtime, though newe heretikes nowe long after take them vp agayne. For yf theyr opinions hadde any where continually endured there woulde theyr bokes haue continually reserued, whiche bee nowe quite gone manye yeares a goo. And thus maye you well see, that there can no suche folke bee the churche, that in so many yeares haue no churche nor come to none, but to theyrs in which thei say themselfe thei woorship ydolles. Wel quod he, peraduenture they wyll not sticke muche to assigne you a place and shewe you a company and congregacion, whiche they will saye is the verye churche. For what yf they wyll shewe you Boheme and now in Saxony wher Luther is, and peraduenture in a good part of Germanye? Marye quod I, yf thei saye so, than lepe they lyke a flounder out of a frying panne into the fyre. For in Saxony firste and among al the Lutherans there be as many heades as many wittes. And all as wise as wilde geese. And as late as thei began, yet bee there not onely as many sectes almosse as men, but also the maisters them selfe chaunge theyr mindes and theyr opynions euery daye and wote nere where to holde them. Boheme is also in ye same case. One faith in the towne, another in the fielde. One in Prage, another in the next towne. And yet in Prage it selfe one faith in one strete, another in ye next. So that if ye assigne it in Boheme, ye must tell in what town. And if ye name a towne, yet muste ye tel in what strete. And yet al thei knowledge that thei can not haue the sacramētes ministred, but by suche priestes as be made by authoritie deriued and conueied from the Pope which is vnder Christ vicary & the head of our churche.

Beholde the inconstancy of heretiques.

The Pope head of the churche.

The. 2. Chapiter.

The authour sheweth that no secte of suche as the churche taketh for heretikes, can bee the church, forasmuch as the churche was before all them, as the tree frō which all those wythered braunches be fallen.

THat none of all these can bee the churche shall well appere also by another meane. Whither wyll ye saye that the verye churche and congregacion of Christ was before al the churches & cōgregacios of heretikes, or soe church of heretikes before ye church of Christe?

Mary

A Mary ꝓ he there might be some churche of heretikes before the church of Christ. For there might bee some amonge the Jewes before the byrthe of Christe. And suche I suppose were the Saduces that beleued not the resurrecciõn nor the immortalitie of the soule. If we should go ꝓ I to that reckening, we myght fetche the churche of Christ farre aboue, and begin it at Adã. For frõ the fyrste good man to the laste, all shall in conclusyon bee his churche trymphant in heauen. But I speke of Christes churche nowe,
B as of ý congregaciõ ý bering his name, and hauing his right faith, and beyng begonne to be gathered by himselfe and spred abrode by his apostles hath & doth and shal till his comming to the dreadfull dome, continue still in this worlde, whither was this churche before all the churches and congregacions of heretiques, or some one of them before it? Nay quod he I thinke it was before thẽ all. Wherby may we quod I bee sure of that? Mary quod he, for alwayes the heretiques came out of it. That is quod I true. For thei could be none heretiques but by being first therin, and after comming out. And it appeareth by the gospell, in which the good housbande man
Luke.8. C went forth to sow his sede, and whan he had sowed good seede, than the enemye sowed his euyll after, and they grew vp together. It appeareth also by ý wordes of the apostle and holy Euangelist saint John, where he saide of heretikes. *E nobis profecti sunt, sed non erant ex nobis.* Thei be gone he said out of vs, but thei wer none of vs meaning that or euer they professed thẽselfe opẽly for heretiques, ye. being such in dede, sithe the churche of Christe is a people of one faith, these folke that haue another special faith by thẽselfe barying
D and gainsaying the other, be not perfitly of the churche, though they bee for the while in it. So it is now that any member of that body til it be cut of, for fere of corrupcion of the remnant hangeth on it in a maner, and some litle light or life hath by the spirit of god, ý vpholdeth the body of his churche, being euer in case to take occasion of amendement by some bein of that wholsom moisture of gods grace, that specially spredeth about that holy body. But those ý by the profession of heresies and infidelitie, fall of from ý body or for feare of corrupting the rẽnaunt be by curse cast out of the bodye, they playnly dryve vp and wyther away. Oure sauioure sayeth hymselfe, I am sayeth he a very vine, and my father is E a gardiner. I am the vyne and ye bee John.15. the braunches. And euery branche that beareth in me no fruyte, my father taketh it away. And euery braunche that beareth fruite, he purgeth it to make it bring the more fruit. And as the braũch can doo no good beyng taken from the tree, right so cã ye do no good nor serue for nought but for the fyre, excepte ye abide in me. By these wordes of our sauiour and many moe there spokẽ at lẽgth, though it appereth that who so kepe the faith, yet except he work well therwith, god will plucke him out, and whoso by faith abiding in the stocke, doth woorke good workes, the more he doth the more grace and help shal haue of god to grow the better and to doo the more, yet appereth it also, that al the good workes that maye bee done, will not serue if we bee out of the stocke. And out of the stock of the vine be al, that be not graffed in by faith, or fallẽ of by open profession of herely, or cut of and cast out for infidelite. For faith is the gate into gods churche. as misbelief is the gate in to the deuyls churche. For as the Apostle saith. *Accedentem ad deum oportet credere*, a mã cannot come to god without faith. And therfore who so professeth a false belief, let hi be sure ý he is gone out of the gate of godschurch before actual excommunicacion, and fallen of the body of the vineyard. And if thei be secrete, neither professing their heresies nor actually being accursed & cast out thei be in the churche but not perfitly of it. But in suche wise in a maner therof be thei as a dead hand is rather a burthen in the body, thã verely any mẽbre, organe, or instrument thereof. And therefore saith sainct John as I said before, that the heretiques bee gone out of John.2.
H vs, but thei wer not of vs. For if thei had bene of vs thei would haue tarried w̃ vs. Meaning therby not as some wold haue it seme, ý a good man is not of ý church nor in gods fauor while he is good, because he happeth to ware woorse afterward. But he meaneth ý in ý they went they ware from vs, they shewed ý they wer nought in dede while thei wer with vs. And so though thei wer with vs, yet wer thei not of vs. For though heretikes & infidels be among faithful & wel beleuing people, yet bee they perde none of them. And so it appeareth as ye sayd before, ý the church of Christ is before al ý churches of heretiques, and that al congregaciõs of heretikes haue comẽ out of

we must woorke with fayth. F

without faith we cãnot come to god. Hebrues.11. G

the

A the churche of Christe. That is verye true quod he. Well quod I, yf ý be true as it is in dede, than can no secte in Boheme be the right churche. For ý church which we cal the churche that beleueth as we beleue, was ther before thē al. And neuer a church had any church of heretiques yet, but it was builded by oure church to their handes. So that it is euident ý none of all them cā be Christes church, but Christes church must nedes be that church that was before all them and out of which all they haue spronge, and since seuered themself, which is the church that all they denye not, to beleue B against them, the pointes which we beleue and thei reprone.

The. 3. Chapiter.

¶ The messēger moueth that the veri churche peraduenture is not the people that we take for it, but a secret vnknowen sort of suche onely, as bee by god predestinate to be saued. Whereunto the author answereth and declareth that it can not be so.

C Peraduenture quod he there might be saide, that it nedeth not to assigne any place, wher the very churche & true christē congregacion is. But sith euery place is indifferent ther vnto, it may be that al the good men and chosen people of god, that be predestinate to bee saued, in what part soeuer thei be, & howe so euer thei be scattered, here one, & there one, here two and there two, that these be the very church of Christ. And bee in this worlde vnknowen as yet, whyle ý churche doth but wander in the pilgrymage of this shorte life. Mary q I this gere groweth fro worse to worse. And in very dede, yet is this poit their shote anere. For fyrst thei see plainlye ý they must nedes grant, that the very churche cā neither be deceiued in the right faith, D nor mistake holy scripture or misvnderstande it, to the introduccion of infidelitie and false beliefe. And this grounde fynde all the heretiques themself so sure and fast, that thei perceiue well excepte they would openlye and vtterlye denye Christ altogether, it cā not be vnderminned. And sithe they manifestly see that, and as euydentlye see therwith that the churche (whiche is the verye churche in dede) damneth all theyr wayes, whereof sithe the churche can not erre in dyscerning the trouthe, it muste nedes followe that they mistake them selfe al the whole matter, and be quite in a wrong waye, therefore be they driuen to denye for the churche the people that bee knowen for the churche. And go seke another they neyther knowe what nor where, bylde vp in the ayre a churche all so spirituall, that thei leaue therein at length neither god nor good manne. And firste where thei saye that there be none therein, but they that be predestinate to bee saued, if the question were of the churche triumphaunt in heauen, than sayde they well. But we speake of the churche of Christe militaunt here in earth, and therfore goeth their frame F as farre wyde fro the place thei shoulde sette it on, as heauen and earthe stande a sonder. For fyrste woulde I wit if the churche bee none but those that be predestinate, whither all that bene predestinate bee members thereof? Why not quod he. Than quod I, he that is predestinate to bee saued, whither maye he or not bee diuers times a sinner in hys dayes? What if he maye quod he? Maye he not quod I, bee also dyuers tymes in his dayes in a wronge belyefe and false heresye, and after tourne, repent, and amende, and so bee saued at laste as God hath predestynate hym to G bee? What than quod he? Marye q I, for than shall it folowe, that he shall bee a member of the verye churche and so stylle continew, and neuer can be cast out being a stark heretique. Yet quod he, is he al that while a quicke member of the churche, by reason of gods predestinacion, sithe though he bee not sure, yet it is in dede sure, that he is and euer shall bee one of the very churche. It is quod I sure in dede and well knowen, ý he shall so bee. But as sure is it that for the while he is not, except that al thing that euer shall bee, is all ready presente in dede, as it is present to goddes knowledge. And then were saincte Paule as H good, while he was a persecutor, as whā he was apostle. And as verely a member of Christes church or he was borne, as he is nowe in heauen. Well quod he, thoughe that peraduenture all these that be liuing and predestinate to be saued bee not in it, yet may it be that there bee none other in it than predestinates. But it maye bee quod I that as men be chaungeable, he that is predestynate may be many times in his life noughte. And he ý wil at last fal to sin & wretchednes & so finally cast himself awaie, shall

The churche cānot mistake holy scripture

in

A in some time of his life be good, and ther fore for the time in goddes fauour. For god blameth nor hateth no man for that he shall will, but for that malicious wil that he hath or hath had all readye. And thus shall there by this reason bee good men out of Christes church, & noughtie men therin, faithfull men out of it, & heretiques in it, and bothe the one and the other without reson or good cause why.

The. 4. Chapiter.

B ¶ The messenger moueth ý thoughe the churche be not the nomber of folk only predestinate to blisse, yet may it peraduenture be the nomber of good and wel beleuing folk here and there vnknowen, which may be peraduenture those whom we cōdemne for heretiques for holding oppiniō against ymages. Whereof the authour proueth the contrary.

C Wel quod he yet may it be that the verye churche of Christe, is al suche as beleue a right & liue well wherfoeuer they be though the world know them not, and though few of them knew eche other. For god as sait Paul saith, know who be his. And Christ saith, ý against his church the gates of hell shal not preuail, but the gates of hell do preuaile against sinners, And therfore it appereth wel that there can bee no sinners in his churche nor that there bee none of hys Church but good folke. And vnto them our lord is present and kepeth them frō errours, and geueth them right vnderstanding of his holy scriptures. And where thei be forceth not, how few they be together maketh no matter. For our saiior saith, wher so euer be. ii. or. iii. gathered together in my name, there am I also amōg thē. And so is his veri church here and there of onely good men to the worlde vnknowen, and to himselfe wel knowen. And though thei be fewe in cōparison, yet make they about in all the world a good mayny among them. As god said whā the children of Israel wer fallen to Idolatrie and worshipped the ydoll Baal so farrefoorth that it semed all were in the case and men knewe not who wer otherwise, yet said our lord as appeareth in the. xix. chapiter the thirde boke of the kinges. I shal reserue for my selfe. vii. M. that haue not bended theyr knee before Baal. So that where the synagoge and churche was than, it was vnknowen to man, but it was wel knowē to god. And they wer not his church that semed to bee but a companye vngathered that no manne was ware of, nor would haue went. And so may it peraduenture nowe, that the verye churche of Christ is not, nor many dayes hath not bene the people ý semeth to be the church but some good men scattered here & ther vnknowen, till God gather them together and make them knowē, and happely those that beleue against images and whom we now call heretiques. This is quod I, a reason that Luther maketh himself. By whiche he would bryng the very church of Christ out of knowlege, and would put it in doubte whyther the saintes that the church honoreth, were good men or not. And would ý it myght seme peraduenture nay, but ý they were happely not good. But the good men & saintes in dede, were some other whom the world for theyr open lewde liuing reputed for nought. But where he saieth ý the churche or synagoge of the ryght beliefe was than vnknowen. ý is not true. For it was well knowen in Hierusalē & Judea, though it had bene vnknowen who were faithfull in Samaria. And ý scripture also saith not that these vii. M whom he would leue yet in Israell that had not bowed theyr knees before Baal, were secrete and vnknowen, but he sayth only that suche a nomber of suche folk he wold leue. But now for our purpose syth ye will haue the very church a secret vnknowen, not a company & congregacion, but a dispercled noumber of only good men, wil you that those good men which after your rekening make ý very church shal haue the same faith and none other than we haue, which be now reputed for the church, or els a faith and belief different? What if they haue the same ye? Mary quod I than will your new bilded church nothyng helpe youre purpose. But thei shall as fast confirme ý worship of ymages, praying to saites, and seking to pilgrimages as we. And as depely cōdemne for heresy your opinion to the contrarye. That is verye trouth quod he. But it may be that of ý very churche, the fayth and beliefe shall bee, that all thys gere is erronious and as playn ydolatry as was the worshyppyng of Baall. If that were so quod I, than had Christe not kept hym seuen thousande from the worship of Baall, in all the regions that bere the name of Christendom

2. Timo. 2.

Math. 16.

Mat. 18.

A Christendom, except these new folke of Saxony and Bohem whiche your selfe grant to be ý heretikes, as sectes comen out of the church. And more than wonder were it, if all the churche of Christe should be cleane among infidels and heretikes, and no part at al thereof among the great vnchangeable Christen countrees which haue kept their faith in one constant fashion deriued fro the begynnyng. For this am I sure, ý in all those regios as I say, if any haue any such oppinion against ymages and saintes, yet commeth he to the churche among his neighbours, and ther boweth his knees
B to Baall (if the images be Baal) as hys neighbours do: but go to, let vs forth on a litle further. And supposing that there wer some such secrete good folke, as ye speake of, that had the right beleue, and wer ý right churche, and that they were so dispersed a sonder, that they were to ý world vnknowen, hath not god sette an order in his church that som shal preche to the remnaunt for exortacion of good liuing, and informacion, wherein good liuig stãdeth, as in faith & good works? Yes q̃ he. Had not Christe q̃ I sacramẽtes also to be ministred in his church by the prieskes of thesame? Yes q̃ he.

Nowe q̃ I, if some infidels, as Turkes,
C or Saralins hauing heard of Christes name, did long to knowe his scripture & his faith, & hearyng that ther wer many people that professed themself for christẽ men, hole nacions, but thei wer al open ydolaters and in a misbelief, and clereli deceiued and begiled, and that specially by the clergy that techeth them: howbeit, there wer yet a few good folk & ryght beleuig, which wer not deceiued, which amõg them be the very true church, but who they bee, or where they bee, or how to ask for them, or if he happen on them, yet wherby to knowe them, that can no man tell hym, howe shoulde these infy-
D dels come to the faith, and of whome shoulde they heare it? For they beyng warned before that there were manye sectes of heretyques, and but one trewe churche, woulde neuer bee so madde to learne of them that they myghte wene wer wrong. And howe should thei now come to the right, whan the true church is vnknowen? They mighte quod he take the scripture. Thei should quod I, bee therein lyke to Enuchus that could
Actes.8. not vnderstande without a reader. And than yf they tooke a wronge reader of a wronge churche, all were marred. And also they would not trust the scriptures
G nor reken that thei had the right bookes of scripture amonge false sectes, but woulde looke to receiue the true scripture of the right and true churche. And thus here it appeareth yf it were thus, God hadde lefte none ordinarye waye for his ghospell and fayth to be taught. But lette goe these infidels and speake of our selfe, whiche are (if this way wer trewe) as false as they. Where be than ý preachers of this very church ý should preache and teache vs better? For it is no churche if it haue no preachers. It hath quod he some that preach somtime, but ye will not suffer them, ye punyshe
F them and burne them. Nay quod I, they bee wiser than so, they will not be burned for vs, for they wil rather swere on a booke that they neuer sayde so, or elles that they will no more say so. And in this appeareth that there is no suche secrete vnknowen church of Christ, that hauyng suche oppinions is the verye churche. For the verye churche hath euer had some that hath abidden by theyr faith and theyr preaching, and woulde neuer goo back with goddes woorde to dye therefore. And this churche that we
G be of, that take your churche for heretiques haue hadde many suche martirs therin, that beleued as we dõo against your oppinions, as appeareth by the histories & by many of their bokes, where as of your secrete churche I neuer yet found or heard of any one in al my life, but he wold forswere your faith to saue his lyfe. Where bee also your prieskes and your bishops? For suche must they haue if thei be the churche of Christe.

Now such can your church haue none, ye be ech to other vnknowẽ. And though some of such churches haue a false oppinõ that euery man is a prieste and euery woman to, yet this heresy false as it is, wil not serue this vnknowẽ church. For
H ý holders of ý oppinõ do put, ý no man maye for all ý take vpon him to preache or medle as prieste, til he be chosen by the cõgregaciõ. And where can ý be in this imaginary church, of which no mã knoweth other? And wheras our lord saith: wherfoeuer be. ii. or. iii. gathered together i my name, ther am I w̃ thẽ, he spake
Math.18. not as though euerye. ii. or. iii. whatsoeuer thei wer shold make his church, but ý wherfoeuer there came togither. ii. or. iii. i his name, ý be of his church ther is he w̃ thẽ. And so doth ý one text of scripture in the ghospel plainlye declare, as

A it is well set out and opened by the holy doctour, and glorious martir saint Cipzian, in his epistle against Nouacian. ¶ Than our sauiour saith also that he which would not amende by his faulte shewed him before two or thzee witnes, should be cōplayned vpō vnto ȳ church, did he meane a secrete church, which no man wist where to finde. Now whā the apostle wzziteth vnto the Cozinthians, that rather than thei shoulde pleate and strive in the law before the infidels, thei should set such as were in the church litle set by, to be iudges in their tempozall suites: of what church did he speake, of such one as no man wist wher to seke it. This vnknowen churche which they be drieuen to seke that be loth to know the church wil neuer serue. But the church of Chzist is a church wel knowen. And his pleasure was to haue it knowē and not hid. And it is builded vpō so high an hyll of that holye stone, I meane vpon Chzistke himselfe, that it cannot be hid. *Non potest abscondi ciuitas supra montem posita*. The citie cannot be hid that is set on an hyll. And he would haue his faith diuulged & spred abzode openly, not alway whispered in hukermoker. And therefore he bounde his preachers to stande thereby and not to reuoke his word for no pain. For he said that he did not light the candle to put it and hyde it vnder a bushell, for so would no mā do, but he had kindled a fire which he would not should lye and smolder as coles doth in quenche, but he would it should burne and geue light. And therfore foly were it to say ȳ Chzist whiche would haue his churche spred thzough the wozlde, and euerye wher gathered in company, wold haue it turned to a secrete vnknowen syngle sort, seuered a sunder & scattered aboute in cozners, vnknowen to all the wozld, and to themself to. Nowe wher they say that there is none of the church but onely those, that be good folke, this woulde make the church clerely vnknowē, wer the people neuer so many and the place neuer so large. For who can know of ȳ multitude who be good in dede & who be nought, sith the bad may sodeinly be mēded vnware to the wozlde, and the good as sodeinly waren wozse. Now lay thei for the proke of the oppinion the wozdes of Chzist which Luther allegeth also for ȳ same entēt in his boke ȳ he made against *Ambrosius Catherina*, that is to wit ȳ wozdes wherein our lozde said vnto saincte Peter, ȳ against his church the gates of hel shold not preuail, by which wozdes Luther doth (as he thinketh and saith himself, meruetlous gayly prone, that there can be no man of the church but he that sinneth not. For this argument he maketh. Chzistke saith that the gates of hell shall not preuayle against the churche, but the gates of hell is nothing but the deuill, and he preuaileth against al folk that sinne, ergo no folke that sinne be ȳ church. And by this wozshipfull argument it is a wozlde to see what bosse the mad man maketh, that he hath clerelye proued that the churche is not these people whom we take for the churche, because thei be sinners, which argumente hath so many folies and fautes therein, and so muche inconuenience and absurdite folowyng therupon, that it is moze than meruaile that a child of one wekes study in sophistrie could for shame find in his heart to bzing it in place for anye earnest argument. For firste if men denye him that the gates of hell do in that place signifie the deuill, then he can neuer prone it, & than is al his reson wiped quite awai. Now do ther in dede diuers old cōmentozs and doctozs of ȳ churche take i that place for the gates of hell, the great tirauntes and heretikes by whose persecutions and heresies (as it were by ii. gates many a man hath gone into hel & our sauior promiseth in the place, that neither of those. ii. gates, that is to wyt, neither painim, tirant, noz chzistened heretike shold preuaile against ȳ churche. For though thei haue destroied & shal destroy many of ȳ church, yet shal thei not be able to distroy ȳ church, but ȳ church shal stād & be by god preserued in despite of al their teth. And thus ye se how sone Luthers special argumētes were ouerthzowē wō trouth. But if a man woulde grāt him ȳ the gates of hel did here signifie the deuill yet sholde we not nede to grāt hi ȳ the deuil, as he is called of god, by ȳ name of ȳ gates (which is not done for nought) doth preuail against euerī mā ȳ sinneth. For he ȳ sineth & riseth again out of sin (& so commeth wōin ȳ gates, as yet ȳ gates cānot hold hī, but ȳ he bzeketh out of ȳ gates) ȳ gates do not preuail against him, but he preuaileth against ȳ gates. And thus is Luthers wyse argumēt, which he groūdeth vpō ȳ text anopded again. It appereth also ȳ it is a very frātike argumēt. For wher he saith, ȳ against ȳ church of Chzist, ȳ gates of hel preuail not, but thei preuail against our church, ȳ is to wit, all the chzistē people whom

Math.18.

1.Cozinth.6.

The churche cānot be hyd.

Math.5.

Luke.11.

Math.16.

Luthers foolishe argumēt.

The gates of hell.

A whō we cal ȳ church, vnder obedīēce of the Pope, ergo thei be not of the church! this argument proueth that there is in erth no chirch at all. For what chyrche cā he finde or ymagin in earth that doth not synne, & specially if that were true that him selfe saieth amonge hys other heresies where he holdeth stifly that al the good workes of good men be sinnes and that men sinne in that they do good. And thus he would both haue ȳ chyrch to be onely a secrete vnknowen sorte of folke that do not sinne, and yet he confesseth ȳ there be none suche. And so as he goth aboute to take away the verye B chyrch that is wel knowen, making as though he wold find out a better: he leueth in conclusion no chyrch at al. And to such a fond & false ende must they nedes bring it all, that will make it a nōber of onely such as be good mē & do not sinne. For if he shoulde bee in it alway whan he is out of sinne, & out of it whā he is in sinne, than should a mā peradventure be in it in the morning & out of it at none and in againe at night. So ȳ who were in it, or whā, or where it wer who coulde tell? And of ȳ vncertayntye must nedes growe all such inconuenyences and contradicciō vnto scripture, C as is before rehersed. The chyrch therefore must nedes bee the comen knowen multitude of christen men good and bad togither, while ȳ church is here in erth. For thys nette of Christe hath for the while good fishes & bad. And this field of Christ beareth for the while good corne and cocle, till it shall at the day of dome be purified, & all the bad cast out, & the onely good remaine. And therfore whā the apostle wrote vnto the Corinthies 1.cor.5. of him that had lyen with his mother in law, he commaunded that he should be seperate out of the church. Which he D neuer was after the deede done, till the excommunycacion denoūced, but was still for all hys synne one of the church, though he was nought & out of goddes Iohn.13. fauour. Christ him selfe said to his apostels, now be you clene but not all, & yet were thei all of hys chirch. Albeit that one of thē was as our sauiour said him selfe a deuill. Dyd I not (saied he) chose Iohn.6. twelue of you and one of you is a deuil? And if there wer none of the church but good men as longe as they were good thā had saint Peter ben ones no part of the church after that christ had appointed him for chief. ¶ But our lord in this his misticall body of his church, carryed his membres, some sicke, some hole, & al E syckelye. For they be not for euery sin clene cast of frō the body, but if thei bee fore fere of infecciō cut of, or els willingly do departe & seperate thē selfe as do these heretikes, that eyther refuse the church wilfully thē selfe, or els for their obstinacy be put out. For til their stubburne hartes do shew them incurable, that body bereth thē yet about sicke and noughty & cay colde as thei be, to proue whyther the warmnes of grace going thorough thys whole misticall bodye of christes church might get yet and kepe F some lyfe in them. But whan the tyme shall come that thys churche shall hole chaunge her place and haue heauen for her dwelling in stede of earth, after the finall iudgement pronounced and giuē whā god shall wō his spouse this church of christ enter into the plesant wedding chambre to the bed of eternall rest, than shall al these scalde & scabbed peces scale clene of, & the hole body of christes holy church remaine pure, clene & glorious wout wem, wrincle or spot, which is (& for the whyle I wene wil be, as long as G the is here) as scabbed as euer was Iob, & yet her louyng spouse leueth her not, but continually goeth aboute by many maner medycynes, some bytter, some swete, some easy, some greuous, some plesant, some painfull to cure her.

What the church is.

¶ The.v. chapiter.

The author sheweth & cōcludeth that this comon knowē multitude of cristen nacions not cut of nor fallē of by heresyes be the very church of Christ good men and bad togyther.

AND finally to put out of question which is christes very church, sith it is agreed betwene vs and graunted thorow christendome & a conclusiō very true, ȳ by the church we know the scripture, which church is H that by which ye knowe the scripture. Is it not this cōpany & congregaciō of al these nacions, ȳ without faccyōs taken, & precyson from the remenant, professe the name and faith of christ? By this church know we the scripture, and this is ȳ very church, & thys hath bego at christ, & hath had hym for theyr hed & sait Peter his vicar after him ȳ hed vnder him, & alway since, ȳ successours of hī cōtinually & haue had hys holy faith & his blessed sacramētes & his holy scriptures deliuered, kept, & cōserued therin by god & his holy spirite. And albeit sōe nacions fal awāy, yet likewise as how

By the church we know the scriptures.

Peter christes vicar.

A many boughes so euer fal from the tree, though thei fall moze thã be left theron, yet thei make no doute which is ý very tree, although eche of them were plãted again in another place & grew to a greter thã ý stock he came fyrst of, right so while we se & well know ý all the cõpanies & sectes of heretikes & scismatikes how gret so euer thei grow, came out of this chnrch ý I spake of, we know euermoze ý the heretikes be they that bee seuered, & the churchthe stock ý al thei cãe out of. And syth ý onely the church of chzist is the vine ý chzist spake of in the gospel, which he taketh foz his body mis
B ticall, and that euery bzaunche seuered frõ ý tre, leseth his iuely nourishing, we must nedes well know that all these bzaunches of heritikes fallen from the church, the vine of Chzistes mistical body, seme thei neuer so freshe & grene, bee yet in dede but witherlinges ý wyther, & shal dzye vp, able to serue foz nothing, but foz the fyze.

The. vi. chapiter.

¶ The messenger moueth, that sith ý church is thys knowen multitude of good men & bad togither, of whom no man knoweth which bee the one sozt & which be ý other, that it maye be per-
C aduenture that the good sozte of the church be thei that beleue the wozship of ymages to be ydolatry, & ý bad sozt thei that beleue the cõtrary, which obtecciõ ý authoz doth answere & cõfute.

Yan I had said: ¶ Sir quod he, ye haue in good faith fully satisfyed me concerning the sure & vndowted knowlege of ý very church here in earthe. But yet thinketh me ý one littel doubte remayneth foz our principall matter.

¶ What is that quod I? ¶ Mary syz quod he it is this, that though ý very fayth be
D in the church, & the church can not erre therein, noz the church can not be deceiued against ý faith, in any terte of scripture, noz no scripture is there (ý beyng wel vnderstanden) doth oz can do skãde against ý faith of ý church, & that also ý church is none other, but as ye sai, & as I se it is in dede, but this hole comẽ cõgregaciõ of chzistẽ peple good & bad, not rating them self foz frowardnes noz besepeyng put out foz their obstinate fautes, yet syth it appereth wel, ý though ý right faith be in the church, it is not in euery man of the churche. And though the church can not erre in such thinges yet some of ý church may. Now semeth it to some men, that it may well peradventure happen, that the good men wel beleuing & vndeceiued, be those that beleue the wozship of ymages & pzaying to saites to be ydolatry. And on ý other side, ý those which beleue the cõtrary be ý part of ý church, ý be ý naughty men, misbeleuers & foule deceiued. That wer a very strange wozk quod I. Ye would right nowe quod I, that in the churche we shoulde thinke ý there were none other but good men. Will ye nowe agre that there be therin some good men?

¶ Ye quod he that must nedes be. ¶ Well quod I, whither be they good men that F do nought? ¶ Nay quod he. ¶ Do they well quod I, that do ydolatry in deede, though it be agaynst their hartes? Nay quod he. But all quod I, come to church and wozship ymages, & al pzay to saintes. Wherfoze if that be ydolatry, than the church of chzist is all nought. Foz thus do they that be of the contrary side foz fere of beyng perceiued. Also if one do well oz pzeche wel, is he a good man if he deny it foz fere? ¶ Nay quod he. ¶ But nowe quod I, al that are of that sozte if they happen to aduenture somewhat & be spyed, they wyll fyrst pariure them self, & after abiure theyz opinion, so that if their opinion were good, yet G were them self nought. ¶ But yet quod he, if their opinions be good, than be not they so euyll in hyding theyz ententes foz fere, as they that against their true opinions doo & pzeach openly & pursue them foz saying trouth. As some ý fainted and fled foz martirdom, were not so euyll as they that pursued thẽ. ¶ Very trouth quod I, if these mens opinions wer true. But yet though thei wer true yet were these mẽ nought. And ý other wozse quod he. ¶ That is wel said quod I, but they & the other be the hole church. And H if yours be nought as ye grant & must nedes grãt thei be, if ý other wer nought to, than were in the church none good. But your self deny not but in ý church it must nedes be, that ther be some good. And there can be none, but eyther your parte oz the other. Ergo syth yours bee nought, those that be good must needes be the other. But none of those that be of the other coulde be good men, if they were ydolaters & pursued your part foz saying the trouth, and compelled them to deny the trouth ergo the other parte be not ydolaters, noz ý opinion of your parte, foz which they pursue your part be not trew. And thus it appereth as me

What the church is.

semeth,

A semeth, that good men of the church be against you, & the noughty with you.

¶ The.vii.chapiter.

¶ The author somwhat doth corrobozat the truth against the heresyes holding against ymages, & recappytelyng somwhat briefly what hath ben proued, so fynysheth & endeth ý prose of hys parte.

AND yet speake I nothing of all the good men, and wel knowen for good men, & holy mē, & now
B saintes in heuen ý haue condēned your parte, & written agaynst you. And your part therfore be so fore agaiñst saintes againe, bicause they se their heresies impugned & cōdempned by their holy writinges. Nor besides this haue I nothing spoken of the generall counsails, condempning your parte by good & substancial aucthozite, cōprobate and corroborate by ý whole body of christēdom, led therunto both long before, and euer synce, thozow the secret operacyō of the holy gost, who could neuer suffre (as your self agreeth, ý church of christ to continue so whole, & so long in so dānable ydolatry, as this wer if it wer su-
C pficiō, & not a part of very fayth, & true deuout religion. Wherfore syth I haue pued you, ý the church cā not erre in so great a point, nor agaynst ý right faith mistake the sentence of holy scripture, & also that these people that beleue ymages to be worshipped be the very church of christ, and that of his church the good and bad both doth vse it, & the good men doth it truly, and the bad falsely, & that all the good men of olde hath alowed & vsed this way, & cōdempned thecōtrary, which hath also bene declared for false heresye by the whole generall coūsayle
D of christendome, approued by ý fayth & custome of al the peple, beside growing into such consent by gods holy spyrite ý gouerneth hys church: I neuer nede to go further or touch your textes or argumentes to the contrary. For this syde thus proued good, it must nedes folowe that the other side is nought: excepte ye haue against thys any further thyng to say. Which if ye haue, neuer let to bring it forth. For I will for none hast leue any corner of the matter vnrāsaked, as farre as we can any doubte find therin. In good faith syr qy he, I am in this mater euen at the harde wall, & se not how to go further. Now I assure you qy I, yf I could my self fynd any further obiecciō, I wold not faile to bring it in. But in good fayth I suppose we be wa-
E ded in this matter as far as we cā both finde. And I am sure as far as euer Luther foūde, or any ý euer I haue sene, ý any thing haue said, or writtē on ý side.

¶ The.viii.chapter.

¶ The authour entreth the answer to the obieccions ý had ben before laid by the messenger, against the worship of ymages, & prayeng to saintes, & going on pilgrimages. And fyrst he answereth in thys chappytre, the obieccions made against prayeng to saintes.

NOwe therfore as I say, further
F nede I not to go. But yet wil I sōwhat touch the things which as ye say do moue many men to take the worship of ymages for ydolatry. And it so takē & theyr opinion so reputed, they reken it a ground to thinke ý miracles done at the ymages, or by inuocacions of saintes to be illusions of the deuil. And first will we begin at the saintes them self. And by the way shall we speke of their relikes, ymages, & pilgrymages, as there shall occasiō rise in our mater. And for ý first in good faith sauing ý the bokes, & writinges of holy doctours cōdempne these mes heresies,
G the displeasure & anger whereof setteth thē on a fyre to study for the minishing of theyr estimaciō that so stāde in theyr light, els would I much wonder, what these heretikes meane to impugne the worship of saintes & forbid vs to pray to them. And albeit I nowe se the cause of their malice, yet cā I not much the lesse meruaile of their madnes, ý shew their euyl wil so opēly, that thei neither haue reāsō, nor good colour to cloke or couer it with. Fyrst thei put in doute whither saits cā heare vs. And yf thei do, yet whi ther they cā helpe vs. And finally if thei
H could, yet wold they we should thynk it foli to desire thē: because god cā do it bet ter & wil do it soner hym self thē they al. Now wher thei dout whither saits here vs, I meruaile wher of ý doute ariseth, but if thei thik thē dead, as wel in soule as body. For if theyr holy soules lyue, there wil no wise mā wene thē worse, & of lesse loue & charite to mē ý nede their helpe, whā thei be now in heuē, thā thei had whē they wer here in erth. For al ý while wer thei neuer so good, yet ý best was worse thā ý worst is now. As our sauiour said by sait John the babtist, ý Mat.xi.
ther was no womās sōne gretter thā he, yet the lest ý was al redy in heuē, was his better. We se ý the nerer that folke

A draw thitherwarde, ý more good minde here they to men here. And ther fore sait Stephen whan he saw heauen open for him, he began to praye for thē ý malicyously kylled him. And thinke we than that being in heuen, he wyl not vouchesaufe to pray for thē ý deuoutly honour him, but hath lesse loue & charite beyng there, thē he had going thitherwarde: if the rich mā that lay in hell, had yet not onely for fere of encreace of hys owne punishmēt, by his brothers dampnaciō growing of his euil ensample in sinne, but also of carnall loue & fleshly fauour towardes his kin) which fleshlye affecyon beyng wout grace or vertue may paduēture stāde wō ý state of dāpnat yō) B had a cure & care of hys sine bretherne were it likely ý saintes thā being so full of blessyd charite in heuen, wil nothing care for they bretherne in christ, whōe they se here in this wretched worlde? Now if ther be no dout (as I trow none there is) but they holy soules bee alive thei wold we did wel. And as litel doute but ý thei be alive, if god be their God, as he is in dede, & he not the god of dead men but of liuing, as our sauiour saith C in the gospell, for all men lyue still and euer shal, ý he hath taken to him & ones gyuen lyfe vnto, there resteth than no further to se but whither they can do vs any good or no eyther for ý they cā not heare vs, or for ý they can not helpe vs. And first I meruaile much if thei think they cā not help vs. For whyle thei wer here thei couldе, as appereth in ý actes of the apostles. And sith imbecyllite, & lacke of powe is here parte of our misery & strength, & plēty of power, is one great part of welth, thei were well forthered in ý point, if thei were nowe lesse able to do good to thē whom thei fayne wold were holpen, thā they wer before. For whither thei be able there, to doo it D thē selfe, or onely by their intercessyon made vnto god, this maketh no force for our matter, so that by their meanes, the one way or ý other, we take help by our deuociō toward thē, & praier made vnto thē. I thinke ye he, thei may do in deede much more than thei might both by power & prayer. But it is harde so what to thinke, that thei should heare vs and se vs, and specially in so mani places at ones. For though thei be not cyrcūscribed in place, for lack of bodily dymēciō & measuring, yet are they & angels also diffinitiuely so placed where thei be for the time, ý thei be not at one time in diuers places at ones as sayntes bee in E sundry countryes, & very farre a sundre called vpō at ones. Ye meruaile ye I, & thinke it harde to be beleued, ý saintes heare vs. And I (whyle we se, ý the thinges we pray for, we obtaine) meruayle much more how men cā doute whither ý prayers be harde or not. Whā saintes were in this worlde at liberte & myght walke ý worlde aboute, wene we ý in heauen thei stande tied to a post? But ý wonder is howe they may se & heare in sundrye places at ones. If we. ii. could no more but fele, & neither se nor heare, we would as wel wōder, or if we could F not wōder therof, because we could not heare therof, yet should we be far from any conceyuing in our minde, ý it were possible for mā to se or heare further thā he can fele. For we that proue it, & do se & heare in dede, cā not yet se ý cause, nor in no wise cease to wonder by what reson & meane it may be, ý I should se two churches or two townes, eche of them two a mile a sonder, & bothe twayne as far fro me as eche of them frō other, & measure so great quantities wō so small a measure, as is the little apple of mine eye. And of hearing many mens voices or any mans wordes, cōming at ones into many mennes eares, stādīng far a G sonder, hath lyke difficulte to conceiue. And whan al the reasōs he made either of beames sent out from our eyen to the thinges ý we behold, or the figure of the thinges sene, multiplyed in the ayre frō the thyng to our eie, or of the ayre strikē wō the breth of the spiker, & equally rolling forth in rondels to the eares of the hearers, whā al the reasons be hard, yet shal we rather delite to serch thā be able to find any thing in these matters, that were able to make vs perceiue it. Now whan we may with our fleshly eye and eare in this grose body se & heare thigs H far distaunt frō vs, & frō sondry places far distaunt a sonder, meruayle we so much, ý blessed aungels & holy soules beyng mere spirituall substaunces, vncharged of all bourdynous flesche and bones, may in doyng the same, as farre passe & excede vs & our powers natural, as ý lyuely soule self excedeth our deadly body, nor cā not beleue they heare vs, though we find they helpe vs, but if we perceiued bi what meanes thei do it, as whither thei se and heare vs comming hither to vs, or our voice cōming hens to thē, or whither god heare & se all, and shew it thē, or whither thei beholde it in

Mar. 12. whether saintes can help vs.

whether saintes heare vs.

The meanes how saintes do heare vs.

him

A hym, as one doth in a boke ý thing ý he redeth, or whither god by soe other way doth otter it vnto them, as one dothe in speking, except we mai know the meanes, we wyll not els beleue the matter? As wise as were he ý would not beleue he can se, because he cã not perceiue by what meane he may se. Yet se I ye he no cause or nede why we shold pray to thẽ, sith god cã as wel & wil as gladly, both heare vs & help vs, as any sait in heaue. What nede you ye I to pray ani phisiciã to helpe your feuer, or pray & pay any
B surgeã to hele your sore lege, sith god cã heare you & helpe you both, as wel as ý best, & loueth you better & cã do it sooner, & may a forth his plaisters better chepe, & giue you more for your word thã they for your mony? ¶ But this is hys pleasure ye he, that I shall be holpen by the meane of theym as hys instrumentes, though in dede al this he doth hym self, sith he gyueth the nature to the thinges that thei do it with. So hath it quod I, pleased god in like wise, ý we shal aske help of hys holy saintes, & pray for help to them. For that is not a makinge of them equall vnto god him selfe, though they doo it by hys will & power, or he at
C theyr intercession. Though god wil (as reason is) be chief & haue no matche, yet forbedeth he not one man to praye for help of another. And though the father hath gyuen all the Judgement to hys
Math. 19. sõne, yet doth he delite to haue his holy saites pteners of that honoure, & at the daye of Jugement to haue theym syt w̃ him. Was Helyseus made egall to god bycause the widowe prayed hym to re-
1. Reg. 4. uiue her dead sonne? Were the apostles egall to Christe because that they were prayed vnto for helpe after hys death & in his life also? And many thinges dyd they at folkes prayers. And sometime
D they were praied vnto, & assayed it also,
Mark. 9. and yet could not do it, but the partyes were faine to go fro thẽ to their maister therfore. And yet was he content ý thei were praied vnto. And for proofe thereof suffred thẽ at mens deuoute instance & praier, to do many myracles. And somtime wer thei praied to be intercessours to their maister. As where thei came to christ & sayd, *Dimitte illam quia clamat post nos*,
Mat. 15. dispatche this woman for thee cryeth vpõ vs. And thinke you than, ý he being content & giuing men occasion to pray to theim whyle they were wyth hym in earth, he wyl be angry if we do them as much worship whã thei be with him in heuen? Nay, but I think on ý other side sith his plesure is to haue his saites had in honour & prayed vnto, ý they may be for vs intercessours to his high maiesty wherunto ere we presume to approche, it becommeth vs & well behoueth vs to make frẽdes of such as he hath in fauor. he will disdayne ones to loke on vs, yf we be so presumptuous & malapert fe- E lowes, ý vpon bouldnes of familiarite w̃ him self, we disdaine to make our intercessours his especial beloued frẽdes. And where sait Poule exhorteth vs ech to pray for other, & we be glad to thinke it wel done to pray euery poore man to praye for vs, thoulde we thinke it euill F done to pray holy saintes in heuen to ý same? ¶ Why ye he, by that reason I myght pray not only to saites, but also to euery other dead man. So may ye ye I, with good reason, if ye se none other likelihed but ý he died a good man. And so finde we (as I remembre) in the dyaloges of sainct Gregory, that one had helpe by praier made vnto an holy man late deceaced which was him self yet in purgatory. So liked it our lord, to let ý worlde knowe, ý he was in his speciall fauour, though he were yet in paine of his purgacion. For our lord loued him
Note G neuer the lesse, though he left not for hi the order of his mercifull Justice. And therfore let no man take his trouble or sycknes as a token of goddes hatered, but if he fele him self grudge and be im- Holy sicknes
pacient and euill content w̃ it. For thã is a token of
is it a token of wrath & vengeance, and wrath & vengeance,
is to the sufferer as fruteleſse as paiful. is to the sufferer as fruteleſse as paiful.
And in effect nothing els but the begin- And in effect nothing els but the begin-
ning of his hell euen here. But on the ning of his hell euen here.
other side if he take it paciently, it pur- other side if he take it paciently, it pur-
geth, if gladly, it greatly meriteth, and geth, if gladly, it greatly meriteth, and
glad may he be ý is with mekenes, glad glad may he be ý is with mekenes, glad
of goddis punithement. Saint Austine of goddis punithement. Saint Austine
as is written by possidonius lieng sore as is written by possidonius lieng sore
sicke him self of an ares, cured another sicke him self of an ares, cured another
w̃ his prayour, & yet he dyed of his sye- w̃ his prayour, & yet he dyed of his sye-
nesse hym selfe. Wherein there was to nesse hym selfe. Wherein there was to
hym more mercy & fauour shewed, thã hym more mercy & fauour shewed, thã
if him selfe had ben cured to. For nowe if him selfe had ben cured to. For nowe
in stede of helth he had heuen, where he in stede of helth he had heuen, where he
should neuer more be sick again. Mary should neuer more be sick again. Mary
ye he but I haue euer herde it sayd, that ye he but I haue euer herde it sayd, that
we should not pray to any dead mã but we should not pray to any dead mã but
with this condiciõ, if thou be a sait, thã with this condiciõ, if thou be a sait, thã
pray for me. Whi so ye I, more thã praie- pray for me. Whi so ye I, more thã praie-
nge to a quicke man, where I am not nge to a quicke man, where I am not
boude to say if thou be a good man pray boude to say if thou be a good man pray
for me. But sith I may reasonably thik for me. But sith I may reasonably thik
him good, while I knowe hym not the him good, while I knowe hym not the
cõtrary, so may I thik him that is dead. cõtrary, so may I thik him that is dead.
Why ye he, wherof serueth canonising Why ye he, wherof serueth canonising

A than? If this be trew I am neuer auised to be canonised while I lyue. Ye do the better q̃ I, nor seuen yere after neither, For it would be but a busynes for you. But why be they than canonised q̃ he? Those q̃ I ý be not canonised, ye may for the more parte bothe pray for them & pray to thē. As ye may for & to thē that bene yet alyue. But one ý is canonised ye may pray to him to pray for you, but ye may not pray for hym. For as I remember, saiť Austine saith, that he that praieth for a martyr doth ý martyr iniury. And of euery man ye may truste well and be seldome certaine, but of the B canonised ye may reken you sure.

Pray to those that be canonised.

¶ The.ix.chapiter.

¶ The messenger yet agayne obiecteth agaiſt relikes. And putteth great doute in canonising. Whereunto the author maketh aunswere.

EOwe cā I q̃ he, be sure therof. May ý taking vp of a mannes bones, & setting hys carcas in a gay shrine, & than kissing his bare scalpe, make a mā a saint? And yet are there some vnshrined, for no man woteth where thei lye. And some ý men doute whither euer they had any bodye C at all or not. But mary, to recōpence ý withall, there be some againe that haue two bodies, to lend one to some good fellow that lacketh. For as I sayd before, some one body lyeth hole in two places far a sonder, or els the mōkys of the one be begyled. For both ý places plaily affirme ý it lieth ther. And at either place they shew ý shrine. And in ý shrine they shewe a body, which thei say is the bodi & boldly bide therby ý it is it, alledging old writing & miracles also for ý prose. Now must we confesse, that either myracles at ý one place be false or done by D the deuill, or elles that the same saiť had two bodies in dede. And thā wer that in my minde as great a myracle as ý greteſt of them all. And therfore is it likely some where a bone worshipped for a relike of some holy saint, that was peradventure a bone (as Chaucer saith) of sōe holy Jewes shepe. Our sauiour also semeth in the gospel to blame & reproue ý pharisies, for making freshe the sepulcres of holy pphetes, & making shrines of their graues. Whereby it appereth ý he woulde not haue ý dead bodies worshipped & set in gay golden shrines. And yet besides thys ye shall finde many mo worshipped I wene than shrined, mani shrined ý ye find not canonised, though ye seeke vp al the regyſtres in Rome. E And whan they be shrined and canonised to, yet sith the church in the canonisacion vseth a meane that maye begyle them, for they stande to the recorde of men both of theyr lyues & of their miracles, which men may peraduēture lye, why may it not than be, that the church be deceiued in the canonisation. And ý they may for lack of true knowlege beleuinge vntrew mē, canonise for saites such folke sometime as be suil far there from. I dare not saye so muche as sayth A sayeng of sayntt Auſtyn. For he letteth not to saye saint Austyn. plainly ý many bodyes bee worshipped F for saintes here in earth, whose soules be buryed in hel. Ye haue q̃ I, said many thinges very stoutely. But yet let vs firſt cōsider wherunto altogither wayeth. For it stretcheth no further if it were al trewe, but that we might be deceiued in some, that we should take for saintes. And it neither proueth ý there be no saintes which I wote wel no wise man wyll saye, nor that if any be, they shoulde not bee worshipped nor praied vnto. Except ye wold say, ý if we might by possibilite missetake some, therefore we should worship none. And thā shold you by that reason neuer take any phi- G sicyan, sith he might happē vpō a dogge leche, for lack of knowledge of the conning. For in recordes of men ye might be as wel deceyued there, as here. Now suppose than firſt, that of saintes & of relikes, some were trewe & some were false, yet the worship that ye would we should do to them al, should be bycause (that standinge as they do vnknowen & vndiscerned) ye rekened thē all trewe & all for gods well beloued seruauntes. For if ye knewe of them whiche were trewe & which false, thā would ye worshippe the trewe, & trede the false vnder fote. That is no doute quod he. Than q̃ H I, if we were begyled in some, I se no great parel growe toward vs thereby. For if ther came a great many of ý kinges frendes in to your countre, and ye for his sake made thē all great chere, if there came amonge them vnware to you some spies that were hys mortall enemies, wering his badge, & seming to you, & so reported, as hys familier frendes, whither would he blame you for ý good chere ye made hys enemyes, or thāke you for ý good chere ye made his frēdes. He would I think q̃ he, thanke me for ý good intreting of thē both, sith both semed good to me, & both had of me their chere, but for thei semed his frēdes

Mat.23.

and

A and for his sake. Ye say ye I, good reso. But I put case now ý ye had an inke-ling or els a playne warning, ý some of thē were hys enemies ý semed hys best frendes, but which thei were no man cā tel you, what would you now do, make them all there, & honorablye entreate theim al, or els shewing thē ý ye heare say plainly that some of thē be nought, therfore byd theim be walking al with sorowe? Nay quod he no doute were it, but that I shoulde loke for thanke yf I cherished hys enemies for hys frendys, rather then despitefully to handell hys B frendes for his enemies. Very well ye I. And this were trew although ye had warning that some of thē were his enemies. But what thanke would ye than desyre if ye should shake of both, where ye had no such warning at al, but wold say that ye durst not make any of them there, because ye thought that peradue-ture it might be, that some were worse than thei were taken for? For in such case bee you here, ye knowe not that any man worshipped for a sait is none, but onely ye thinke that ye bee not sure whether al be or some not. Yes quod he saint Austine as I tolde you gyueth me warning, that many be none. Ye be ye I, deceiued therin as I shall tell you C after. But in the meane whyle, marke me wel this, and let it stande, for a sure grounde, that all your obiecciō if it wer trew, serueth not against worship-ping of saintes or sayntes relikes, but agaynste the worshipping of suche as were no sayntes, nor no saites relikes. And that after it were proued, and now thys thinge that is in question first cō-fessed & agreed betwene vs for a thynge nothing able to hurt our principal mat-ter, let vs go further therein and serche D wherher we fynde anye suche cause of doute in any, or haue good cause to re-ken our selfe sure that all be sayntes in dede, whom the church of christ hath in honour & veneracion for sayntes. First as for the authoryte that ye alledge of saint Austine, I haue herde it often al-leged in like wise for the same purpose. But surely thei that so take sait Austin ben foule deceiued. I durst be boulde to say ý saint Austin did neuer write such wordes, but it is a worde ronne in ma-ny mēs mouthes, begōne bi mistaking, & beleued wout examinacion. For sure-ly the wordes wherof they toke the oc-casiō which he writeth in the first boke *de ciuitate dei*, & repeteth againe in his boke of that cure and care that men shoulde E haue for theym ý be dead, those wordes I say go farre wyde from al suche pur-pose. For there he speaketh onely of costely burieng, & making of sūptuous sepulchres, & doing ý dead corps of rich mē worldly worship in ý caryeng forth & entring of the body, as it plainly & eup-dently appereth by the matter that he writeth of. And surely sith our lord ne-uer would among his chosen peple giue the glory of hys name to a notter, nor neuer to suffre ydōlatry among the Je-wes, but ý either he forthwō punished & purged it or so seuered the flock of ydo-F laters ý it might wel appere where hys faithful flock remained, as it did whē ý Samary falling to ydolatry, the right sinagoge of the Jewes remayned in Je-rusalem & in Judea, thys were full vn-likely, ý this holy spirite being sēt vnto hys church here to remayne & instructe it, & himselfe also therwō being & giuing his specialt assystence vnto the ende of ý world, should eyther suffre his church to be vnknowen or in such wise to erre & be deceyued, as to gyue honour to the deuyll in stede of him self, or to his ene-mies in stede of his frendes. And ther-G fore when the churche by diligent en-serche, fyndeth the life of a man holy, & ý therto it is wel witnessed that god by hys miracles testifieth ý mans blessyd-nes and the fauour in which he stādeth with hym in heauen, declaring by the boote & profite which he dothe to many men for hys sake, that he will haue him honoured and had for halowed in hys church here in earth, & this thing either by them that hath ý cure of hys church after such diligence vsed, being by the canonisacion declared vnto the people, or peraduenture without canonisaciō growing thereof (by the holynes well H knowen, & miracles many sene) so sure a common persuasyon through the hole people of christendom, that the person is accepted & reputed for an vndoubted saint, be the bones translated or not, his body foūdē or not, albeit by possibylity of nature it inought be, that men were in such thiges deceyued as ye haue said, yet we boldely maye & wel we ought in this case to trust, that ý grace, & ayde of god and hys holy spirite assistyng hys church, hath gouerned the iugement of his ministers, & enclyned the myndes of his people to such consent. And that he hath not suffered thē to erre in a thig so nerely touching hys honour & wor-

nesse. ship,

A ship, eyther truely to be applyed where hys will were it should, vpon himselfe or hys holy saintes for his sake, or to be withdrawen thens & by erronious mistaking of trouth, necessary, meete & cõuenier to be perceiued of the church for for gods honour (which kynde of trouth god set ý holy ghost to teche hys church) the same worship to bee bestowed vpon thē, whom he would in no wise shoulde haue it, but whom he reserueth for eternall shame for the bodye shrined or not maketh no doute of the saynt. No man B doureth of our lady. No man douteth of saint John the euangelist, though their bodies be not founden. And yet if they were, thē were there I thynke no good christen man but he would be contēted they were shrined & had in honour.

For where as ye woulde take the reuerence from all relyques because ý some be doutefull, in that some sayntes hed is as ye say & of some the hols bodie shewed at two sondrye places, it mai fortune for al thys that of one hedde there may by sondry partes, and either parte in the comē spech of people called ý hed.

C For at Amias is saint Johans hed the baptist as men call it in talking, euen they that haue ben there & sene it. But then if they bee asked further questyon therof, thei tel that the nether lawe lacketh. This may wel happen also and so doth it happe in dede, by some saynt of whome in two diuers countries be dyuers shrines, And there be rekened and reported that in either of theim be layd the hole body, & the pilgrims at neither places do loke into ý cofyn of ý shrine to se whether it be al or parte. In some place peradūture lay the body, and by some occasion the body trāslated thense of olde & yet the shrine shewed styl with D some of the reliques remaining therin. It may wel happe also ý there wer two good holy mē in diuerse coūtries bothe of one name. And yeace in some place may ther be soe very reliques vnknowē & misnamed. For in old time whē mē at the incursion of infydels did hyde holy sayntes relikes, at the findyng againe the names happely decayed, some relyques might rest vnknowen, or some peaduenture left or mistakē. And my self sawe at the abbay of Barking besydes Londō to my remembrauce about. xxx. yeres past in the setting an olde ymage in a new tabernacle, ý back of ý image being al paited ouer & of long tyme before laid with beaten gold happened to to crase in one place, & out there fell a E prety littel dore, at which fell out also many reliques that had lien vnknowē in that ymage god wote how long. And as longe had been likely to lie agayne, if god by that chaunce had not brought thē to light. The bishop of Londō came then thyther to se there were no deceits therin. And I amonge other was ꝓsent there while he loked theron & examined the matter. And in good faith it was to me a meruaile to beholde the maner of it I haue forgotten much thereof, but I remember a littell pece of woode there F was rudely shapē in crosse with threde wrapped about it. Writing had it none & what it was we coulde not tell, but it semed as newe cut as if it had ben done win one day before. And diuers relikes had olde writtinges on them & some had none, but among other were there certaine smal kercheors which wer named ther our ladyes, & of her owne workig. Course were they not, nor thei wer not large but serued as it semed to cast in a plaine & simple maner vpō her hed. But surely thei wer as clene semys to my semig as euer I saw in mi life, & wer therw as white for al ý long liceng, as if thei G had ben washed and laid vp within one houre. And howe longe that ymage had stande in that olde tabernacle ý coulde no man tell, but ther had in al ý church none as thei thought standen lēger vntouched. And thei gessed that. iiii. or. v. C. yere ago, ý image was hidden whan the abbey was burned by infidels, and those relikes hidden therin. And after ý ymage founden & set vp many yeres after, when thei wer gone that had hiddē it. And so the reliques remained vnknowen therein till nowe ý god gaue that chaunce that opened it. And thus as I H saye may it peradventure happē, some names to be forgotten or happely to be missetaken, & yet god well content ý the relyques be had in reuerēce, sith he specially fauoureth their persōs, & nedeth nothing their names to know them by. As he shal ones so fully restore agayne many a glorydus body, that they shall not lose the left here of their hed, ý maye serue to theyr bewty, of whō the names happeli ý hole world hath long ago forgotten. And the name is not so very requisite, but ý we may missetake it without parell, so ý we neuer the lesse haue the reliques of holy mē in reuerēce, but as for pigges bones for holy relyques, or dampned wretches to be worshipped

Saint Johans head.

for

A for sayntes, albeit ý if it happned, yet it nothing hurted ý soules of thē ý missetake it, no more thā if we worshippe an host in the masse which percase the neglygence or malice of some lewde priest hath left vncōsecrat, yet is it neuer to be thought though such a thig might happē sobeinly, ý euer god wyll suffre such a thing to last & endure in hys church. ¶ For al be it that his church vseth one meane that might as ye sai begile them which is the recorde & witnesse of men yet hath it in such thinges as sait Thomas & other holy doctours write another meane besyde, which neuer can begile theim. And that is the assistence of god and the holy ghost. For els might the church be most easely begyled in ý receiuing of the very scripture, wherin they take outwardlye but the testimonies of men from mouth to mouth, and hande to hand, witho ut other examinaciō. But that secret meane ý enclineth their credulite to cōsent in the beleuing a in one poit which is ý secret instincte of god, this is the sure meane ý neuer cā in any necessary poit faile here in christes church. For if it might, al werquite at large. And that poit ones tabē away scripture & all walketh with it. And in thys minde as it semeth, was very sure & stedfastly confermed ý holy apostle sait Poule, which in his first epystle to the Corinthyes writeth in thys wyse. *Obsecro vos fratres per nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi vt idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis scismata, sed sitis integrum corpus eadem mente & eadem sententia.* I beseech you my bretherne by ý name of our lorde Iesu christ that you saye all one thynge, and let there bee no scysmes or seuerall sectes amonge you, but be ye one hole entiere body of one mind & one sentence. Trouthe is it that he taught theim & other the right waye so ferforth, that he boldly forbode an aungell of heauē to be beleued, yf any wold come & preach another gospell. But yet in thys place I note muche, ý he called vpon thē onely for agrement, bydding them onely to agre al vpon one thyng, & maketh no mencion of agrement vpō ý best & vpon the trouth, but onelye to auoyde all discordē & diuision & by common consel erhorteth thē to agree al in one, meaning therby as me thynketh, ý if the church of christ entēding well, do all agre vpō any one thing concerning gods honour or mans soule it cā not be but ý thig must nedes be true. For gods holy spirite that aymateth his church and giueth it life, wil neuer suffer it all

Tap. 1.

Gal. 1.

The agrement vpō one thing

B

C

D

consent & agre togither vpon any dāpnable errour. And therefore wouldе hs neuer suffer the church so fully to consent in the worship of saintes & reuerēce of reliques, if it were a thinge suche as some men would haue it seme that is to wit a thing dampnable false & fayned. Wherin as much as ye laye to minishe their credence, that it might seme as ye say wel ynough that some of them were fayned, yet wist I neuer pued that any such so taken and by the church approued, was euer yet hitherto reproued, either here in Christes church or among the Iewes in theyr sinagoge before Christes dayes, and yet saintes thei had in honour as patriarches & prophetes and their bodyes and relyques in reuerence. Nowe if of suche as sempd good men we neuer had foūden any for ipocrites, albe it might be that some were such yet would we not I think suppose that there wer any so in dede, yf we neuer had knowē it tried & proued so. And why shal we then of saintes or reliques haue doute & mistrust? Of whom being receyued by the church for trew, we neuer ý I couldе wyt synce god wrought the world tried and proued any of both sortes vntrue, neither as I saye in the church of Christ nor sinagoge of the Iewes, whych two sortes onely wer gods chosen people. And yet had as well the Iewes as we both saintes as I sayd in honour & theyr relyques in great reuerence, as appereth as well by ý gospell as by the olde testament. ¶ Iacob that holy patriarche cōmaunded his childrē in his death bed to cary hys body to the beriall out of that countrey of Egipt, & so they did. And Ioseph also required hys bretherne that when they shouldе after departe out of Egipt, they should cary his bones wō thē. The dead bones of the prophete Heliseus as ý byble mēcioneth reysed a dead body to life. And thynke you then that those bones were not there honoured for holy relyques? ¶ Nor our sauiour Christ blameth not the Iewes in the gospell for that they garnished ý sepulchres of the olde prophetes, with whose honour he was wel content, but for that they condempned them selfe in folowyng the condicion of them that slewe them, entendinge to kyll Christ as their forefathers did his holy prophetes. For as for the dead bodyes of the holy prophetes that Godds would haue thē had in honour and reuerence he declared wel by that he reysed a dead body by the touche of the dead

Gene. 50.
4. Reg. 13.

E

F

G

H

bones

A bones of the pphete Heliseus as I saide to you before. Did not our lord in ý finding of that holy relyke his holy crosse declare by miracle and make his owne crosse knowē from the crosses of the.ii. theues by the rayling of a dead man w̄ the touch therof. Wherin is to be noted by the way, that there was betwene his & theyrs no notable difference, but they nayled as he was, or els had it bee no doute vpon the first syght which of thē was his. Was not the body of sait Stephen founde out by miracle & the hed of
B saint Johā baptist also? yes of suerty, & mānī another holy martir mo, ý els had lyen vnknowē. Whereby well appered that god woulde haue not theyr soules only, but also theyr bodies & in a maner the very soles of their shone set by for their sakes, & them self for hys. Was not the woman healed by the touche of
Mark.6. our lordes garmentes? Hath there not both amonge the Jewes & christen people also many men merualously bē holpen by the onely touche of holy sayntes bestures? And doute we thē whither god would we shoulde worship thē when he so wel & aboue nature rewardeth vs for
C the worship we do them?

¶ The 10. chapter.

¶ The messenger obiecteth manye thinges against pilgrimages & reliques & worshipping of saintes, because of muche superstitious maner vsed therin, & vnlefull peticiōs asked of theim, & harme growing therupō.

Sir q he, ye haue in mi minde very wel touched ý matter, cōcerning ý it is not in bayne to pray to saintes nor to worship thē & to haue theyr relikes in some reuerēce.
D But sir all thys is farre from the great fore, for though saintes may heare vs and helpe vs to, & are glad & willing so to do, & god also contented that thei and their relykes, & ymages also bee had in honour, yet can neyther he nor they be content with the māner of the worship. First taking away hys owne worship in that we do them the same worship in euery point ý we do to god. And secōdly taking their worship from thē: thē also in that we do to theyr ymages the same that we do to theim selfe, taking theyr images for thē self, & so make not them self only, but also their images felowes & matches to god, wherw̄ as I haue said before, neyther god nor good saint can nor gwd mā ought to be cōtent & pleased.

¶ In sayth q I therin if it so be, ye saye E very trewe. What say we then q he of the harme that goeth by goinge of pylgrimages, roylling aboute in ydlenes, with the riot, reueling, and rybawdry, glotony, wantonnes, wast and lecherie? Trowe ye that god and his holy saites had not leuer thei syt styl at home, then thus to come seke them, with such worshipfull seruice? Yes surely quod I. What say we then quod he to ý I spake not of yet, in which we dos theim little worship while we set euery saint to F hys office and assigne him a craft luche as pleaseth vs? Saint Loy we make an horseleche, & must let our horse rather renne vnshod & marre his hoofe, thā to shoe him on his daye, which we must for ý point more religiously kepe hygh & holy then Easter day. And because one smith is to fewe at a forge, we set sayntt Apolitus to helpe hym. And on saint Stephēs day we must let al our horses bloud with a knife, because sayntt Stephen was killed with stones. Sainct Apoline we make a toth drawer, & may speke to her of nothing but of ioze teth. Saint Sythe women set to seke theyr G keyes. Saint Roke we sette to se to the great sykenes, bycause he had a sore. And with hym they ioine saint Sebastian, bycause he was martired w̄ arowes. Some serue for the eye onely. And some for a sore brest. Saint Germayne onely for chyldren. And yet wyll he not ones loke at thē, but if the mother bring with thē a white loke and a pot of good ale. And yet is he wiser then sainct wilgefort, for the good soule is as thei saye serued and content with otes. Wherof I cā not perceiue the reason, but if it be bicause the should prouide an horse for an euyl housbonde to ryde to the deuyll vpon, for that is the thynge that the H is so sought for as they saie. In so much that women hathe therefore chaunged her name, and in stede of saint Wilgefortte call her sayntt Uncumber, bicause they reken that for a pecke of Otes she wil not faile to vncomber them of their housbondes. Longe worke were it to reherse you the diuers maner of manye prety pylgrimages, but one or two wil I tell you. The one Pontanus speketh of in his dialoges, how saint Martin is worshipped. I haue forgot the towne, but the maner I cān not forget it is so straunge. Hys image is on hys daye borne in pcessiō about al ý stretes. And if it be a fayre day thē vse they as he cometh

why women sekē vpō sa Uncumber.

A meth by, to cast rose water & al thinges of pleasant sauour vpō his ymage. But and it happen to raine, out poure they pispottes vpon his hed, at euery doze & euery window. Is not this a swete seruice & a worshipfull worship? And this as I say Pontanus writeth and telleth where it is. But this ý I shal now tell you, I dare as boldely make you, sure of, as if I had sene it my self. At sait waleries here in Picardy, there is a faire abbey, where saint walery was mōke. And vpon a furlonge of or two, by in a wood is there a chapel, in which ý sait is B specially sought vnto for the stone, not only in those partyes, but also out of England. Now was there a yonge gēntilman which had maried a marchātes wife. And hauing a littell wanton money, which hym thought brēned out the bottom of hys purs, in the firste yere of hys wedding toke hys wife w̄ hym and went ouer the sea for none other erand, but to se flaunders, & France, and ryde out one somer in those countrees. And hauing one in hys company that tolde by the waye many straunge thinges of the pryl grimage, he thought he wold go somewhat out of his way either to se it if it were trew, or laughe at his man if C he founde it false, as he verily thought he should haue done in dede. But when they came in to the chapell they founde it all trewe. And to beholde they foūde it fonder then he had tolde. For like as in other pilgrimages ye se hanged vp legges of ware or armes or suche other partes, so was in that chapell al theyr offringes ý honge aboute the walles, none other thinge but mens gere and womans gere made in ware. Thē was there besides these two roūde ringes of siluer, the one much larger thā ý other, Through which euery man did put his D preuy members at the aulters ende. Not euerye man thorough bothe, but some thorough the one & some through the other. For ther wer not both of a bignes, but yone larger thā the other. Thē was there yet a monke stāding at the aulter that holowed certeine thredes of venice golde. And them he deliuered to the pilgrimes, teching them the what wise thē selfe, or theyr frendes should vse those thredes agaynst the stone. That they should knitte it aboute their gere, & say I cā not tel you what praiers. And whē ý monke had declared the maner, ý gēntilman had a seruaunt ý was a maried man & yet a mery felowe, & he thākinge the monke for the thrid, desired him to teach him how he should knit it aboute his wiues gere. Which (excepte ý mōke had some speciall craft in knittinge) he thought would be cumberous, bycause her gere was sowhat short. It nede not to tel you that euery man laughed thā, saue the monke, ý cast vp hys rynges & thredes in a great angre & wēt his way was not this? Abide by god I hadde almost forgotten one thyng, that woulde not be lefte for a grote. As this gentylmā & his wife wer kneling in ý chapel, there came a good sadde womā to him, shewing him that one speciall poinete vsed in ý pilgrimage & the surest agaīst the stone, the wilt nere whither he were F yet aduertised of. Which if it wer done, she durst laye her lyfe he shoulde neuer haue the stone in his life. And that was she would haue the length of his gere, & that should she make in a ware candel, whiche shoulde bren vp in the chapell & certaine praiers shoulde ther be sayd ý while. And thys was against the stone the very shote anker. Whā he had hard her (and he was one ý in earnest fered ý stone) he went & askid his wife counsel. But she like a god faithfull christē woman loued no suche superstitions. She could abide the remenant wel ynough. G But whē she herde ones of brēning vp the candell, she knit the browes and ernestly blessing her: Beware in the vertue of god what ye do ý she. Burne vp ý A. mary god forbede. It would wast vp your gere vpō paine of my life. Ipray you beware of such wichcraft. Is thys kind of seruice & worship acceptable, & pleasaunt vnto God and hys sayntes? Now whē peple worship saites in such wise that they make thē feldwes to god & images in such wise ý they take them for the saites self, & thē again on ý other side honour them w̄ such superstitious H wayes that thē paynim gods were worshipped w̄ no worse, finally ý worst is of al, pray to thē for vnlefull thinges as theues praye to the thefe ý honge on the ryght side of christe to spede thē well in their robery, & haue found him a name also calling him Dismas I wene & his felow gysmas to rime wāll, thinke you not that this gere is such amōg ý people as rather were likely so to pruoke god & his saites to displesure ý ý deuil should haue licēce, & liberty therfore to worke his wōders in delusiō of our supersticio idolatry, then so to like & content our lorde that he should shew miracles for the comprobaciō of that maner of worshipping whyche wee maye well per-

Dismas. Gismas.

ceiue

A ceiue al relig̃, religiõ & vertue repueth.

¶ The.xi.chapter.

¶ The authour ãswereth aly obiecciõs proponed by the messenger in ý tenthe chap. And some of thẽ touched by ý messeger more at large in other ptes before.

OUr hole tale in effecte of I, conteineth.iii.thinges. One ý the peple worship ý saites & their ymages also with lyke honour as thei do god hi self. Another ý they take the images for the thinges self, which pointes do sowne to ydolatry. The.iii. is ý the supplicyous fassion of worshippe with desyre of vnlefull thinges. And sith the worship ý ý people do to the saintes & the ymages be such, ye conclude ý thinge displeasãt to god & to all halowes, & that it may therby wel appere ý the miracles also be not the workes of god but ý delusion of the deuill. The fyrst poinct which ye haue now twyse touched is at ones sone and shortly ãnswered for it is not true. For though men knele to saites & ymages & incẽce thẽ also, yet it is not trew ý therfore thei worship theim in euerye point like vnto god. What point lacke thei ye. Mari ý chiefe of al of I. That is ý thei worship god w̃ ý mind ý he is god, which minde in worship is ý only thing ý maketh it latria, & no certaine gesture, nor bodili obseruãce. Not & we wold walow vpon ý ground vnto christ, hauing therwith a minde ý he were ý best man ý we could deuise & thinking hi not god. For if the lowly maner of bodyly obseruãce wer ý thing ý would make latria, then were we much in yel of ydolatry in our curtesie vsed to prices prelates & popes to whom we knele as low as to god almighty, & kisse some their hãdes & some our owne, or euer we presume to touch thẽ, and in the pope his fote. And as for encẽsing ý pore prieskes in euery quere de as wel encensid as the sacramẽt. So ý if latria that is the special honour due to god stode in such thinges, thã wer we gret idolaters, not in our worship done to saintes only & their ymages, but also to men, one to another among our self. But al be it that God ought of dutye to haue with our body the moste humble & lowly reuerence ý we cã possible deuise, yet is not ý bodylie worship latria but if we so do it, that in our mind we consider & knowlege him for god, & wyth ý consideraciõ & intẽt do him ý worship. And so doth as I think no christẽ mã to ymage or sait either. And so is auoided the parel of ydolatry for ý first point ye spake of. Now as touching ý secõd that the people take ý ymages for the saites selfe, I trust ther be no man so mad nor women neither, but ý thei know quick mẽ frõ dead stones, & tre frõ flesh & bone. And whẽ thei pferre as ye spake of our lady at one pilgrimage before our lady at another, or one roode before another, or make their inuocacions, & bowes sõe to ý one & some to ý other. I wene it eth to perceiue that they meane none other but that our lord & our lady, or our lord for our lady sheweth mo miracles at ý one thã other. And ý thei intẽde in their pilgrimage to visite sõe of thẽ one place and some an other or partely sometime as the place lyeth for thẽ as their deuocion ledeth thẽ, and yet not for the place but for ý it liketh our lord by manifest miracles to prouoke men to seke vpon him or his blessid mother, or some other holy saynt of hys, in those places, more specially then in some other. The thing selfe also sheweth that they take not the ymages of our lady her self. For if they so did, how coulde they possible in anye maner wise haue more minde to the one thẽ to the other? For they can haue no more minde to our lady thẽ to our ladi. Moreouer if they thought ý the ymage at Walsingham wer our lady her selfe, then must they nedes thinke ý our lady her selfe wer that ymage. Thẽ if in likewise thei thought ý the ymage at Ipswiche wer our lady herself, and (as thei must therwith nedes thinke) ý our lady her selfe were that ymage at Ipswich, thẽ must thei nedes thinke therwith al, ý al those.iii. were one thing. And then enery.ii. of them were one thinge. And so must they by that reson suppose, that the ymage of Ipswiche were the selfe same ymage ý is at walsinghã. Which if ye alke any of them whom ye take for the simplest excepte a naturall foole, I dare hold you a wager she wyll tel you nay. Besides thys take ý simplest foole that ye cã chose, and she wil tel you that our lady her self is in heauen. She will also call an ymage an ymage, and she wyll tell you a difference betwene an ymage of an horse and an horse in dede. And then appereth it well whatsoeuer her wordes be of her pilgrimage by a cõmon maner of speach to cal ý ymage of our lady, our lady, as men say go to ý kynges hed for wine, not meaning hys hed in dede, but the signe, so meaneth she none other in that image but our ladies ymage how so euer she call it. And yt

A ye will wel put ye the neither taketh our lady for that ymage nor that ymage for our lady, no bethe more the lake of the lake the one, lathe the ber of our lady & the will tel you that our lady was salutede with Gabriel. And ye our lady fled into Egipte with Joseph. And yet will ye not in the telling, say ye our lady of Walsingham or of Ipswich was salutede of Gabriel or fledde into Egipte. For if ye wold aske her whether it were our lady of Ipswiche or that lady of Walsingham ye shoue by ye cradle at christes passion, the will I wette you make answere that neyther of hethe. And yet demande her farther which lady the, the will name you none ymage but oure lady that is in heuen. And thus have I prouede often, & ye may wel ye wyl, and shall fynde it true, except it be in one so very a fole, that god shall geue her grace to believe what he list. And forsoth for thys point I thinke in my minde ye all those heretikes that make as though they feande so much perel of idolatry amonge ye people for making of ymages, do but bende ye feare, to have some cloke to couer their heresie, wherein they barke against the saintes self. And wht thei be marched, thei say thei meane but the misseuse ye wemt haue in ymages. Neiter as touching ye thyrde point of superstitious manner of worshipping, or build wefull peticiõs desired of saintes, as our sample may serue herb, if wemt after ones to fall fall ye feare to have ber vnclber the of. They hen hanthes somewhat is it in dede that ye sayer, & yet not all thinge to be blamed that ye seeme to blame. For as to pray to saint Appolline for ye helpe of our teth is no mischeef at all considering that the ber ber teth pulled out for christes sake. For there is no superstition in farthe other thynges ther. And perdaunt were sich saint Lay was a sertour, it is no great sante to prayre to hem for the helpe of our hosse. ¶ Well then ye be. Sith saint Crispine & saint Crispiane were shomakere, it were wel done in like wise to prayre ye sit de hosse & mende our shone. And pray to sermct Dyonise for some flowres, because he bearth alway a basket full. Nay ye I, the thinge be nothing like. For the one thing geteneth nothing to our necessite ye other we may do our self or some frende who shall. But as for your hosse is a thing wherein as well as in our stone bodies, a right good sech may faile of his craft, & be to many a mã a greater loss,

then he may wel recouer. ¶ And albeit that god cõmaunded ye we should chiefly seke for heuen & promiseth that if we so do, all other thiges that we nede shal be cast vnto vs, & would that we should in no wise liue in anxyete, & trouble of minde for any fere of lack, considering that our father in heuẽ puydeth meate for the very byrdes of the ayre, by whõe he setteth nothing so much as he doth by vs, yet willed not he ye contrary but we should w̃ our bodyes labour therefore, hauing our hartes althe while in heuẽ. And willed also that we shoulde aske it of him, without whose help our labour wil not serue. And therfore is our daily fode one of the peticiõs of ye pater nosster the prayer that him self taught hys disciples. And ye horse he set not so litel by, but that rather thã it should perithe, he tekened it no breche of the Saboth daye to pul hym out of a pyt. And therefore in dede me semeth ye deuocion to ronne somwhat to far, if the smithes will not for any necessite set on a show vpõ saint Loyes day, & yet lesull ynough to praye for the helpe of a pore mans horse. But as for your teth I wene if thei aked wel ye wold your selfe think it a thing worthy & not to simple to aske helpe of saint Appolin & of god to. Ye mary qy he, & of the deuill to rather than faile, as ye Lũbarde did for ye goute. That whẽ he had longe called vpon God & our lady & all the holy cõpany of heuen & yet felt him self neuer ye better, he begã at last to cal as fast for help vnto ye deuill. And whẽ his wyfe & his frendes fore abashed and astonied, rebuked hym for callinge on ye deuil, which he wist wel was nought & if that he holpe hym it should be for no good he cried out as lowde as he could agayne, *bogni cuto e bono*, al is good that helpeth. And so I wene wold I qy he, cal on the deuill & all, rather than abide in payne. Nay qy I, what so euer ye say I can not thinke ye wouldc beleue in the deuill as that Lũbard dyd. Ye woulde rather fare like another, that whan the frere apposed hym in confessiõ whither he medleth any thing w̃ witchcraft or negromancy, or had any beleue in the deuil, he answered him, *Credere en le diable my sir no, Io graund fatige à credere in dio.* Beleue in ye deuill qy he, nai nai syr I haue work ynough to beleue in god I. And so wold I wene that ye were far frõ al beleuing in the deuill, ye haue so much worke to beleue in god him selfe, that ye bee loth me think to medle much w̃ his saintes.

¶ When

C Math. 6. Be not carefull for fere of lache.

F

G A merytale

H A merytale

A ¶ When he had laughed a while at our mery tales, In good faith q̃ I as I was aboute to tel you, sō what in dede it is ý ye say. For euil it is, & euil it is suffered ý superstiсious maner of worship. And as for that ye tolde of saint Martin, if it be trew it hath none excuse, but that it nothing toucheth our matter. For it is not of worshipping, but dispyting and disworshipping of saintes. Touchynge the offring of bread & ale to sainct Germin, I se nothing much mislle therein, where ye haue sene it vsed I can not tel. But I haue my selfe sene oftē tymes, & yet am I not remēbred ý euer I sawe
B priest or clarke fare the better therfore, or ones drinke therof, but it is giuen to childrē or poore folke to pray for the syck chylde. And I would wene it wer none offece in such fashion, to offre vp an hole Dre & distribute it among poore people. But nowe as for our merye matters of sainct Wallery, because the place is in Fraunce we shal leue the matter to the vnyuersite of Parys to defend. And we wyll come home here to Poules, and put one ensample of both, that is to say the superstiсious maner & vnlekul peticions, if women there offer otes vnto sait Wilgefort, in trust ý the shal vncō-
C ber thē of their housbandes. Yet cā neither the priestes perceiue tyll thei finde it ther, that the folishe womē bring otes thyther, nor it is not I thynke so often done nor so much brought at once, that the church may make much mony of it aboue the finding of the chanōs horses. Nay q̃ he, all the otes of an hole peres offring wil not finde. iii. gees & a gāder a weke togither. ¶ Well q̃ I, then the priestes mayntayne not the matter for any great couetise, & also what ý peuish womē pray thei cā not heare. Howbeit if they pray but to be vncombred, me semeth no great harme, nor vnlekulnes
D therin. For that may thei by mo wayes than one. They may bee vncombred if their housbandes chaūge their combe-rous cōdicions. Or if thē self peradue-ture chaūge their comberous tongues, which is happelye the cause of all their cōbraunce. And finally if they can not be vncōbred but by death, yet it may be by their owne, and so their housbandes saufe inough. Nay nay q̃ he, ye find thē not such foles I warāt you. Thei make their couenātes in their bitter praiers as surely as they were pennyd, and wil not cast awai their otes for nought. Wel q̃ I, to al these maters is one eui-

How women may be vncōbred of their housbandes.

dent easye aunswere, that thei nothing E touch ý effect of our matter, which stādeth in this, whether the thing that we speke of, as prayeng to saintes going in pilgrimage, & worshiping relykes and images, may be done wel: Not whether it may be done euill. For if it maye bee wel done, thē though many wold misse-use it, yet doth al that nothing minishe ý goodnes of the thyng selfe. For if we Put not away the good vse for the bad.
should for ý misseuse of a good thinge & for the euilles that grow somtime in ý abuse therof, not amēde ý mysseuse but vtterly put the hole vse awai, we should thē make meruailous chaunges in the world. In some coūtryes thei go on hū- F
ting comonly on good friday in ý morninge for a comon custome. Wyll ye breke that euyll custome or, cast away good fryday? There be gathedral all churches into which the countre cōmeth wō processiō at whytsontyde, & the women folowing the crosse wyth many an vnwomanly songe, & that such honest wyues as out of the processiō ye could not heare to speke one such foule rybaudrie worde as thei there synge for gods sakes hole ribaudous sōges, as lowd as they throte can cry. Wil you mende ý lewde maner, or put awaye whytsontide? ye speake of lewdnes vsed at pilgrimages. G
Is ther (trowye) none vsed on holy daies And why doe you not then aduise vs to put theim clene away sondayes and al. Some ware dronke in lent of wigges & crakuels, & yet ye would not I trusse ý lent were fordone. Christmas if we cō-sider how comonly mē abuse it, we may thinke ý thei take it for a time of liberty for al maner of lewdnes. And yet is not Christmas to be cast away amōg cristē mē, but mē rather monished to amende their maner, & vse thē self in Christmas more christēly. Go me to christes owne H
cōming & giuing vs our faith & his holy ghospel & sacramētes. Be there not. x. ý worse therfore agaist one the better? Be not al ý painims, al ý Jewes, al ý turks all ý sarasins, al ý heritikes, al ý euil liuing people in christēdom the worse by theyr owne faut for ý coming of christ? I trow thei be. And yet would no wise man wishe that christ had not commen here. Nor it had be no right ý god shold haue lefte the occasion of merytē and reward that good folke woulde wyth hys helpe deserue by hys commynge for the harme that wretches wold take therof by ther owne slouth and malyce. Nor in likewise right were it none ý al

worship

Men do merite by worshipping of saintes and relikes.

A worship of saintes and reuerence of holy relykes and honour of saintes ymages (by which god deuout folk do much meryte) we should abolishe & put away bycause some folke do abuse it. Nowe touching ye euyll peticions, though thei that aske the were as I trust thei be not a great people, they be not yet so many ye aske euil peticios of saites, as there be ye aske ye same of god him self. For what soeuer thei wil aske of any good saint, they wyl aske of god also. And comenly in ye wild yrishe & some in Wales too, as me say, whā thei go forth in robbig, thei B blisse the & pray god send the good spede ye they may mete with a good purse & doo harme and take none. Shal we therfore finde a faute wyth euery mans prayer bycause theues pray for spede in robberye? This hath as I saye no reason although they wer a great peple ye abused a good thing. And where as the worst ye ye alligne in our matter is ye as ye saye the people do ydolatrye, in that ye saye thei take the ymages for the saintes self or the roode for christ him self, which as I said I think none doth (for some roode hath no crucyfixe thereon, and they beleue not that ye crosse which thei se was euer at Ierusalem, nor that it was the C holy crosse it selfe, & muche lesse thinke thei then that the ymage that hangeth theron is the body of christ him self) and although some wer so mad so to thinke yet wer it not as ye cal it the peple. For a fewe doting dames make not the people. And ouer this if it were as ye wold haue it seme an hole people in dede, yet were not a good thinge to be put away for the misseuse of bad folke.

The. xii. chapiter.

D The auctho cōfirmeth ye trouth of our fayth, & vsage in the worshippe of ymages, by the cōsent of the old holy doctours of the church approuyng ye same, as appereth well in their writinges, whom god hath by many myracles testyfied to be saites. The messeger eftsone douteth whither we can be sure that ye miracles tolde by theim wer trew or not, or the self saintes or not. Wherupon the author proueth ye of any myracles told by any saintes, we may be most sure of theirs & consequently by their miracles moste sure of the that thei be surely saintes. And in this chapter also proueth that ye myracles & cōsent of those holy doctours do proue, ye this must nedes be ye very true church in which they haue writē, and miracles haue bene done. Wherupon is finally concluded eftsones ye trouth of the princiall questiō, & therwith fynisheth the seconde boke. C

And we be very sure that ye thing is good, & our way good therin & our beleue therein right, not onely by reasons & authorite by which I haue proued it you more then ones al redy, but also by that all the old holy sayntes and doctours of Christes church, as saint Ierome, saint Austyn, saint Basyle, saint Chrisostome, sayne Gregory, w all such other as plaily we F rede in their bokes, dyd as we do therin & beleued therof as we beleue. And syth we se what they beleued, we nede not to doute what is best that we beleue. For if any secte beleued better the other, we be sure of the best were they, that so wel beleued & lyued therwith, that god hath accepted the for saintes, & by miracles opēly declared that their faith & lyuing liked him. Whereas on ye other side of such as beleued otherwise as were these manyfold sectes of obstinate heretykes we se not one a saint amōge the, nor one miracle shewed for the. I wote nere ye he, whether this reason that ye make wold surely satisfie the other side or no. G For mē may peradueture answere you that there is many a glorious sainct in heauen of whom we see no myracles in earth, nor happely neuer heard of their name. That may wel be ye I, and I suppose it very true. Saye it not also be ye he, ye though it were hard to think, but that of miracles some amōg so many must nedes be true, yet syth some also may be fayned, may it not bee that those bene fayned whiche bene tolde to haue be done by the whom ye rehersed: the I meane ye of olde haue written for your part. I mene those whom ye cal ye olde doctours of ye church, & whom the H church taketh for saintes. This ye I, were worse then any thinge ye we spake of yet tofore. The worst was before, ye we should pray to no sayntes. And now ye would eyther ye we should haue none or at ye least that we should know none. Yes ye he, ye may haue saintes and know for saites & many one sith ye apostles time, though those bee none whose writing ye wold authorise by their sāctifyeng. Then fall you ye I, to that point againe, that ye thinke it maye be that the church maye take for saintes & worship as saintes them that bee none. Surely ye he) the profe that ye haue

layd

A layd vnto me contrary though it be sõwhat probable, yet semeth me not very stronge nor able & sufficient to strayne a man to consent therto. For though ý assistence of god & his holy spirite wyll not suffre his hole church to agree and consent togyther in any dampnable errour, yet may he suffre them wel to erre in the knowledge & worship of a saint, & mysse take for a sainct one that were a dampnable wretch. For therin wer no more daunger to mannes soule, nor no more honour taken from god, then whã the people do worship an hoost vnconsecrate, mistaking it through the defaute of an euill priest for the sacred bodye of our lorde him selfe. And thys ye doubte not but it is sometime done. ¶ Forget not now by ý way ꝙ I, that ye shyl agre that god will not suffre his hole church to agree in any dampnable errour & fal in a false faith. And therewith remẽber that though it wer no dãpnable errour to take one for a saint that wer none, or a bone for a relike ý were none, yet wer it a dampnable errour to worship anye if we shoulde worship none at all. And therfore syth ý church beleueth that we should worship them, that kinde of beleue cã be none errour, but must nedes be trew. Nor that kinde of worship can be none ydolatry, but must nes be good and acceptable to god. And so our principall matter standing styll sure & fast, we shall se sõwhat further wherto your wordes wyll way & amount. Ye deny not quod I, but there be some sainctes & some myracles. ¶ No quod he. ¶ To what purpose ꝙ I were myracles specially wrought by god? was it not to ý entent to make his messengers knowen & the trouth of his message? As when he sent Moises to Pharao, wer not the miracles done by god to make Pharao to perceiue therby the trouth of his word? ¶ Yes quod he. ¶ When christ quod I, sent his disciples to preach, the power ý he gaue theim to do miracles, was it not for the prose of ý doctrine that they taught, as is well witnessed in the gospell? ¶ Yes ꝙ he. ¶ If this be thus ꝙ I, as in deede it is, ye haue most cause to beleue of al miracles, those ý are toulde and reported as done for the doctours of Christes church, sith miracles were specially deuised by god for a knowlege of his trewe messengers, and a prose of their message. So ý where ye would we should not vtterly be deceiued in saites and miracles, but yet we might be deceiued in doctours whome we take for saites and in theyr miracles, now it semeth on the other side ý of all other we be of them and of theyrs most sure. ¶ Thys is well sayd quod he. But yet alwaye it renneth in mannes myndes that miracles may be fained. ¶ Be it so quod I, so that it ronne againe in mẽs mindes that al be not fayned. And then if ye think any trewe, thys reason abydeth styll that sith myracles were specially giuen by god for the knowledge of hys doctours & declaracion of hys doctrine, those myracles be specially to be taken for trew ý be reported to be done by hys doctours. For they serue for the compробacion of hys holy doctrine. And for bycause ye saye that myracles may be fained, that we spake of Moises and Christes disciples putteth me now in minde. There were of olde tyme also false doctours and miracles falsely fayned, were there not? ¶ Yes mary ꝙ he. ¶ By whome were those myracles fained quod I? ¶ Mary ꝙ he, some by men as there be nowe, and some by the deuyll, and happely so there be now to. ¶ Well be it quod I bothe twaine and ye wyll. But were there not in the olde time both twaine found out and vanquished by the trewe doctours sent by god and trew miracles for thẽ wrought by god? As when the serpẽt of Moises deuoured all the serpentes made by the witchecraft of the Egipcyan ioglers. And whan the prophete Daniel dyd by the steppys of the false prieskes fete find out the meane whereby the meate was eten that they fayned to be eaten by the ydoll Bell. And when the prophete Helias banquinshed by myracle the false prophetes of Baall. And the holy apostles and disciples of Christ did at theyr word all to breake in pecis the false ydolles in sight of the paynim people. So that alway god hath prepared hys trew doctours, to diskroy by plaine miracle the false miracles, whereby men were and might bee deceyued. Is not this thus quod I? ¶ Yes quod he. Well then ꝙ I if our olde holy doctours were false, & their doctrine vntrue, & their miracles fained, it is not ynough nowe to say so. But if any of them that so say be sent by god to reproue it, then must thet proue that they be sent so. And that not in wordes onely, but let some of them come forth, and at their word breke our ymages, as christes doctours did ý painims. And to pue our miracles fained, let

God wyll not suffer his church to agree in any dãpnable errour.

Wherfore miracles were wrought.

Exo. 7.

Daniell. 14.

A let them doe some very miracles themself. As for miracles quod he be none articles in any mans crede. And there is not so sipl a sorte of heretikes, but they might if they wer set theron, some match you with miracles, whereof they might fayne fiftene in a forenone. And then as we sayde nowe, it woulde bee thoughte that thoughe some were untrue, yet all were not lyes. It were ethe in dede q I if menne were madde, among whome they should report them, and would nothing doe for the tryall. I wis yet if they B did quod he, yet might a few witted men deuise and feine a thing of such a fashiō that it would be beleued and hard to trie the trouth out. Let it be so quod I: But yet would it not long hold among good christen people. But god woulde eyther bring the falshed to light, or some cast it oute of credence. What laboure tooke Phylostratus to make a booke full of lyes, wherby he would haue had Appolonius Thianeus, in miracles matche unto Christ: And when he had all done, he neuer found one olde wife so fonde to beleue him. But I praye you tell me q I, be there not of heresies manye sectes: Yes quod he. Is there quod I anye moe very churches of Christe than one: No C mor quod he. Is not that it quod I that is true: Yes quod he. Be not quod I then all the sectes of heresies false: Yes quod he. Who is likely quod I to fayne and lie, the cōpany that is the true part, or some of them that be false: It is quod he more likely that they shoulde all lye that be false, then that company that is the true part. Than false and fained miracles q I, bee they lyes or not: What elles quod he. Then quod I by your argument it semeth that they were muche more likely to bee among euery secte of heretikes then in the churche. So seemeth it quod he. D Howe happeth it then quod I if miracles be feyned, that amōg all the false sectes of heretykes (where suche false stuffe should be by all reason most ryfe) is none at all spoken of, but miracles tolde onelye in the churche of Christ, whiche is onely as ye agree, the true parte: There be quod he peraduenture some done eyther miracles or mernayles, but they dare not speake of them for feare of persecucion. If they were q I false meruails only done by the deuil, it would not helpe your matter. For thē must you graunt very miracles of God onely done in Christes churche. And if there hadde been very myracles of God doone for anye sede whome we call heretikes, that sede hadde been no secte of heretikes, but the verye churche. Or els had god by miracles testified the trouth of a false faythe, and that is impossible. And thereof shoulde haue folowed, that excepte there were of Christe two churches of two contrarye faythes, and both true whiche were impossible, elles not some, but all the miracles doone, tolde, and wroughte in one churche, had been either fained or done by the deuil, wherby should it folowe that our church wer not the verye churche, but a false sede of heretikes, which wer as I haue already F proued you diuers wise, as ferre impossible. But now for the more clerenes of our parte therin, & for the further prose that ours is ý sure church, & only ý doctours & the doctrine of our church approued by miracles, neuer hath ther ben any done for the doctours of any sectes of heretikes. For if ther hath any true miracles ben done by god, & thē ý sect not a false sect but ý true church: al ý psecuciō ý could haue ben, could neuer haue quēched ý fame therof, as wel appereth by ý miracles done in our church, in al such time as both ý Jewes & the painims pur G sued it. Now sith there be so many false sectes & but one church true, & miracles not spokē of in any but i one, it is a good token ý the matter & substāce of them is true. For els they wer as likly to be spoken of in mo, sith of the false & lying sectz be so many. And thē also miracles beig true, & being done but in one of al those many cōpanies, eche calling hiselfe the church, it is a good prose ý ýlame one in which only they be done, is only the very true church of Christe, to whiche his holy spirit & meruelous maiestie geueth his special assistēce. And surely of al miracles ý euer god hath wrought for hys church, I see not in my minde lightly a H more meruaylous, thē ý as many sectes of heretikes as hathe sprongen & parted out of christes church, & eche of thē laboring to be taken for the very church, yet hath oure lorde hetherto neuer suffered neyther the deuyll to dooe anye woonder for them that myghte haue the couloure and face of a myracle, nor as false as they bee theymselfe, yet hathe he not suffered theym hetherto not so muche to dooe as fayne a myracle for theyr part. Whiche is to my mynde, not onelye greate woonder: but also theyr confessed falsehead consydered, a verye cleare prooke that they couldę neuer haue been

A kept frō it, but by the special prouidēce of god and his tēder cure vpon hys chosen churche, by whiche it hath liked him hytherto that myracles amonge other thynges, haue been one good and sure marke beetwene hys churche, and all those erronyons sectes that been spronge out thereof and be not hys churche but wouldē seme to be. For as for Paynyms, Turkes, and Sarasyns, whiche by open professiō arne of another flocke, and beare not the name of Christe, nor looke for hym: he suffreth the deuil somtyme to delude with wonders and meruayles. But the Jewes that styll gape
B after hym, theyr miracles as farre as I can heare be gone, to the intēt they may knowe that he hath left them and geuen them vp, whiche was wont to worke al those woonders for them. Nowe as for heretiques whiche falselye fayne themselfe to bee hys owen flocke, and presume to beare and professe hys name, he kepeth them from the honour of anye miracles doing, to ý end ý the lacke therof among al their sectes, & the doing therof in his onely church, may be among many other thinges, one good marke & sure
One good mark to know heretikes.
token, wherby al these false sectes of thē may be discerned & knowen from his very true church, ý is to say, frō the whole
C congregacion of true christen people in this world, which without intermixciō of obstinate heresies, professe the ryghte catholike faith. Now is it not only true that myracles be wroughte onely in the church, and therby doe shewe whiche is the very church, but also they doe shewe that those holy doctours for whom god hath shewed them, wer good men and of the righte beliefe. For if it were as ye wold of late haue had it seme, ý it might paduenture be so, ý the holy doctours of our faith (whō we take for saintes) were in dede no saintes nor saued soules: but
D happeli those wer saued soules & saintes in heauē (though it wer vnknowen here in earth) which did teche ý doctrine here ý we now cal heresies: then wer it a wōderous change, ý were as god amōg the Jewes prouided, that in euery age, ther wer some good mē by their good liuing and hys high miracles, so notable & wel knowē to ý people (ý men had thē alway like bright liueli starres, whose doctrine they might boldly beleue, & whose liuig they might surely folow) he would now in his special church of Christ, not onely doe nothing like, but also do clene the contrary. For if he shold take that way that ye say, to liue euer synce ý apostles C daies, al the true interpretours of hys & theyr holy wryting and doctours of the very true fayth lye to the world vnknowen, & then on the other syde, set forth wō miracles, or suffer so to be set forth with meruayles, that his church should take & accept for saintes such euil persons or ypocrites as cōstrued ý scripture wrōg, & euer since his apostles daies haue taught false errours, & led his flocke out of the right way in a bypath to helward wō wicked heresies and idolatry: then hath not god sent the holy gost, & himself also
F taried stil therin, to teche his church the truth as he said he wold. But he thē had holpen to begyle thē himself, which wer impossible for god to do, & more thē blasphemy for any man to thinke. For thys wer not like ý sufferance of an vnconsecrate host, wherof ye putte the saumple, wherin the peoples inuincible ignorāce with their deuout affectiō, may without harme to their soules bee suffered in the thyng that seldome happeth & endureth for so short a whyle. But if god wouldē leaue all good doctours vnknowē, & suffer his church to be deceiued with mira-
G cles & meruailes done by them ý taught heresies, & set forth ydolatry, then shold himself as I say, not onely suffer his honour and right fayth and religion to be perpetually lost, but helpe also himselfe to destroy it. Which whoso could think possible, wer worse than Judas, & more madde than anye man in Bedlem. And therfore can it not in no wise be, that the churche can bee deceyued, in that they take for Saynctes these holye doctours of the churche. Nor they so beyng, can it in any wise be that the doctrine wherin they consent & agree, can be false or vn-
H true: Among whiche doctrine, syth the thynges wherof we speake, I meane the praying to saintes, the worship of ymages, reuerēcing of reliques, and goyng in pylgrymages, is a parte as by theyr bookes playnly doth appeare, we maye wel & surely conclude, that none of these thinges be damnable or displeasaunt to god, but thinges highly to hys contentacion and pleasure. And sith we further perceiue that their bokes be written in diuers regions & sondry ages, we thereby wel perceue ý these thinges be parcel of ý rites, vsages, & belef of christes church not oneli now & of late, but continually frō the beginning hetherto. And sith it is playnly proued you, ý the church can in no wyse be suffered of god to fall into

any

A any damnable errour thereby, it is yet most surely cōcluded, that these thynges be none such. And consequently proued that no text of scripture seming to sown to the contrarye, can be so taken or vnderstanden. For that the church cannot in preiudice of the fayth misse vnderstād the scripture. And that the substanciall poyntes of the fayth therfore learned of the churche, is one of ỳ surest rules that can be founden for the right interpretacion of holy scripture. And that no secte of heretikes can be the church of christ, but ỳ our church is ỳ very churche. And it is also clerely proued ỳ the matter of B miracles therin dayly doone, is neither feyned by mē, nor done by the deuil, but onely by the mighty hande of God. And such obiecciones as ye layd vnto the contrary of any point aforesaid, be as farre as I can see sufficiently aūswerd except ỳ ye haue any further obiecciō to laye therin, which if ye haue, ye get no thāke to spare. Wherunto he sayde and sware therwith that he so fully felt himself aūswered and contented therein, that he thought himself able therwith to contēt & satisfye any man, that he should happē to mete with, that would holde the contrary. Wherupō for that day we departed till another tyme, in whiche we appoynted to peruse the remenaunt of the thynges that he hadde in the beginning purposed.

A'most sure rule.

C The end of the second booke.

C The third booke.

The. 1. Chapter.

C The messenger hauing in the mene whyle been at the vniuersite, sheweth vnto the author an obiecciō whiche he learned there, against one poynte proued in the fyrst boke, that is to wit that in the necessary poyntes of ỳ faith, D egal credēce is to be geuen to ỳ church and to the scripture. Whiche obiecciō the author answereth and dissolueth.

About fortnight after youre frende came agayn in a morynyng newe comen from the vniuersitie, where he was, as ye wote at learning, ere he came at you. And there had he nowe, as he sayd, visited sōe of his old acquaintance. And vpon occasion rysing in cōmunicacion, had agayne repeted with some of them verye freshe learned men, good parte of our formar dysceptacion and reasonyng, had betwene vs before his departyng. Whiche as he sayde they toke great plesure in, and much wished to haue been present ther at. But surelye he sayde that some of them semed to take very sore to hert, the hard handling of the man that ye write of, and the burning of the newe testament, and the forbidding of Luthers bookes to be readde which wer as some of them thought, not al thing so badde as they wer made for. And finally, touching the burnig of heretikes, there were some that thought ỳ cleargie therin farre out of ryght order of charitie. C I am quod I verye glad that it hath been your happe to be there. Not so muche for anye thynge that ye haue shewed them of our communicacion hadde already, concerning the prayng of Saincte, worshipping of ymages and reliques, and goyng in pylgrimage, wherein I thynke ye tolde them no newetie, for I doubte not but they coulde haue tolde you more of that matters themselfe, then ye haue heardc, or coulde heare of me: as for that I thynke that amonge them, beyng as ye saye so well learned, ye haue eyther heard some what wherby ye be in some part of these matters (that we shal speake of) alredye satisfyed, wherby our busines therein may be the shorter, or els ye be the more strongly instructed for the other parte, wherby our disputacion shalbe the fuller, and the matters more playnlye touched, for the more ample satisfaccion of such as your selfe or your maister shall herafter happen to finde in any dout of these thynges that we shall now touche and treate of. In dede quod he somwhat haue they shewed me their mindes ther in, as in some parte of the matters ye shall heare whan we happe to come to them. That shall I gladly heare quod I, & shape you such aunswer as my poore wit wil serue me. But yet I pray you be playne with me in one thing. Wer they satisfyed & held themself content in those thynges that wer at last wō much worke agreed betwene vs? In good faythe quod he to say the trouthe, all were saue one, and he in all thynge saue one. And to youre greate prayse and hygh commendacyon, they sayde that in these matters. C Naye quod I, let their prayse passe, lest ye make me to proude. But I praye you tell me, not whiche one mysliked one thing, but what one it was, and why he mysliked it. C Surelye quod he for ought that he coulde bende

A vpon him, he could neuer agree that the
sayth of ye church out of scripture, shuld
be as sure & bynd vs to the beliefe ther-
of, as ye wordes of holy scripture. Why
quod I, if ye remembred well what we
sayd, ye had ynough to proue hym that.
Trouth is it quod he, so had I and so did
I, and in suche wyse that diuers wayes
I brought hym to the baye, that he wist
not howe to voyde. But than sayde he
to me that he wouldde not doode with me
as I had doone with you. Nor it was
(he sayde) no wysedome for a manne a-
gaynste hys aduersarye to vse alwaye
the buckeler hande. For so must all the
B parell be hys, and hys aduersarye stand
in suretie. But on the other syde if he vse
the sweord therwith, and stryke among
and dryue the other to his defece, so may
he hap to put him in halfe the parel. And
lykewyse he sayde, that if I prooued my
parte so clearelye to him that he couldde
not say nay: yet if I would agayn aun-
swer him an other whyle, he might par-
aduenture bring me to the same poynte
on the other syde, and than shouldde the
matter stande yet at large. For of two
contraries if both the partes be proued,
than stād they both vnproued. And ther
fore quod he I pray you answer me this
C a little. Whan you beleue the churche,
wherfore doe you beleue the churche: do
you not beleue it because it sayth truth:
Yes mary quod I what elles. And how
know you quod he that the church saith
trouth: Knowe ye that anye other wyse
than by scripture: Naye mary quod I.
But than by playne scripture I knowe
it verye well. For the scripture telleth
me that god hath fullye taught and tea-
cheth his church and byddeth me beleue
lōg hys church. Loe quod he for al your
processe, see wherto ye be brought now:
ye would in any wyse before, and ye se-
med to proue it too (all the while that ye
D argued and I answered) that the church
was in al necessary pointes of our faith
as much to be beleued as ye scripture, &
that we should not haue beleued ye scrip
ture, but for the autoritie of ye church,
as ye say saynt Austine sayth. And now
whan I argue and ye aunswere, I haue
drieuen you to the wal in three wordes,
and proued vnto you that the church is
not to be beleued, nor that your self bele
eth it not, but for the authoritie of the
scripture. And after that he hadde thus
sayde: the remenaunt that were presente
allowed it muche, and I was therwith
astonied, and sayde I would aduyse me
me further thereon. But he laughed E
and sayd he wouldde lende me thys, and
not to bee hastye on me, for he woulds
geue me respyte of payment tyll I had
spoken with you agayne. Whan youre
frend had told, forsooth q I he dealt w̄ you
lyke a courteous creditour. And syth he
hath geue you so lōg dat, ye shal not nede
I trust to dye in his dette. And to say the
trouth ye owe hi not much. For ye may
bere him hys own agayn, & tell hym hys
money is naught. But I haue espyed, it
is as he sayeth a greate aduauntage for
hym to oppose. For he hath suche crafte
in arguinge, that he will sone bring the F
aunswer to a perilous poynt, if he hap-
pen on one that wil aunswere him han-
somely as he wouldde haue him. But on
the other side, if he had happened on one
that had aunswered him as frowardlye
as the boye aunswered one Caius a po-
et at Cambridge, than hadde he by hys
opposing parte, wonne nothyng at all.
For Cayus for hys pleasure playinge A merye dispu
with the boye being a younge sophyster tacion.
sayde that he wouldde proue the boye an
asse. Which when the boye denyed: wel
quod Cayus, thou wilt graunt me this
first, that euerye thynge that hathe two
eares is an asse. Nay mary maister wil G
I not quod the boye. No wilt thou quod
Cayus: Ay wyly boye, there thou wen-
test beyond me. For and thou wouldest
haue graunted me that, I wouldde haue
proued thee an asse anone. Mary mai-
ster quod the boye ye might well, and so
myghte euerye foole doode. Well quod
Cayus, I wil goe nowe an other waye
to woorke with thee. Thou wilt graunt
me that euery asse hath two eares. Ay
mary will I not maister quod the boye.
Why so boye quod he. Marye mayster
quod he, for some asse maye happe to
haue neuer one, for they may be cutte of
bothe. Naye quod Cayus, I geue thee o
uer for thou art to frowarde a boye for
me. And so if he had not graunted what
he wold, he had nothing wonne at your H
hande. Why quod your frende, what
thynge dydde I graunte hym that I
shouldde not: Forsooth quod I no more
but all that euer ye graunted. For fyrst
whan he asked you whether the cause
why we beleue the churche be not be-
cause it is true that the churche telleth
you, thoughe youre aunswere whiche
ye made therein, was not the cause of
youre redarguycon, nor the thing wher
by ye were concluded, yet aunswered
ye not well therto when ye graunted it.

Why

A ¶ Why quod he, wherfore should I beleue the church or any man els but bycause thei tell me trewe. ¶ Somtime q I, it happeth so, but somtime it happeth otherwise. For if a knowen lyar tell you a knowen trewe tale, ye wil beleue him bycause he telleth you trouth. But now if a knowen trewe mã tell you an vnknowẽ trouth, ye beleue not him, bycause the thinge is trouth, but ye beleue the thing to be trouth, bycause ye beleue the mã to be true. And so beleue you the church, not bycause it is trouth that the churche telleth you, but ye beleue the trouth of the thing, bycause the church
B telleth it. But yet was not that answere of his as I say the thing that cõfounded you. For now if ye so shold haue answered him as I haue shewed you, thoughe ye shoulde haue somwhat blenched him therwith, yet he might & wold of likelyhod haue gone further with you, & haue asked you wherby ye know ý ye shoulde beleue the churche. And what answere would ye than haue made there vnto? Mary q he than might I haue said, that I beleue the church, bicause that in such necessary pointes of faith the churche can not erre. ¶ That had ben very well said quod I. But he woulde haue asked
C how ye know that. ¶ Thã must I quod he, haue said the same that I did, that I knowe it by playne and euident scripture, that the churche in suche thinges can not say but true. And than would I haue laide him the textes that ye alleged vnto me for the same purpose before. If ye so had saide quod I, ye had answered him truely, but yet not with your most aduantage. ¶ Why so q he? ¶ For q I your next answere wer to say as trouth is, that ye beleue that the church in such thinges can not erre, bycause ye beleue that God hath taught & tolde the same thinges to his churche. ¶ Than would
D he haue asked me further q your frẽde, what thing maketh me beleue that God hath taught and tolde the churche those thinges. ¶ So wolde he haue asked you quod I, and so might he well. ¶ Than were we commẽ quod your frende vnto the same pointe agayne that he shoulde haue concluded me as he did before. ¶ Nay quod I not if ye answered therto well. ¶ Why quod he what coulde I answere els, but clerely graunt him that I beleue that thing for none other cause but only bycause the scripture so sheweth me? ¶ No could ye quod I? what if neuer scripture had ben writen in this worlde, should there neuer haue E bene any churche or congregacion of faithfull and right beleuyng people? ¶ That wote I nere quod he. ¶ No do ye quod I? were there neuer any folke that beleued in God, & had a true faith betwene Adam & Noe, of such as neuer herd god speke them self? ¶ Yes quod he I suppose ther were some, but it should seme ther were very few. For ther were few saued in Noes shyp. ¶ The worlde was at that time quod I waren worse & worse as it wareth nowe. But it is not vnlikely that ther were many right beleuyng people in the meane time. That F is quod he likely ynough. ¶ Nowe as for the dayes quod I of Noe him selfe, though ther were few saued a lyue, yet proueth not that the people to be al miscreates and without faith. For it fared by thẽ as it fareth now by vs, that ther were many that beleued the trouth and had a faith, but thei folowed the flesh and sanke for their synne. For there appereth no ferther vpon the story in Genesys, but that the worlde was washed Gen. 7. with the water of the great flode for the filthe of their fleshely lyuynge. And all be it that in the first epistle of saint Peter, it might seme some incredulitie in G them, yet may it be that it stretched no ferther thã to the lacke of fere in the credence of goddes cõmynacion, and ouer muche hope & boldenesse of goddes ferther fauour and sufferaunce. Wherof thei repẽted after to late for this present life, & yet many through goddes mercy not to late for the finall saluacion of their soules (as appereth by the good & great clerke. Nicolaus de lyra vpon the same place) which could in no wise haue Nicolaus de lyra. bene so if thei had lacked faith. Whiche faith what scripture had thei to techẽ thẽ, or all the men in effecte ý any faith had from Adã thether to? Was ther also no faithfull folke at all from Noe to H Moyses, nor him self neither till he had the law deliuered him in writyng? Did Abraham neuer beleue more but those thinges ý we finde in scripture specially to haue bene tolde him by god? Was his father and all his frendes infideles? Were ther no people beside in all that long time that had a right faith? ¶ Yes q your frẽde that I thinke verily there was. That may ye quod I be sure there was. And why did any mã thã beleue ý church that is to witte the nombre & cõ- The churche. gregacion of good and right beleuyng folke, of whose mouth and tradicion

A he herde the true beleue, againste the wronge & mysslebeleue, that was in all the world among infideles & Idolaters besyde: why did any man this? but bycause thei beleued that god hath taught those thinges to good men before, & that it was & would be still the good lesson of god. And then what thing made thē to beleue that God had taught them so? It was not the scripture that made thē beleue that, as ye would that nothing can tell vs that belefe but the scripture. I praye you tell me, what scripture hath taught ỳ church to know which bookes B be the very scripture, & to reiecte many other that were writen of the same maters, & that in suche wise writen, and in the names of suche men as (sauyng for the spirite of God geuen to his churche) a naturall wise man hadde bene likely ynough, either to haue taken both for holy scripture, or to haue reiected both as none holy scripture? And surely in the recepte of the tone, & reiection of the tother, there would haue ben at the lest way such diuerse oppiniōs that the hole church had neuer takē all the tone sorte & reiected all the tother, had not that holy spirite inspired that consent, *Qui facit* Psal. 67. *unanimes in domo*, which maketh the church C all of one minde & accorde. And therfore all be it that against them that nothing will beleue but scripture, we proue thauthoritie of the church by scripture, and in such wise proue it them by scripture, that thei shal be fayn either ferther to graūte that thei be bounden to beleue the churche in thinges not specified in scripture, & as fully as thei beleue the scripture selfe, or els thei shall deny the Beleue was before scripture. scripture & all: yet should we haue beleued the churche if neuer scripture had ben writen, as those good faithfull folke dyd, that beleued well before the scripture was writē. And now the scripture self maketh vs not beleue the scripture, D but the church maketh vs to knowe the scripture. And god without scripture hath taught his churche the knowledge of his very scripture frō all counterfete scripture. For it is not as I say ỳ scripture that maketh vs to beleue the worde of God writen in the scripture (For a man might (as happely many doth) rede it all together and beleue therof neuer a whit) but it is the spirite of God that wō The spirit of God worketh in man bylefe without scripture. our owne towardnesse and good endeuour, worketh in his church & in euery good mēbre therof the credulite & bilief, wherby we beleue as wel the church cōcernynge goddes wordes taught vs by C the church and by God graued in mens hartes without scripture, as his holy wordes writē in his holy scripture. And thus ye perceyue that where ye graūted him that so dyd oppose you, ỳ we beleue the church by none other way but by the scripture: there did ye not answere him well. For we besyde the scripture do beleue the churche, bycause that God him selfe by secrete inspiracion of his holy spirite, doth (if we be willyng to lerne) teche vs to beleue his churche. And also if we will walke with him, ledeth vs in to the bilieke therof, by the selfe same meane by whiche he techeth vs & ledeth vs in to the bilieke of his holy scripture. For likewise as whan we heare ỳ scripture or rede it, if we be not rebellyous but endeuour our selfe to beleue, & captiue and subdew our vnderstanding to serue & folow faith, praying for his gracious aide & help, he than worketh with vs, & inwardly doth incline our hart in to thassent of that we rede, & after a litel sparke of our faith, encreaseth the credēce in our incredulite: so doth his goodnes in likewise inclyne & moue ỳ minde of euery like towarde and like wel willyng body, to the geuyng of fast & firme credence to the faith that the church teche-O theth him, in suche thinges as be not in the scripture, & to beleue that God hath taught his churche those pointes by his holy word without writyng. And now if ye had answered him thus I beleue surely that ye had clerely disarmed him and broken his gay sworde in twayn. Which in my mind I promise you how gayly so euer it glyter in ones eye for a floryth, yet who fight therwith shal find it neither sharpe nor sure, if it fall on a good buckler and not on a naked man. By my trouth quod your frende so semeth me now to. And though ỳ brightnesse blered myne eye at the time, yet I trust he shall wynne no worship therof H whan we mete agayne.

¶ The.ii. chapiter.

Incidētly somwhat is there touched the superstiсious fere & scrupulosite that the persone abiured did as it is said begyn with. The werynes wherof draue him to the delyte of suche lybertie as brought him to the contēpte of ỳ good deuout thinges, vsed cōmely in Christes church. And in this chapter is somwhat touched ỳ good meane maner betwene scrupulous superstiсion.

A cion, and recheleſſe negligence, that
wold be vſed in the ſingyng or ſaying
of diuine ſeruice.

BAt ſurely ſyr concernyng the
mans abiuracion ý we ſpake
of, thei be meruelouſly pſua-
ded that he had much wrong.
Not in that the opiniõs were
catholique whiche were layed to his
charge (for therin haue ye ſayd ynough)
but in that he was wrong borne in hãd
that he had preached them, where he did
not ſo. And thus be thei very credibly
enformed both by worde and wrytinge
of ſuche as were preſent therat. And
B therfore long I ſore and would be very
glad, to heare howe thoſe maters were
pued. ¶ Now and I am quod I for my
parte very ſory, ſo helpe me God, to leſe
time therin, as a thing in effecte frute-
leſſe, ſaynge that it may be peraduen-
ture a frutefull example that no man be
light to beleue ſuch thinges hereafter,
as he ſhall happe to heare ſpokẽ againſt
the church, in the fauour of any mã cõ-
dẽned of hereſy, while he ſeeth as muche
ſaid againſt the iudgemẽt of this man:
wherin ſo to ſay thei can haue no more
holde than if thei would ſay the crowe
C were white. And in good faith to ſay the
trouth, there can not in my mynde be a
more mete exãple to matche their wor-
des with all. For likewiſe as he that
would ſay the crowe were white, muſt
if he wilbe beleued, go tell the tale to a
blynde man, and may percaſe with him
be as well beleued as one that will ſay
the cõtrary, till that he be either by mo
men or men of more honeſtie put after
out of credence, ſo muſt theſe folke that
thus talke and write of him, ſeke as thei
do in dede ſuch hearers as be blynde in
the mater, and knowe nothinge therof,
whom thei perſuade with falſe ſugge-
D ſtions to conceyue an euill oppinion of
the iudges, to incline their hartes firſt
for pitie to the fauour of the mã, & after
to the fauour of ý maters that he was
abiured for. I haue my ſelf ſene a letter
writen out of Lõdon by a prieſt reputed
honeſt, how be it in dede as I ſaw it pro-
ued after a plaine peſtilẽte heretike. In
which letter he wrote ý the mã we now
talke of did no more abiure any hereſie,
than he had done him ſelf or the mã that
he wrote vnto. And yet was his writig
as falſe as god is trewe. Wherwith he
laboured couertly to make the man be-
leue, that thoppinions were none here-
ſies. And that he which was pretẽded to
haue abiured them had not ſo done in E
dede, but had well anowed them & ſtyfly
abyden by them. Lo thus do ſuch as are
of that ſecte, ſet forth their maters with
lyes, & reaſon is it that thei ſo do. For
ſith their ſectes be falſe, lyes be for them
moſt mete. And yet is it a madde thinge
of thẽ to boſte of him. For he forthwith
forſoke thẽ, and euer before his iudges
he confeſſed from the begynnynge that
the maters were playn falſe hereſies, &
the holders therwith heretikes. Saying
for him ſelfe that he neuer preached thẽ.
And ſo had thei no cauſe to be proude of
him, which in open audience at the firſt F
worde refuſed and condemned thẽ. But
thei happely thynkyng that for all his
denyenge with his mouth, he fauoured
ſtyll in dede them, and their hereſies in
his mynde, pardoned therfore thoſe
wordes which thei thought ſpoken but
of infirmite for fere and faynt harte.
And therfore wolde thei be glad yet a-
monge men that knewe not the mater,
to maintayne and vpholde his autho-
ritie againſt a better time. And ſurely
this that I ſhall tell you, haue I harde
reported, how be it I will not warrant
it for trouth. But yet haue I as I ſay G
harde it reported right credibly, that
the man we ſpeke of whiche was abiu-
red, vſed amonge ſome of that ſecte to
ſay: Let vs preache & ſet forth our way.
And if we be accuſed, let vs ſaye we ſaid
not ſo, and yet ſome of them ſhall we
wyn alway the while. And albe it I
will not as I ſay warrant you that he
thus ſaid: yet I aſſure you to my mynde
his maner in his mater before his iud-
ges was as ꝛeſonaũt as could be to that
intent & purpoſe. For ſurely theffect of
his defẽce was nothing els, but againſt
a wel and plainly proued mater, an ob-
ſtinate ſhameles nay. ¶ By my trouth
quod your frende I maruell me muche
therof. For he was called a good man H
and a very deuout. ¶ I will not quod I
as I tolde you in ý beginnyng go about
to reproue his lyuyng, ſith ý queſtion
ſtandeth not but in his teching. And yet
maye I be bolde with you to tell you
what I haue harde. He was (as it was
ſaid) after that he fell frõ the ſtudy of the
law wherin he was a proctour & parte-
ly well lerned) vnto the ſtudie of ſcrip-
ture, he was as I ſay very ferefull and
ſcrupulouſe, and began at the firſte to
fall in to ſuche a ſcrupulouſe holynes,
that he rekened him ſelfe bounden ſo
ſtraitly to kepe & obſerue the wordes of

A Christ after the very letter, that bicause our lord byddeth vs when we will pray enter into our chāber and shyt the doze to vs, he thought it therfoze synne to saie his seruice abzode, & alway wouldē be sure to haue his chamber doze shyt vnto him, while he saide his matyns. Which thing I in dede harde him onys deny in an honozable presence. ¶ But I harde agayn a nother man moze credable than twayne of him, and if I had saide than such ten, I think I lyed not, and one of his bestē prouyd frendes, a-nowe it in his face foz trouth. Howe be B it, I tel you not this thing foz any great hurte in the man. Foz it was moze peynfull and painfull, than euill and synful. But surely men say, that in conclusion with the werinesse of that superstitious fere & seruile dzede, he fell as farre to the contrary. And vnder preterte of loue and libertie wared so dzonke of the new must of lewd lightnes of mynde & bayn gladnesse of harte, which he toke foz spirituall consolacion, that what so euer him selfe lysted to take foz gwd, that thought he forthwith appzoued by god. And so framed him selfe a faith, framed him selfe a conscience, framed him selfe C a deuocion wherin him lyste, & wherin him liked, he sette him selfe at libertie. ¶ And if it so were quod your frende, thā ye se lo what cometh of this sayenge of seruice. ¶ Of sayeng seruice quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late whā much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouer whelmed some that than were in it: a good felow that after herde the tale tolde, lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytynge. How be it the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wzought. So D was in him oz any man els none harme but good in sayng of diuine seruice, but the occasion of harme is in the superstitious fallyon that their owne foly ioyneth there vnto, as some thinke thei say it not, but if thei say euery psalm twise. In faith quod your frēde than if I were as he, I would mombell it vp a pace oz els saie none at all. That were as euill quod I on the tother syde. There is a meane may serue betwene both. ¶ Ye quod he, but wote ye what the wife said that cōplayned to her gossep of her husbandes frowardnes? She saide her husbande was so wayward that he wouldē neuer be pleased. Foz if his bzede quod E she be dowe baken, than is he angry. Mary no meruayle q̃ her gossep. Mary and wote ye what gossep quod she? And if I bake it all to harde colys, yet is he not content neither by saint Jame. No quod her gossepp ye should bake it in a meane. In a meane quod she? mary I can not happen on it. And so in a payze of matyns it is much wozk to happē on the meane. And than to saye theim to shozte is lacke of deuocion. And to saye theim to seryously is somwhat superstitiouse. And therfoze the best waye were in my mynd, to saie none at all. ¶ Ye q̃ F I but than is God as wayward an husband as ye spake of, that will neither be contēt with his bzede bzennyd to colis, noz dough bakē neither. ¶ By our lady quod he but be he contēt oz not, I wene he hath much dough baken bzede amōg. Foz the matyns I tell you be in some places songen faster than I can say thē. ¶ Peradūture quod I so were it nede. Foz if thei shold syng matyns no faster than ye say thē, thei should I wene syng very few matyns in a yere. In faith q̃ he & some that say thē make me to dout much, whether the bees in their hyues vse to say matyns among thē. Foz euen G such another buzzyng thei make. ¶ Surely quod I, that is as true as it is euill done. Foz as it is a vice and some faute to be in the seruice of God superstitiouse in stede of religiouse, ouer dzedeful and scrupulous in stede of deuout and diligent, so is it a muche moze faute to be therin recheleslē and negligent. Foz accursed is he as holy scripture saith, that doth the wozke of God negligētly. The parell therof appereth by Euthicus the pong stripling that is spokē of by saint Luke in thades of thapostles. Who fallyng in slepe while the apostles and the disciples were occupied in redyng, pzechyng, and pzayer, fell out of an high H wyndowe downe vnto the groūde, and there had died God wote in what case if the merites of saint Paule had not recouered him. And now if he be of God accursed, ý negligētly doth his wozke, how much is he moze accursed that casteth his wozk away and leueth it quite vndone, suche wozke I saye as thei be bounde to do? But in this mater we spende moze time than nedeth. Foz it is not much to our prefēt purpose, sauyng that if it be trouth that the man whom we talke of fell first in such supersticiō, it is the moze likely that the deuill dyd

Our lady church.

How goddes seruice ought to be saide oz songe.

Ecclesiastes. 48

Act. 20.

cast

A cast him there in, for none other intēte, but that he might after for very wery-nesse therof, bringe him in to a contēpte of all the thinges that he was waren wery of, & set him in a delyte of libertie: Wherby with lenyng to his owne wit, he might reken euery thing good or bad as him self would accompt yt. Whiche was the redy way to bryng him to these heresies wherin he was now fallen.

¶ The. iii. chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth that men ought not to be light in mistrusting of eny iudgement geuen in the court. And B that much lesse, ought eny man to be bolde in ỳ reprouyng of a comē lawe. And he sheweth also ỳ cause why that the lawe admitteth more sleight witnesse in heighnouse criminal causes, thā in sleighter maters of couenaūtes or contractes.

FAllen quod your frēde: what abyde, we be now gone ouer the style or we come at it. We be yet in question whether it were rightuously iudged that he was fallen in theim or not. For I thinke it no synne to dout therof C yet till I heare how the mater was proued. ¶ In dede quod I that is as ye say the māter wherof we first haue to talk. And yet if ye neuer herde ferther therin, but that he was iudged fawtye, all though ye had euer accompted the man in your owne minde for very vertuouse and of right byliefe, yet sith he can not be good, except mo mē thā he be naught, whom ye ought no more to misdeme than him, & specially his iudges which are elect and chosen for indifferent, and whiche without likelyhode of lucre or losse be set to cōsider, examine & by their iudgement ordre the cause of an other D mā, where as ỳ parties maye resonably be more mistrusted thē self both ỳ accuser which may speke of malice, & specially the partie ỳ is accused, which is well likely to lye for his defēce in a mater of parell if he were proued giltie, ye therfore ought not to mistruste the iudgement, excepte ye knewe the mater vntruely iudged in dede, or by very good and substaunciall folke that were presente and indifferent, had plaine & sure informacion therof. ¶ Mary ȳ he men thinke that if any such informaciō may serue, thei haue had ynough therof by men of wisdom, lernyng, and honestie, both by mouth & by writyng that were present at all the handelyng of ỳ mater. E ¶ Well quod I we shall lette their wisdome and their lernyng alone. But as for their honestie, shall somwhat shewe it selfe, vppon the trouth or vntrouth of their report. Wherin first I pray you could thei saie that he was not cōuicted by as many witnesses and as good and as credible as the law requyreth: ¶ So many quod he and such as the lawe requyreth: would God ȳ he that we coud as easely find good men and true, as we maye find so many such. For the lawe doth as I heare say require but twaine, & yet in cause of heresy careth not much howe bad thei be, not though thei be heretikes thē selfe. And is not this a wonderouse case, ỳ where as in a mater of a lytell money no lawe receyueth any witnesse but honeste and credible, the lawe made by the churche, should in so great a mater, so highly touchyng the vtter destruction of a man in body and goodes with a deth the moste painfull that can be deuised, admitte & receiue a persone infamed, and gene faith & credēce to an infidell, whom thei haue proued & reproued fals in his faith to God: For me thinketh the excuse but very G slender that I haue ere this herde in this point alledged for the churche, that suche simple witnesse are admitted in heresie, bycause the crime is so great & so odious, that therfore it is worthy to be hādled with the more rigour and the lesse fauour. And this thing will I well agree for good reason in the punishemēt of the crime whan it is proued. But for God not in hatred, and persecucion of the person ere the cryme be proued. ¶ But nowe where as thei receyue the witnesse of so sleight and false felowes for a proke, thei pursew the person and not the crime: where as me thinketh on the tother syde, the more heyghnouse, odiouse, & abhominable that the crime H is, the more slow should we be to beleue it, and the more sure & plain prose shold we haue, ere we should iudge any man for so euill to cōmyt it. ¶ There is ȳ I no dout, but that the worlde is so bad, that there be many so naughty, that thei will be redy ynough to bere false witnesse. And yet God forbede that ye were so bad as ye say, that a man might soner finde such than good men & trewe. And also though the witnesse were false and would lye, yet whan thei be wisely & seuerally examined, thei can seldome so well make their tale before, but that

F

G why simple witnesse in heresy are admitted.

H

their

A their vntrouth shall in some parte appere. And finally the law byndeth not the iudge so precisely to the wordes of the witnesse, but that it leueth many thinges to be pondered and wayed by his wisdome. For it is in a iudge as it is in a phisicion, to whom there be many good bokes writen, able to geue good light and instruction, yet who so would so precysely bynde him to his boke, that he should nothing vse the discretion of his brayne, he shoulde sometime do full euill seruice. ¶ And yet is it as Aristotle saith well done in dede to make B the lawes so sufficient, ȳ as few thinges as may, shall remayne and be left to the discretiō of the iudge, sith that the comē lawes be comenly made by many moo than are the particuler iudges, and also many suche as are as wise as iudges. And ouer that the lawes be to the iudges a sure and substaunciall sheide, to defende and kepe them from the hatred and obloquy that els would folow their sentence on the tone syde or the tother, were their iudgement neuer so iusse. For men be so parciall alway to theim selfe, that our hart euer thinketh the iudgement wrong, that wringeth vs to the worse. For be it neuer so right, all C reken we wrōge wherof we fele harme. ¶ But yet of al thing specially the law shoulde beste content vs, for that it is fertheste out of all cause of suspiciō. For where as a iudge medleth with a mater present, and persons whom he seeth and knoweth, wherby there mai percase fauour, hatered, hope, or drede, pitie, cruelte, mede, request, or some other affeccion inclyne him to misordre him selfe in the mater: the lawes alwaie be made for the punishemēt of thinges only that are yet to come, and who shall fall in parell the makers can not tell. Happely their foes, happely their frēdes (and as mens maners be mutable) peraduēture D theim selfe, for which cause the makers of the law made by the people in causes criminall, can be but indifferent. And therfore I meruayle the more, sith that faut ye finde nowe is not in the iudges but in the lawes selfe, wherin ye thinke it euill prouided that for the hatered of an heighnouse crime, the person peraduenture innocent shold fall in perell of a painfull dethe by the takyng of more sleight witnesse than wold be taken for sufficient in a farre sleighter mater. Somwhat ye said in dede if the hatered of the crime were all the cause. But therin ye go farre wyde. For the chief E cause why that in heighnouse criminal causes, as thefte, murder, treason, & heresie, the lawe taketh such for witnesse as it will not accept in a mater of money or other cōtract made betwene two parties, is for that els all suche crimes should passe forth vnpunished, & therby should the worlde swarme full of suche mischeuous people for lacke of profe & triall in the mater, by cause that those which go about such an heighnous dede as cōmynge ones to knowledge would bring theim to a shamefull deth, do not vse comēly, to take a notary, and honest F witnesse with them to make and instrument therof, as many men do & all men may do in a contracte or couenaūt: but vse to do it by stelth as couertly as thei can. By reason wherof, reason moueth and necessitie cōpelleth (except ye wold haue all go to nought) to receyue suche recordes as thei be wonte to make of their counsail, which be as ye wote wel none but such as thei be theim self. And yet sometime whiche maye seme more straunge, we be cōtente & reason would we so were, with the witnesse of ȳ parties theim selfe. For if that. r. theues robbed foure men at ones in a wood, G though all the good that thei take away were one comen purs of all foure, and would all. r. whan thei were taken wel & stylly say nay, yet were I their iudge (sith al witnesse serueth but onely to induce a credēce or credulite ī the iudges myndes) I wouldе not let (excepte some other circumstance withstode it) to beleue the. iiij. complaynauntes in their owne mater against al ten defēdaūtes. And all be it that percase a iudge might be in a cōtracte made betwene two parties enduced in his owne mynde without any doubte to the contrary to geue credēce in such a point to the tone parte against the tother for the well knowen H trouth and honesty of the tone, and in the tother parte the contrary: yet doth the lawe thorow the world almost prohibite him so to prede in a ciuile cause, lesse thei shoulde bringe that fourme of iudgemēt in custome, wherin for lucre ensuynge to that party there were occasion to corrupte the iudge, and also for as much as that fashyō were in a ciuill cause clene without necessitie, sith the parties maie if thei lyst for the surete of their bargaynes haue writyng or good witnesse therat. Whiche if thei lyst not for to do, either for folye, slouth, or trust,

The causes which incline a iudge to misordre.

Why simple witnesse are taken in criminal causes.

Wherto witnesse serueth.

A good reason is that it rather tourne thē selfe to losse, than for the redressynge of their ouersight, to bringe in place that fourme and fashion of iudgement, that may be the cause of other mens wrongfull trouble, where as in heyghnouse criminall causes neyther is there alway such cause of corruption, specially toward the condemnacion vpō whiche syde onely falleth the faute and paryll that ye speke of, and is also as ye se ineuitable necessitie for lack of possibilitie of other recorde & witnesse, tyll ye prouide that theues & murderers wil be cōtent to take honest witnesse with them B that maye bere witnesse against them.

¶ The. iiii Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth vpō what groūd and cause the man was conuyct. And also diuers other thinges not than brought in iudgemēt, wherby it may well appere that he was greatly gyltie. And so he sheweth incidētly wherfore it were not reason in a detection of heresy, to suffer the witnesses published and the crime wel proued any new witnesses to be receyued for the partie that is accused.

E Howe be it though this serue for suche maters ingenerall, yet for this one mater that we now speke of, we stande farre in a nother case. For this mā was not conuicted by the wordes of one or twayne, but by the othes of one or twayne a boue twenty, not such men as we now speke of, lollardes & heretikes, but honest men and almost of al sortes, of religious folke, husband men, & gentill men. ¶ In dede quod he to say the trouth I herd say there were many witnesses. But I herd agayne that he offered to bring twyse as many, and that of D suche as were present as well as thei, & stode as nere as thei, and vnderstode as well as thei, and slepte no more at his prechyng than a person doth at his offeryng, and woulde depose plainly for him. ¶ Whether he said so or not q I, that can I not tell you, but this I wote well. Him selfe was well lerned in the lawe, and neuer could say that he was denyed any fauour that the law would graūt. And many a witnesse was there to whō he layd none exceptiō, nor could say the contrary, but that thei were at his sermons & herd him. And then whā he was so clerely conuicted by so many, so honeste and so farre from all suspeciō of corruption, it were peraduenture a thinge not conuenient, after those witnesses published, to bring pues a freshe vpon the principall mater. For if it so shoulde be, than should either the news proues depose the same that the other did before, or els thei shoulde depose the contrary, or finally saye suchs thing as neither could make nor marre. Now if thei did the first, that is to say depose as the first did, than were we no ferther than we were before, and that time lost and the mater delayed in vayne. If thei dyd the thirde, deposynge percase that their selfe were not present, or a slepe or not well vndestode, or not well remembred the mater, yet were we still at one stay. But now the second point (which were in maner the onely thinge that might seme to haue any colour for him) that the new proues would depose, that thei were at the same time present, and stode nere him, marked him well, and were also well remembred that he said not so, ye and peraduenture that he said the cōtrary: this case were possible, but surely it were so seldome likely, that it were not worth to chaunge a law therfore. But nowe if it so should happen, here were a great confusion. And howe coulde any sentence be gyuen, if thei should beleue the seconde as well as the first? ¶ That maketh q he no mater. For if the mater appere vpon his syde therby, either clere or doubtefull, than may the iudges acquite and assoyle the defendaūt. And better were it the faute to be quytte, than the fautles to be punyshed. ¶ It were a straunge thinge quod I if the lawe should in such a mater as this is, after the witnesses ones publyshed, and therby the mater well proued, than examine other witnesse a freshe vpon the principall point. This were in my mynde perillous, not onely for fere of suborncacion & false instructiō of witnesse a thing easy to be done vpon the sight of that that is deposed all redy before, but also for that if the affirmatiue be proued, specially in this case of heresye beynge by so many sufficiently proued, that one taught & preched suche thinges in his open sermons, if other that were presente at the same sermons would now depose the cōtrary, It may be that the first herde the thing whiche the seconde marked not as many times it happeth. And more likely is it also that one may forgette the thing that he herd,

A herd, than that a nother should remember that thing that he herde not. And if thei wouldе peradventure adde therto that he said the cōtrary of such thinges as was proued against him, than can it at the best be no better taken, than that he in one sermon said, taught, and preached both twayne, ý is to wit the trouth and the heresies. In which case he well were worthy in iudgemēt to knowlege his faut and be corrected therfore. ¶ By my trouth quod he yet me thinketh euer that it ought to be herde all that any mā will say, and take all to the best for him that is accused, and specially in heresy B pretēded to be preached where so many be present. Surely quod I what were beste God woteth, for I can not tell. But this wote I well that the wytte of the hole world in effect agreeth, that in all suche heyghnous crimes, reason is clere to the contrary and quyte against your minde. And where ye thinke your minde worthy to take speciall place in the prose and examinacion of heresies, surely me seemeth that of all crimes in heresie might it lesse be suffered. For well ye wote that heresies be false beliefe & faccious wayes full of busynes. Heresies. And such as geue theim selfe therto, be C stourdy and studiouse about the furtheraunce of their sediciouse secte. And sith thei be fallen from god & his true faith, thei haue no great care of trouth, nor be very scrupulouse in the lendynge of an othe til thei neede in like case to be paied agayne. So that if their nay may stand against other good mens ye, and where the heresie is proued to haue be preched, there men may be herd and beleued in deposynge the contrary, the false prechour maie be bolde to say what him liste. For he shal neuer faile to haue his recordes redy. ¶ Ye q̃ he but this way wouldе not serue him. For men might take exception to them if thei were here- D tikes. Nay quod I not if thei be so, but if thei be proued so. And that shall thei neuer be if your way were receyued. For eche of their witnesse shall alway serue other. ¶ For soth q̃ he it seemeth somewhat perilouse as ye saye, if men shouldе against thaffirmatiue proued, lene to the contrary witnesse, for the negatiue in any crime that is sediciouse & hath daily folke of euill conscience feruently fall in therto, but yet I muche meruaile of one thing. For I haue herd it credibly reported that there were twayn, and both beneficed men, both twayne very vertuous mē, whic he herd E him preche as well as thei did that had deposed against him. And those twayne affirmed & offred to depose, that he preched not the thinges whiche he was accused of. And surely had I ben indge, I would haue beleued those twayn above other twenty, except witnesse be taken onely by nomber and not by weight. Surely quod I my mynd and pours be not farre a sonder. For sith all witnes serue to enduce the iudges mynde to cōceyue a credence and an opinion, or rather a certain persuasion on the tone syde, I couldе not my selfe but beleue F some twayns better than some twenty. And would not faile to way thē rather then take them by tale. How be it quod I of those twayne that ye speke of, the tone was in dede such as ye say. But as for the tother was neither than holden very clere, and sence that time proued clerely nought. But though the tone was as he was in dede a very good mā, yet for the mans excuse he was no very good witnesse, nor the tother neither although he had bene as good a man as he, nor if thei had ben fourty men mo as good as the better of them both, saying as thei did. ¶ Why quod he saied thei not well for him? ¶ Yes quod I for as G farre as thei wente, but thei wente not farre ynoughe. ¶ Ah q̃ he their wordes were of likelyhod narowly taken. Thei were quod I takē as large as thei were spoken: which was that he preached not such heresies in a place where thei hard him in London. But than was his detection and the prose made therupon, of those heresies preched at sondrye places out of London, wherby their wordes went as wyde for his excuse, as if one ý were arreygned for a felonye done at Salysbury on shroue tewsday, brought in good witnes to the barre that would depose and swere for him that he did no suche felonye at Shrewsbery on shere- H thursday, for thei were with him there all that day them selfe. But for conclusion he was cōuicted by mo then twēty, and excused by neuer one. And therfore if his iudges wronged him, there was neuer mā had right. And yet were there besides the witnesse some letters writē of his owne hande vnto one of his Iudges, whiche letters I haue sence sene, soundynge in mine eres to as euill heresies as those were that he was detected of. Which letters were neuer layed into the court tyll that after the proues

pu-

[illegible] and rette, he appeared abiu-
rate standing still in the penaull, and
presently recouering to himselfe hir selfe
to his abiuracion. For than saide his
iudge to whom thei were written, that
forsth he refused to be reconciled to the
churche, he would kepe his conclusion of
his. And therwith brought in those let-
tres and filed them among the records
of the court. ¶ Thus man had also bene
before that accused vnto the greatest pre-
late in this realme, who for his errour
sometime bane to the diuinitie, but not
proceded far in the matter against him.
But accepting his penall with a pa-
pe all othe that he sweth from that time
forth be no better forth of heresies, but
in his preachinges and reasinges bynge
them, bifauored him very bennynely, &
of his liberal bounte gaue him alle mo-
ney for his costes. And yet was none of
all these matters layed vnto his charge.
Which if thei had bene, wele peradur-
ture bane put him to parell. ¶ I was
also my selfe sence his abiuracion pre-
sent (as it happed) with an honorable
prelate at such time as one that was an
auncient heretike had bene examined, &
there had confessed that he had holden,
taught, and in diuerse countreis spred
about almost all the heresies, that any
kynde heretike holdeth. ¶ Why ye not
tell his name quod he? Whiche of them
quod I. For he had mo names than halfe
a lefe can holde. ¶ Where dwelled he
your friende? Sorre where & nowhere
quod I. For he walked about as an a-
postle of the deuill from place to place, &
towne to towne, throughout the realme, &
had in every diocese a diuerse name.
By reason whereof he did many perels
much harme or he could be founde out.
This heretike reuchynge all his other
heresies, he knowledged them to crist-
ion to be naught, and offered to abiure
them. But as for drynkynge of images,
rippynges & pilgrimages, those thinges
he saide were none heresies but very
good and trewe pointes, for he herde the
preacher he said of the great doctour, na-
mynge the man we spake of, and tolde
where. Confessyng also that he used to
heare his sermons, that he lefte not to
go xx. mile to heare him. And yet was
there sence that another heretike that
confessed for his owne parte the sybe.
So that ye may se that good christen folke
were offended with his preachinge, and
heretikes liked his preachinge, & grauni-
ded their heresies upon his preachynge.

And than loke you what maner of pre-
chyng it was likely to be. ¶ I tolde you
also right nowe that one of those two
that ye toke for so good & connyng men,
was after founden worse than many
men would haue went. Sir so was it in
dede that he was detected for byeng of
many bokes of Luther, Lambart, and
Zuynglius with other of that sorte, and
well proued & by him self also confessed,
that he had bought of those bokes very
many, whiche he brought forth at last,
where he had layde them vp no lesse sus-
piciously than secretly, and so secretly
that all the towne shoulde haue sought
them long ere thei shoulde haue founde
them out. ¶ He had also set a priest of
his and a seculer seruaunt of his besyde
to by many of the same suyte, & double
and treble of one sorte, whiche were by
the vtered to diuers ponge scolers such
as thei founde properly witted, feately
lerned, and newfangly mynded. And
thus laboured to corrupte the realme.
Another parishe priest had he before, &
kepte his cure also as this other dyd,
which was after proued a very pernyc-
iouse heretike. ¶ But what was quod
he done to the maister? ¶ For soth & I
great fauour had he, and as some men
said great wrong to, that he was not
openly declared. Howe be it bycause he
was in good estimacion, there was of
pitie much regard had to the conserua-
cion of his honestie. And nothing was
there in effecte exacted of him, but his a-
mendement with the knowledgynge of
his faute. For surely that man was of
suche a poore spirite in Christ, that for
any othe that coulde be geuen him, loge
it was ere pride would for shame suffre
him to saie the trouthe. After whiche
ones confessed with his hande writing,
that as farre as I haue herde without
any other abiuracio, there was secretly
his solemne othe taken in iudgement,
that he shoulde do no suche thinge any
more vpon paine of a relapse, & so with
certaine secret penaūce dismissed. But
the thinge that I tell you my tale for, is
this. This man besydes that, all the
bokes in effecte which he had bought of
this Lutherane secte were diligētly red
ouer and studied, and with such maner
of notes marked in the margyne and
wordes written of his own hāde where
the worst matters were, that he lefte no
man in doubte that red them what fer-
uent affection he bare vnto them, he had
I say besydes all this, diuers epystles I

Heretikes most commonly haue diuers names.

wote

A wote nere whose, but written wer they with his own hand, wherin wer plenty of pestilent heresies. And a sermon also woorse than they all written with hys owne hande also, readye to be preached as it semed if the world woulde so chãge that the tyme would serue it. And whan he was in his examinacion sore preaced vpon to tell for what intẽt he made such a sermon ready and layd it vp so secretly: destitute at last of al excuses ỳ might beare any colour of any good cause: wel q̃ he, I see wel I must tell all, I am loth to hurt any body. And therupon he told how it was made the most part by a mã
B that was abiured, of whõ we specially speke. So that now setting al this geare together, this mans confessiõ, his secret frend and companion in such matters, hys old accusacions of like matters, the heretikes confessions that foũded theyr heresies in the same matters vpon the auoritie of his sermon, and besides al this moe than .xx. witnesses plainly prouing the matter against hym, I would fayne wit who had righte if he had wrong, although there had been vsed to hym more rigour a great deale than there was.

¶ The 5. Chapiter.

C ¶ The author proueth that the spirtual iudges dyd the man meruelous fauour, and almost more than lawful in that they admitted him to suche an abiuracion as they did, and that they dyd not rather leaue hym to the secular handes.

Why q̃ he, what deuill rigour could thei more haue shewed for the fyrst tyme, than make him abiure & beare a faggot? Yes quod I some man had leuer beare twayne colde in his necke, thẽ haue one beare him hote on a fyre at his
D fete. In fayth q̃ he they coulde not haue done that to him at the fyrst tyme. No q̃ I, not if he willingly retourned to the churche knowledging hys faulte, & ready to abiure all heresies, and penitently submitted himself to penaunce. And els if he proue himself obstinate and impenitent, the churche neyther is bounden nor oughte to receyue hym, but vtterly maye forsake hym and leaue hym to the secular handes. But now was he so obstinate that he woulde not abiure of lõg tyme. And dyuers dates wer his iudges fayn of their fauour to geue hym, with sufferance of some his best frendes, and whõ he most trusted, to resort vnto hym. E And yet scantly could al this make him submitte himself to make hys abiuracion. And finally were they fayne for sauing of his life, to deuise a fourme of abiuracion, wherof I neuer sawe the like, nor in so playn a case neuer would, wer I the iudge suffer ỳ like herafter. What maner of abiuraciõ was that quod he? Mary quod I his abiuracion was such, that he therin abiured and forswore all heresies, knowledging himself lawfully conuict. But where as they be woont to confesse in their owne abiuraciõ that they haue holden suche heresies and bee
F gyltie therof, that woulde he dooe in no wyse, but as clearely as hys faulte was proued, and by as many: yet woulde he not to dye therfore confesse himself faultie, but alwaye stode still vpon it in vertue of his othe that al they helped him. It might happẽ quod he that he had forgotten that he had so preched. That wer quod I great woonder. For I am sure whan he had preached so in so many places, he had not done it of a sodayn aduẽture, but of a deliberate purpose: which except he fell madde, it wer not wel pos-
G sible for him in so great a matter to forgeat. And besides this, it was also deposed, that in a place where he preached, he was after the sermon reasoned withall forthwith. And by an honest lay man had it layd vnto hys charge, that he had perilously preched, shewing hym wherin. Wherunto he made aunswer, not ỳ he had not sayd so, nor that he hadde not meynt so, or that they had mistaken and wrong vnderstanden his woordes: but that he would preache there agayn sone after, and proue hys preachyng true by the old doctours of the church. And this happed him not long before that he was accused. Was it now possible by youre
H fayth, that he could haue forgot this? It was quod he possible ynough that altogether was false, and that they lyed all. For so might they doe by possibilitie being but men, and though they had been moe then they were. And then he peradventure knowing that they so did, why should he falsly confesse a faulte in himselfe for the falshod of other folke? That is q̃ I true, if he so knewe it. But howe coulde that be so agaynst so manye proues swoorne, and deposyng the matter vpon theyr othes, beyng though they wer but men, yet men of wit and honestye, & some well learned also, and menne that bare hym no displeasure for anye other

matter

A matter than his euill preaching, men almost all such as coulde haue none other matter to hym, folke that neuer had other matter with hym, and many of the of little acquaintaunce or none the one with the other, so that there was no fere of conspyring together in one tale. Yet quod he, were it possible that they might lye al. And what quod I that he had ben accused in other places before as he was in dede, not onely to the most honourable prelate that I tolde you: but besydes hym vnto two other bysshops too? Well quod he, and yet thei that so accused him B myght happen to lye too. And what q̃ I that his own secret acquayntaunce cõfessed that he made the first draught of ỳ vngracyous sermon that I tolde you? Heard you that your selfe quod he? My selfe quod I, nay: but such as I heardẽ it of, wer men of more worship and trueth therto, then that any man I wene, wold mistrust their tale. As worshyppeful as they were quod he, and as trustye too, I coulde mystrust their tale well ynough sometime for lacke of indifferencye peraduenture as they stode vnsworne. And yet though I mistrusted not them all, it might be that they sayd true, and that ỳ other lied, which for his own excuse laid C the first making of that sermon to the other man. The laying therof to hym q̃ I could not excuse himself. For he confessed that himself liked it, and allowed it, and therfore wrote it out, and added also many thinges mo therto. Well quod he, and yet all this myght be. And what quod I of the heretykes that grounded their opinions vpon his sermons? May it not be q̃ he that they lyed? And what quod I of thẽ that accused hym to other prelates before? By god quod he, euen as I tolde you before: it myght bee that they lyed well ynough. And what than D quod I of all those twentye that deposed agaynst him nowe? Mary quod he as I tolde you now: it might be that they dyd euen thesame. This is quod I a strange thing to me. Why quod he shoulde thys be strange to you? Me thinketh it should be strange to no man, but very playn to euery manne, that it might be so. For I pray you might it not so be? Wer it not possible that they might al lye, & though they were as many moe? Possible quod I: that I say not nay but that it wer possible though they wer a thousand times as many. Well quod he, sith it might be so, then put case it was so. Dydde not he right than in that he still sayd so? And if he hadde dyed therin, had he not died for the truth? For knowing in himself that al they belied him, he was not bound to belye himselfe with them, and confesse againsse himselfe an vntrueth: but had been in great sinne if he so shoulde haue done. What say ye to this? I say quod I to this, that all the force & effecte of your conclusion hangeth vpõ the case whiche ye put, that all that euer ought sayde or deposed against him, lyed al the meyny. Which case ye would nedes haue graũted because it was possible. And than ỳ case once graunted, ye deduce your conclusion very surelye. And in good fayth ye bring me therẽ so to my wittes end, that I wote not wel which way to aunswere you, admitting your case. But euer my mind geueth me that your case, though it be possible, were rather to bee granted at a scole in argument, than at a court in iudgement. And I praye you for the proofe therof let me put you another case, which in good fayth I am half ashamed to put you, sauig that ye driue me to seke a shyfte. And yet shall not my case in my minde bee muche vnlyke to yours. If it so wer that wilkyn had laid a wager with Simken, that a certayne way named betwene thẽ vsu all ynough for men and horse bothe: there had gone of late an horse or two, and that he wold so clerely prooue it that it coulde not be the contrary. If Simken sayd and layd his wager the contrarye, and than they both should chese vs for iudges, & we coming all fowre into the waye: Wilken would shew vs on the grounde parte in the claye and parte peraduenture in the snow the prent of horse fete & of mennes fete also by a long way. x. myle together and ye will, syll they come at a water where as went a way by shippe, no mã can tell who nor whither: it forceth not for our wyse case. But nowe if Wilken would say that he had wõne his wager: for loe here ye see the prente of the horse fete all this way shone and all with the very nayles in them, so that it maye bee non otherwise but horse hath gone here. If Simken after all this would say the wager wer his, for it is not proued that anye horse had gone there: for it myght be that they wer gealdynges or mares. Here were we fallen in a great question of the law, whether the gray mare may be the better horse or not: Or whither he haue a wise face or not that looketh as like a fole as an ewe loketh like a shepe. And in this question, if the parties demurred

A marred in our iudgemēt, we might aske
aduyse further of learned mē & iudges.
We might q he by suite to bee sure of ý
matter, make it a cheker chamber case.
Or sauyng the premunyre, we myghte
haue it tryed in the rote at Rome. Very
well q I, so that I see wel by your witte
and mine together, one shift or other we
should find for a smal end therein, if the
doubt were in that poynte. But nowe if
Symken sticked not therto, but woulde
say thus, lo here ye see the mē haue gone
this way: and how can ye than be sure ý
anye horse went here? For I putte case
saith he that these men which went here
B had horse shoone in their handes made
fast vpon long steles, and alway as thei
went pryckeb them downe harde in the
ground. Tut quod he, this were a wyse
inuencion. Verely q I, to me it woulde
not seme verye gaye. But nowe if Sim-
kin wer contencious, and woulde saye
the wager were his, excepte it be so proo-
ued that it can bee none otherwyse but
that horse haue of late gone there: & thā
will say to vs, lo syrs as ye see it, it may
be otherwise. For mē might make with
their handes, all the pryntes of horse
shoone in the grounde. And than if we
woulde say that was neuer so: he would
aske vs, howe can we bee sure thereof,
C whyle we can not say nay but it myght
be so, and than would stil prere vpon vs
with this question: may it not be so? It
may quod he by possibilitie be so. Than
quod I, whan we graunt him once that
it may be so, than wil he by and by putte
case that it wer so. And than if wē graūt
him his case once for ý possibilitie, than
will he shortlye conclude that the other
parte is not so surely proued, as it must
be if Wilkin shoulde winne the wager.
What shoulde we saye to hym nowe, to
whom shoulde we geue the wager? In
fayth quod he I wote nere what to saye
to him. And the matter is so mad, that
D as for the wager, what I woulde geue
wilkin I wot nere: but as for Simkin,
except he better impugned the proofe, if
the wager wer but a butter flye, I wold
neuer awarde hym one wing. Surelye
q I, & you shal rule ý mater for me. For
if ye geue him nought, he geatteth as li-
tle of me. But now what if he ware an-
gry that his proper inuencion were no
more set by, nor hys wit no more regar-
ded, and would therupon help forth his
parte with his othe, and sweare vpon a
booke that himselfe sawe whan the men
made those pryntes in the ground with
horse shone holdē in their handes, what
E woulde ye than saye? Mary quod he thā
would I say and sweare too, that beside
the losse of hys wager he had like a false
foolishe knaue lost his honestie and hys
soule too. In good fayth quod I, and for
ought I see yet, I durst be bold to swere
with you. And thā setting wilkin alone
with Simkin disputyng their sophem
themselfe let vs retorne home agayne to
our own matter. In which, whtie there
wer so many, so cleare & open proues a-
gaynst the man of whom we speake all
this whyle, though it were possible that
all they might be false, yet could ther no
F indifferent iudge so thinke except it wer
so proued, and that by other meanes thā
the onely othe of the partie ý is accused,
swearing alone against them all. Yet q
he for all ý, if he know in dede ý he dyd it
not, he doth but wel to abide by ý truth.
Verye sooth ye saye quod I. For Sym-
kyn neyther if he sawe the menne print
the horse shone in the hygh way, though
it seemed vs neuer so vnlikelye, yet had
he doone well ynoughe to saye it and
sweare it too, and sykely to sticke ther-
by. And yet ye remember pardie, that if
G he so would haue sworne, ye and I both
durst right now right boldelye haue be-
leued ý he lyed. And might we not well
believe the same in our case too? Yes q
he that will I wel. And therfore the iud-
ges did him but right to rekē him as cōu-
icted, and therfore to compel him to ab
iure. But yet they shewed him therin no
such fauour as ye speake of, in that they
admitted hym to hys abiuracion with-
out confessing of the faulte. For if they
had forced hym thereto, they had in my
mynd done him plain & open wrong, be-
cause it might be that he sayd and sware
H true. And than shoulde they haue forced
him agaynste hys conscience, to saye of
hymselfe vntrue. And that shoulde they
doe, not only clene against right: but al-
so without necessitie, cōsidering ý they
might, as in conclusion they did, abiure
him otherwise. And therfore they toke ý
best way both for him & for themselfe al-
so. But since they did therin none other-
wise then as they wer of duetie bounde,
it wel appeareth he had therin no suche
fauour as ye woulde make it seme that
they shewed hym. Well quod I, syth
your self agreeth that he had no wrong,
albeit no fauour had been shewed hym:
yet wer your errād aunswered as far as
toucheth his abiuracion. And nowe if I
shold proue you that his iudges shewed

hym

A him such fauour, I fere me lest I should therwith somewhat seme to charge the that they had done, though not wronge, yet verie nere wronge, the fauour apperyng to be shewed, yf not agaynst ý law yet at the lest waye the lawe for fauoure so farre stretched forth, that the lether coulde scant holde. But yet chese they for me. For sithe I haue saide it, I wyll tel you why, and so much the more boldlye betwene vs twaine, for that I perceiue not ī you any such maner of mind towarde them, that ye wouldе blowe abrode anye faulte of anye vnlawfull fauour founden in them. Ah well sayde B quod he and laughed. Ye wene I were more readye to report their rigour than any poynte of their fauoure. Well taken of you quod I. I see well a man can not haue a good opiniō of you, but your conscience construeth it to the cōtrary. But now for the matter, I trowe we be agreed bothe, that all were it so that the man had bene fautlesse in dede, yet wer ý proues against him so many, so good, so clere & euident, & so muche more than sufficiēt, ý nether his iudges nor our self neither, nor I think his own father neither if he hadde heard them, coulde haue thought him other thā very greatly gyltie. Surely quod he ý is true. Now ye I ý being true ý thei could none otherwise C reken in him though he stil sware ý contrary must it not nedes be ý in his denying in vertue of his othe, ý thiges which thei could not but belede true, thei must nedes therw̄ beleue him al that while to lye & be periured. That foloweth ye he. Now ye I, whan one is accused & conicted of heresie, what thing will the law ý the churche shall receiue him to. What thing quod he. mary to mercye. Naye ye I mercye is the thing as it semeth that thei receiue him by, not by the thyng ý they receiue him to. Then is it quod he to penaunce. That semeth well sayde ye D I. For the Church by mercye receiueth hym to penaunce. But nowe ye I dothe the church openly receiue to penance any persō appering and prouing himself stil impenitent. Nay quod he. Appereth not he still impenitent quod I, that styl appereth periured, & stil standing in periurye. And where the firste parte of penaunce is confession and humble knowleging of the fault, can the church reken him penitent that stil refuseth to cōfesse his faulte, that lyeth falsely styll, and falsly forswereth himselfe. The churche quod he can not surelye knowe whither he swere true or false, and therefore they E cā not surely iudge him forsworne. For it may be by possibilitie that al the witnesse lyed. It may be to quod I by possibilitie if we goo this way to worke, that all the men lyed that euer haue said they came frō Rome, and that all the brieses and bulles were fayned that euer were supposed to bee broughte fro thence, for ought that he can tell that neuer came there hymselfe. For some one mā might lye and some one bull or brieke might be fayned, and so som other and one by one and so forth of all the remenaunt. For like possibilitie is there in euery one as is in any one. And peraduenture as for F your own selfe haue neuer yet talked w̄ yr. that haue tolde you they haue bene at Rome. No no quod he, nor I wene with yr. neither. And howe many bulles quod I, and brieks haue ye sene ý came thēce. By our Lady quod he bulles very fewe, and brieses neuer none, for I neuer ask after them. Then quod I might you by your owne reasō as well doubt whither there were any Rome or no, as whither that man lied and wer forsworne or no. But in this point I will not long sticke with you. For surely standing the matter in suche case that his iudges coulde not otherwyse thinke of him but that he G was fauty of thinges whiche he styll in vertue of his othe denied, all were it so ý they might thinke therwith that by possibilitie thei might bee in ý mind deceyued, yet whyle thei could not think that nor thei coulde haue none other mynde, but that he (though it might by possibilitie be true ý he sware) yet was forsworn in dede, and in verye dede perseuered in periury. Now the matter I say stādīng in suche case, sithe he that with so playn appearing periury, standeth in the denial of his fault and falsé defence of hymself can not be rekened of his fault peni- H tent, and vnto penaunce ought none impenitent parson to be admitted, I wyll not say that his iudges dyd wrong. But surely me thinketh I may well say that they shewed him great fauour in ý they receyued hym to penaunce without the confession of his faulte. And I thinke A strange fa- herely it was a fauorable fashion of ab- chiō of abiura- suracion, and so straunge that the lyke cion. hath bene very seldom sene, if euer it wer sene before. And that dyd they in hope ý god shall sende hym more grace in tyme to come, and so I beseche hym to do. For I promise you for my parte I neuer can conceiue good hope of his amendement

Confessiō the first parte of penaunce.

A all the while that I see that pryde abyde still in his heart, that cannot suffer hym for shame to confesse his fault.

The 6. Chapiter.

¶ The authour sheweth that the par so abiured for his owne worldlye honesty, & for the more fruit of his preachig, if he be suffred to preach in time to come, it were muche better for him openly and willingly to confesse the trouth. And that now by the stadyng styll in the deniall, he bothe shameth himself, and shold if he preached slaūder the worde of god.

B IT is quod he peraduenture better thus. For thā shoulde he slaunder himself and the worde of god also, if he shold hereafter preache againe.

Nay mary q̃ I than should he rather deliuer hymself fro slaunder & the worde of god also. For than shoulde euery man see the deuill cast cleane oute of his heart, and hope that he should bee from thencefoorth a very good manne. Where now thynking hym to perseuer in a proude periury, we can none other thynke but that he must nedes bee verye nought stil, though we should hereafter C heare him preach neuer so wel. And that wer a sore sclaunder to the word of god, that men should se him whom thei heare preache well, so proude an ypocryte and therwith so foolishe too, that for a false hope of his owne estimacion preserued, he laboreth as much as i him is to make the worlde wene that twentye true men wer forsworne against him. Wherein while ther is no man so madde to beleue him, he leseth (if he preach in this plight) all his whole purpose, and wynneth nothing but the contrarye, that is double shame of his proude periury and hie malicious minde, in stede of the prayse that he looketh and preacheth for.

D

The. 7. Chapiter.

¶ The messenger moueth a question if a manne bee sworne by a Iudge to saye the trouth of hymselfe in a crime whereof he is hadde suspecte, whyther he maye not lawfullye on hys othe swere vntrouth, where he thynketh the truth can not bee proued agaynste hym. Where vnto the authour answereth that he is bounden vpon parell of periurye to saye and confesse trouth. And the muche more sinne and folye bothe was it then for the manne that thus was abiured to E forswere hymself in the thyng that he wyst well woulde bee proued, and a shamelesse folye to stande styll by his periurye whan he sawe the matter so clerely proued in dede. And with this finisheth he the matter of his abiuracion.

IN good faith quod he, I beginne in this matter to bee of your minde. For ỳ matter beyng so playne and clerelye proued, it was and is bothe synne and folie to stand in the denying. But ther commeth a thyng in my mind F though it be somewhat out of oure matter wherein I woulde bee glad to heare what ye thynke. What thyng is that q̃ I? Mary quod he, I haue heard som wel learned menne saye, if a manne wer accused of a faulte that were true in dede, yet if it be secrete and can not be proued in an othe put vnto him, he may & ought to swere nay, because that of secret & vnknowē thinges no man cā be his iudge. For onely god is iudge of mans hearte. And if he shoulde confesse it where he ndeth not before no competent iudge, that is to witte his secrete faulte openly before men whereof onely god is iudge, than should he defame himself, and that were great synne. For holye scripture sayeth. *Curam habe de bono nomine.* Take hede of thy good name. *Et melior est nomen bonum quā diuitie multe.* Better is a good name then muche riches. And it sayeth also. *Maledictus homo qui negligit famam suam.* Accursed is that manne that careth not what men saye of hym. And therefore I haue heard some wel learned men saye, that in this case a man may boldly deny the matter vpon his othe be it neuer so true, so that it be so secrete as it be not able to bee proued by witnesse. Forsooth quod I, it is a large and a longe matter to speake of periurie. But as for this pointe I hold it in my mynde litle question. For I holde this once for a sure and an infallible cōclusion, that a manne may neuer lawefully be forsworne. Mary trouth it is ỳ a mannes othe receiueth interpretacion and is not alway bounden precisely to the wordes. As yf a iudge would swere me generally in a courte to make trewe aunswer to suche thynges as shoulde be asked of me, and after mine othe geuen, he would aske me certaine questions of maters nothing belōging to him. I wer not by mine othe bounden to make hym answere

It is sinne for a man to defame hymself. G

Eccle. 41. Prouer. 22.

H

In othe receyueth interpretacion.

whether a priest may swere that he knoweth not what he heard in confession.

A answer for as muche as no suche thyng was in mine oth intended. And therfore if a priest that had heard a mannes confession were called before a iudge and sworne for a witnes, he might boldelye swere he knew nothyng of the matter.

Not for the commō glose ỏ the confessiō was not made to him as to hymself, but as to gods minister, but for ỏ the law dischargeth him of shewīg any such thing, no leue than if his oth wer geuen him in thys maner, what know ye of this matter out of confessiō. For eis if ther wer a tiraunt that would compell hym by expresse wordes to swere what he knew bi the mans confession, the confessour had
B in my minde no remedie but to tell hym plainly, syr I wyl not swere for you nor in such matter make you any aunswer to dye therfore, not for any thyng that I know in ỏ man for this matter thoughe I tolde you all his whole confession a none, but for ỏ euill ỏ shoulde growe by such a president. For yf I shoulde nowe ercuse an innocent swearing truly that I heard no suche thinges in his confessi on, I shoulde in some other cause eyther be forsworn, or by my refusing to swere I should make ỏ man ỏ more suspect, in ỏ I refuse to swere as muche for him as I dyd for another. And therefore will I not make any aunswer in this for ỏ pe-
C ril ỏ may fal in other, and with this answer or suche other must he plainlye refuse to swere what pain soeuer he shold endure therfore. And in likewise yf any iudge would geue an othe to any person to tel him ỏ trouth of any crime, whiche wer so secret as ỏ iudge had neuer heard any thing therof, but would for his only pleasure know by the mans oth whither there were peradūture anye suche thing or not, ỏ party may deny to swere or to make hī answer therin. But on ỏ other side if he be denoūced or detected on to hī, either by cōmon fame or other iforma-
D cion, w̄ such cōiectures & likelihedes as ỏ law geueth the iudge authoritye to geue ỏ party an oth for ỏ further serche of ỏ matter, ther is he plainly boūdē vpō pain of eternal dānaciō w̄out coueryng or cautel to shew & disclose ỏ plain truth & to haue more respect to his soule thā to his shame. For as for those tertes which ye alleged, be far frō this poit. For they none other meane, but ỏ a mā shold ī his liuīg auoid not only sin, but also all occasiōs wherby mē might haue reasonable cause falsly to defame hī. And it was neuer mēt of ỏ same ỏ a mā taketh of his own cōfessiō for his sin cōmitted in dede C
For by ỏ he leseth not his good name, but getteth his good name amōg good folke. And as for of euil mens wordes ther is no rekening. But surely as I saye yf a man had bene all yll as a deuyll, and after repenting his sin would for parte of his penaunce willyngly offer hym selfe to the sufferaunce of open shame, there were no good christen man that woulde after that like the man the worse, but a great dele the better. And if al suche opē cōfession wer sin, there was much sinne vsed among good folke manye daye in Christes church, whā it was much better than it is nowe. Lo Acham that had F
committed sacrilege wherof is written in Josue, was exhorted by Josue to confesse his fault openly, and geue glory to god that had detected hym by lots. And so did he, and mekely suffered for his sin as well the shame and wonder of the worlde, as the payne and bitternesse of death. And therfore I no more doubt of that thefe, but that he is a glorious saint in heauen, than I doubte of that thefe ỏ Christ promised paradise hangyng on ỏ crosse. And surelye if mens olde faultes were skyll their infamy after their amē-
dement, than was sainct Peter litle be-
holden to saincte Mathewe and other of G
his felowes that haue sclaundered hym in their ghospels, telling how shamefully after al his crakes he forsoke his master and forswore him bothe. If a good man ware nought, the better he was the more sin it is and the more shame also. And it is not than in reason on the other syde if a noughtie man ware good, the worse he was the better is for him and ỏ more worship also. Our lord sayth hym self that for one sinner comyng agayne to grace, there is more ioye in heauē thē vpon almost an hundred good folk that neuer sinned. And reken we then ỏ man shamed by the knowledge of hys synne here among sinfull men, whose humble H
confession and meke amendement winneth hym so much woorship in heauen. Truste me truely when a man hath done euil if he be duly sworne, it is a worship ful shame & a ioyful sorow to cōfesse the truth. And good folk though thei abhorre ỏ sin, yet loue thei & cōmende ỏ man, as one ỏ was nought and is good. And the shame that he conceiueth in his heart afore the worlde, getteth him great honor afore god, & the short glowing heat i hys chekes, spedely burneth vp & wasteth, ỏ neuer wasting fyre of hel, standing him

A further in stede of great part of his purgatory. And therefore to the poynte that we speake of without long processe I tel you plainly my minde, that no man can be excused from the parel of endelesse damnacion, that would vpon boldnes of ani doctours opinio, hide or couer his fault by any cautel, after a lawful oth geuen, him to tell the playn trouth therin. And who so wyll say the contrarye, he must nedes holde playn agaynst the law, and say that no iudge may lawfully geue an othe to the partie. For whereof ihoulde the oth serue if the partie might lawfully forswere hiselfe? And also if the iudge may not lawfully geue him the oth, thā may he refuse to swere, & may not firste swer thā & say false, whiche euery man must vpon damnacion eschewe though he folily take an oth, where he lawfully might refuse it. Forsooth qd he me thyneth ye take the sure way. Well quod I if this be so in one that is sworne where the matter as he thynketh cā not be well proued, how farre wrong went the man that we spake of, to forswere himselfe in a matter of preaching, that he wist well was so open that it woulde bee plainlye proued what sinne was therein, & what shame & folye therto was there to stycke styl in his perjury, whā he saw the matter al ready proued so clerely, and by so many, so good, so honest, and so indyfferent, that he could nothing now wynne by the denying but euil oppinio, and almost a dispayre of his amendment in al that euer heard him? In good faith quod he all this is very trouth, and therefore we shall let him alone tyll god send hym better mynde.

It is damnable to conuey a fault by any cautel.

The 8. Chapiter.

The authour sheweth why ý new Testamente of Tyndals translacion was burned. And sheweth for a sample certain wordes euyl, and of euyll purpose chaunged.

BAt nowe I praye you let me knowe youre mynde concerninge the burning of the new Testamēt in Englysh which Tyndal lately trāslated, & as mē say right well, whiche maketh men muche meruayle of the burnyng. It is quod I to me great meruayle that anye good Christen manne hauing any drop of witte in his head, would anye thyng meruayle or complayne of the burning of that booke yf he knowe the matter. Whiche who so calleth the new Testament, calleth it by a wrong name, excepte they wyll call it Tyndals Testamente or Luthers Testament. For so hadde Tyndall after Luthers counsayl corrupted and chaunged it frō the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the deuelishe heresyes of their own, that it was cleane a contrarye thyng. That were meruaile quod your frende that it should be so cleane contrary. For to sōe that red it, it semed very lyke. It is quod I neuer the lesse contrary, and yet the more perilous. For lyke as to a true syluer grote as false coper grote is neuer the lesse contrary though it be quick syluered ouer, but so muche the more false ī how much it is counterfeited the more lyke to the trouth, so was the translacion so muche the more contrary in howe muche it was craftely deuysed lyke, and so muche the more perilous, in how much it was to folke vnlearned more harde to be discerned. Why quod your frende what faultes were there in it? To tell you all that quod I, were in a maner to reherse you al the whole boke, wherein there were founden and noted wrong and falsly translated aboue a thousand textes by tale. I woulde quod he fayne heare some one. He that shoulde quod I studye for that, shoulde studye where to synde water in the see. But I wyll shew you for ensample two or thre suche as euery one of the three is more than thrise three in one. That were quod he verye strange except ye mene more in weyght For one can be but one in nūber. Surely quod I, as weightie be they as anye lightly can be. But I meane that euery one of them is more then thryse three in noumber. That wer quod he somwhat lyke a ryddle. This riddle quod I, wyll soone bee red. For he hath mysse translated three wordes of great weighte and euerye one of them is as I suppose more than thryse three tymes repeted and rehearsed in the booke. Ah that may wel bee quod he, but that was not wel done. But I praie you what wordes be thei? The one is quod I this worde (priestes.) The other the Churche. The thyrde Charitye. For Priestes where so euer he speaketh of the Priestes of Christes Churche he neuer calleth them Priestes but alwaye Seniours. The Churche he calleth alwaye the congregacion, and Charitie he calleth loue. Nowe doo these names in our Englishe toungue, neither

Marke the thre wordes.

A neypther expresse the thynges that be mēt by them, and also ther appeareth (the circumstances wel considered) that he had a mischieuous minde in the chaunge.
For first as for priestes and priesthead though that of olde they vsed commonly to chose wel elderly mē to be priestes, and therefore in the greke tōgue priestes were called *presbiteri*, as we might saye elder menne, yet neypther were all priestes chosen olde, as appeareth by saint Poul writing to Tymotheus, *Nemo iuuentutem tuam contemnat*. Let no manne contemne thy youth, nor euerl elder mā is not a priest. And in our english tonge this worde (seniour) signifyeth nothyng at all, but is
B a frenche word vsed in english more thā halfin mockage, whan one wyll call another my Lorde in scorne. And yf he meane to take the latin woorde seniour, that word in the latin tongue neuer signifyed a priest, but onely an elder man. By which name of elder men, if he wold call the priestes englishly, than shoulde he rather signify their age than their office. And yet the name dothe in English plainly signify the aldermē of the cities and nothing the priestes of the churche. And thus may we perceyue that rather than he would call a priest by the name of a priest, he would seke a new word he
C nether wist nor cared what. Now wher he calleth the church alway the congregacion: what reason had he therin? For euery manne well seeth that though the church be in dede a congregacion, yet is not euery congregacion the church: but a congregacion of christē people, which congregaciō of christē people hath been in Englande alway called and knowen by the name of the churche: which name what good cause or colour could he find to tourne into the name of congregacion, whiche worde is cōmen to a companye of christen menne or a companye of
D Turkes. Lyke wysedom was there in ȳ change of this word (charite) into loue. For though charitie be alwaye loue, yet is not ye wote well loue alway charite. The more pitie by my fayth quod your frende that euer loue was synne.
And yet it would not be so much so takē yf the worlde were no more suspicious then they saye that good sainct Francis was. Which whan he saw a ponge man kisse a girle once in way of good company, kneled down and held vp his handes into heauen, highly thanking god that charitie was not yet gone oute of thys wretched world. He hadde quod I a good mynde & dyd lyke a good man, ȳ demed
E al thing to ȳ best. So say I to ye he. But how farre be folke fallen from the good mynde now? Men be now a dayes waren so full of mistruste, that some manne wouldе in fayth wene his wyfe were nought, yf he should but fynd her in bed with a poore freer. For sooth ye be a wā ton quod I. But yet in earnest how like you the chaunge of these wordes? Surely ye very nought. And ȳ it was not wel nor wisely done, there wyl I trowe no good wyse man deny. But yet whyther Hychins had in the translaciō therof any malicious purpose or not therin, wyl I, til I se further, play saint Fran-
F cis part, and iudge the manne no worse than the matter requireth. Fyrste quod I would ye that the boke shold go forth and bee read stil in that fashion? Nay in good faith quod he that wouldе I not yf he vse it so very often. With that worde quod I, ye hyt the naile on the head. For surely if he chaunged ȳ cōmon knowen worde into ȳ better, I would wel allow it. If he changed it into as good, I wold suffer it. If somwhat ito worse, so he did it selde, I would winke at it. But nowe whan he chaungeth the knowen vsuall names of so great thinges, into so farre the worse, and that not repeteth seldom,
G but so often and so cōtinually inculketh ȳ almosse in the whole booke hys lewde change he neuer changeth. In this maner could no man deme other, but that ȳ man ment mischieuously, scant suche a good sely soule as would wene all were well whan he founde his wife where ye sayde right nowe. If he called charitie sometyme by the bare name of loue: I wold not stick therat. But now wheras charite signifieth i englisch mens eares, Charite
not euery cōmon loue, but a good vertuous & wel ordred loue, he ȳ wyl studiously flee fro ȳ name of good loue, & alway speke of loue, & alway leaue out good: I
H would surely say ȳ he meaneth nought. In good faith ye he, so is it not vnlikely. Thā ye I whē ye se more ye shal say it is much more than likely. For now it is to be considered ȳ at the tyme of this translacion, Hychens was with Luther in Wittenberge, and set certaine glosses in the mergēt, framed for the setting forth of the vngracious secte. By sayncte John quod your frende yf that bee true that Hychens were at that tyme wyth Luther, it is a plain token ȳ he wrought somewhat after hys counsayle, and was wyllyng to helpe hys matters for-

1.Tim.4.

A warde here. But whyther Luthers matters bee so madde as they bee made for, that shall we see hereafter. Very true quod I. But as touchyng the confederacye betwene Luther and hym, is a thyng well knowen and plainly confessed, by suche as haue been taken and conuicted here of heresye, coming from thence, and some of them sent hither to sowe that sede about here, and to sende woorde thyther fro tyme to tyme how it sprange. But nowe the cause why he chaunged the name of charitie, and of ý churche, and of priesthood, is no verye great difficultye to perceiue. For sythe Luther and his felowes amonge other B they damnable heresyes haue one, that all our saluacion stãdeth in faith alone, & towarde oure saluacion nothing force of good workes, therefore it semeth that he laboureth of purpose to minishe the reuerent mind that menne beare to charitie, and therfore he chaungeth ý name of holy vertuous affeccion, into ý bare name of loue comẽ to the vertuous loue that mã beareth to god, and to the lewde loue that is betwene flecke & his make. And for because that Luther vtterly denieth the very catholyke church in erth, and sayth that the churche of Christe is C but an vnknowen congregaciõ of some folke here two and there three no man wote where hauing ý right faith, which he calleth onelye his owne newe forged faith: therfore Hychens in the new Testamente can not abide the name of the church, but tourneth it into the name of congregacion, willyng that it shoulde seme to englishe men, either that Christ in the ghospell had neuer spoken of the churche, or els that the churche wer but suche a congregaciõ as thei might haue occasion to saye, that a congregaciõ of suche some heretikes were the church ý god spake of. Nowe as touching ý cause D why he chaunged the name of priest into seniour, ye must vnderstand that Luther and his adherentes holde this heresy, that all holy order is nothing. And that a priesse is nothing els, but a man chosen among the people to preach, and that by that choyce to that offyce, he is priest by and by without ani more a do, and no priesse agayne whan so euer the people choose an other in his place, and that a priestes offyce is nothyng but to preache. For as for sayng Masse, and hearyng of confessyon and absolucyon thereupon to bee geuen, all thys he sayeth that euerye manne, woman and chylde maye doo as well as any priesse. E Nowe dothe Hychen therefore to sette forth this oppynyon withall, after hys maysters heresye, putte away the name of priest in his translacion, as thoughe priesthoode were nothing. Wherfoeuer the scrypture speaketh of the Priestes that were among the Iewes, there doth he in his translaciõ, cal them stil by the name of priestes. But where so euer the scripture speketh of ý priestes of Christes churche, there dothe he putte awaye the name of priest, in his translacion, because he wold make it seme that ý scripture did neuer speake of ani priestes difference from ley menne among christen F people. And he sayth plainly in his boke of obedience, that priesthoode and al holye orders among christen people be but fayned inuencions, and that priestes be nothing but officers chosen to preache, and that all the consecracion wherebу they be consecrate is nothyng woorthe. And for this cause in al his translacion where so euer he speaketh of them, the name of priest whiche to vs in our owne tongue hath alway sygnified an enoynted parson and with holye orders consecrated vnto god, he hath chaunged into a priest. the name of seniour, no worde of our lãguage, but either vsed halfe in mockage when we speake frenche in sporte, *dic vous G gardo senior*, or at the furthest, nothyng betokening but elder. So that it is ethe to see what he ment in the turning of these names. In good faith quod your frende it semeth verely that he ment not well. Surely q̃ I ye wouldе wel saye so yf ye saw al the places which I shal cause you to see when ye wil, & ye shall soone iudge them your self. For it wer to long to rehearse them al nowe. Nor these haue I not rehersed you as for the chief, but for that thei came syrst to minde. For els I might shortely rehersе you many thiges moe, as farre out of tune as these bee. For he chaungeth commonly the name H of grace into this worde fauour, where as euery fauour is not grace in englisch: for in some fauoure is there litle grace. Confession he translateth into knowleging. Penance into repentance. A contrite heart he chaungeth into a troubled heart. And many moe thinges lyke, and many textes vntruely translated for the maintenance of heresie as I shall shewe you some when we looke in the booke. Which thinges we shall not now reasoнд vpõ for thei be not worthy to be brought in question. But I tell you this muche onely

A onely for this cause, that ye maye perceyue that he hath thus vsed hymselfe in his translacion, to the entente that he would set forth Luthers heresies & his own therby. For first he would make ý people beleue that we should beleue nothing but plain scripture, in which poist he teacheth a plain pestilēt heresie. And then wouldde he w̄ his false translacion, make ý people wene further that suche articles of our faith as he laboreth to destroy, & whiche bee well proued by holye scripture, were in holy scripture nothig spoken of, but that ý preachers haue all this. xv. C. yere mysse reported the ghospell and englished the scripture wrong, to lead the people purposelye out of the ryght way.

The 9. Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth another gret token that the translacion was perilous, and made for an euil purpose.

BUt to the entent ye shall yet ý lesse doubt what good fruite was intended by this translaciō, and easily iudge your self, whither it was well worthye to bee burned or not, ye shal vnderstand that there hath been since that time, another boke made in englishe, & imprinted as it saith in Almain, a foolish raylyng boke against the clergy, and much part made in ryme, but the effect therof was al against ý masse, & the holy sacramētes. In this boke ý maker raileth vpō all thē that caused Tindals translacion of the new testament to be burned, saing that thei burned it because that it destroyed the masse. Wherby ye may see ý he rekened ý translaciō very good for their purpose toward the destruccion of ý masse. By saint mary masse quod your frend ý boke is a shrewd glose for the other. For it shewed a cause for whiche it was well worthy to bee burned and the maker w̄ it, if it were made to destroye the masse. But who made that seconde boke? Forsoth q I, it appeareth not in the booke. For ý boke is put forth namelesse, & was in the beginning rekened to be made by Tindal. And whither it so were or not, we be not yet very sure. Yow be it sythe ý time Tyndal hath put out in hys own name another booke entitled *Mammona*, whiche boke is verye *Mammona iniquitatis*, a very treasourye and wellpryng of wickednes. And yet hath he sithēs put forth a worse also named the obedience of a christen man, a boke able to make a christen man that wouldde beleue it, leaue of all good christen vertues, & lese the merite of his christendome. In the preface of his first boke called *Mammona* he sayeth that one frere Hierome made the other boke that we talke of, whiche frere Hierom geuing vp his order of the frere obseruauntes came to hym where he was, shewing him ý he wold cast of his abite, and leaue his religion, & assay nowe to serue God, and that afterwarde he lefte hym and went vnto Roy, whiche is as I thynk ye know another Appostita, by whose coūsayle Tindal saith ý the frere Hierom made the boke, wherin Tindal saith ý he misliketh his rimes, and hys ouer muche rayling. And saith also that he feareth lest frere Hierom shal not wel proue al ý he promiseth in ý boke. Why q your frend is ý all ý feare that he fyndeth in himself, & al the fault that he fyndeth in the frere & his boke. Ye in good faith q I, euerye whit. Than fyndeth he quod your frend no fault in his apostacie. No more q I than I shew you. For findeth he q your frend no fault in that the freres boke saith that the newe testament of Tindal was burned because it stroied the masse. Neuer a whit q I more than you heare. And feareth he q your frend nothing els but lest ý frere should faile of perfourming of somewhat that his boke promiseth? That is all quod I & what he promiseth therein, in fayth I remember not. But it semeth what so euer it be. Tindal would it were wel performed. Ye had q your frēd much more cause as me thinketh to feare lest menne should reken high default in his translacion, in ý he nothing answereth to those wordes of ý frers boke, wherin he saieth that the new testamēt that was burned did distroy ý masse. Ye say quod I verye trouth in my mind, & so wold he of likelihede if hymself had not ment as ý freer sayde. But surely for the translacion I shal shew you so many textes i such wise corrupted, ý ye shal not I suppose greatly doubt what he mēt in his doyng. And therwith al I shewed your frend a boke with the places redy noted, which boke I had by licence a litle before lente vnto me for ý nōnes. Wherin he saw so many corrupcions, & of such maner sorte, that albeit vpon some we somwhat reasoned in the way, yet at ý last himself said hoe, and verely confessed that ý boke in such wyse translated was verye nought and nothing metely to be read.

A

The.10.Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth that the trãslacion of Tyndal was to badde to be mended.

But yet he said that the faultes might bee by some good men amended, & thã ỏ boke printed agayne if nothing letted but that. Surely quod I, if we go therto, the faultes be as ye see so many & so spred through the whole booke, ỏ lyke wyse as it were as soone done to weue a newe web of clothe as to sowe vp euery hole in a net, so were it almost as litle labour and lesse to translate the whole
B booke al new, as to make in his translacion so many chaunges as nedes muste be ere it wer made good, beside this that there would no wise man I trowe take the bread which he well wist was of his enemies hande once poysoned, thoughe he saw his frend after scrape it neuer so cleane.

The.11.Chapiter.

¶ The messenger fyndeth fault with the clergy, in that he sayth they haue made a constitucion prouincial that no Bible in English should bee suffered. And I this chapiter incidẽtly the
C messẽger muche reproueth the liuing of ỏ clergy. Wherunto ỏ author somwhat sheweth his minde, differryng for the while his answer to the obiecion made againste the constitucion.

Yor quod your frende I wyll not greatlye sticke with you in that pointe. But surelye the thyng ỏ maketh in this matter ỏ clergye moste suspecte, and wherin as it semeth it would bee ful harde to excuse them is this, that they not onely damne Tyndals translacion, (wherein ther is good
D cause) but ouer that doe damne al other, and as though a ley manne wer no christen manne, wyll suffer no leye manne haue any at all. But whan they fynde any in his keping, they laye heresye to hym therefore. And thereupon they burne vp the booke, and sometime the good manne withall, alledgyng for the defence of their dooyng a lawe of theyr own makyng and constitucion prouincial, whereby thei haue prohibited that any manne shall haue anye vpon payne of heresie. And this is a lawe verye prouyncial, for it holdeth but here. For in all other countreys of Christendom the people haue the scripture translated into their own tonge, and the clergy there fyndeth no suche faulte therein. Wherfore either our people be worst of al people, or els our clergy is worst of all clergies. But by my trouth for ought that I can se here, or perceiue by the that haue bene els where, our ley people be as good and as honest as be any where. And yf any be otherwyse, the occasion and ex- C
ample commeth of the clergye, amonge whome we see muche more vice, than among our selfe. Where as they shoulde geue vs example of vertue, and the light of learnyng, nowe their examples what they be we see. And as for learnyng, thei F
neither wyll teache vs but seld, and that shal be but such thinges as pleaseth thẽ, some gloses of theyr owne makyng, nor suffer vs to learne by our selfe, but by theyr constitucion pull Christes ghospel out of christen peoples handes. I cã not well see why, but lest we shoulde see the trouth. The Iewes bee not letted to reade theyr law bothe learned & lewde. And yet are there in the olde testamente thynges for vnlearned folke farre more strange & perilous thã in the newe. And why should than our ley men be forbodẽ the gospel, but if thei wil make vs worse than Iewes? Wherin I cã in good faith
G see no reuse thei can finde. For the scrip- Scripture.
ture is to good folk ỏ norisher of vertue, & to thẽ that be nought it is the meane of amendement. And therefore whyle the clergy dothe wdrawe it vs, if our soules be in good health, thei take awaye oure fode, if our soules be sick thei take away the medecine. And therfore as I said the fault is not in the damning of Tyndals translacion, but in that they haue by an erpresse law forboden ỏ we should haue any at al. Your wordes quod I, be somewhat pugnant and sharpe. But surelye they pricke somewhat more the men thã the matter. For where ye touche in ef- H
fect two thynges, one the constitucion prouincial, by which ye thinke the clergye of thys realme haue euyl prohibited all translacions of scripture into oure tongue, another the vice of the clergy in generall, the fyrste poynt which in dede toucheth our matter, I can and wyll wã sewe wordes aunswere you. But as for the other whiche toucheth the mẽne, as where ye accuse the clergye in theyr parsones of very vicious liuing as men muche worse than ye saye that we bee, and yet as thoughe theyr owne faultes wer to sewe, charge them with ours to,

wherefor

A whereof ye call them the cause. In thys pointe wyll I kepe no scholes with you, nor enter into disputicions thereof, nor gladly medle with the matter. For as I tolde you in the begynnyng sith we talk but of mennes learning, I wyl not meddle of mennes liuyng, nor in that treating of this matter either prayse or dysprayse any mannes maner, except some such as are for their heresyes and euyll doctrine cast out of Christes churche, & through all christendome damned and diffamed all ready by their owne obstynate malice. But yet where ye speake of other countreys, makyng an argument that our clergy is the worse of al other,

B I wote well the whole world is so wretched that spirituall and temporal euery where al be bad ynough, god make vs al better. But yet for that I haue my selfe sene, & by credible folke haue heard, like as ye say by our temporaltie that we be as good and as honest as any wher els, so dare I boldly say that the spiritualtie of Englande, and specially ye that parte in whiche ye fynde most fault, that is to wit that part which we commonlye cal the seculer clergy, is in learning and honest liuing well able to matche and (saiuing the comparisons be odious, I wold say further) farre able to ouer match number for noumber the spiritualtie of anye nacion christen. I wote well there bee therein many very lewde and naught.

Cõparisons be odious.

C And surely where so euer there is a multitude it is not without miracle wel possible to bee otherwyse. But nowe yf the bishops would once take vnto priesthed better ley men & fewer (for of vs be they made) all the matter wer more thã half amended. Now where ye saye that ye se more vice in them thã in our self, trouth it is that euery thing in them is greater because they be more bounden to be better. But els the thinges that they most do, be the selfe same that we syn in oure self, whiche vices that as ye saye we see

D more in them than in our selfe, the cause is I suppose, for we loke more vpõ theirs than on our own, and fare as Esop saith in a fable, that euery man carieth a double wallet on his shoulder, and into the one that hangeth at his brest he putteth other folkes faultes, and therein he toteth and poreth often. In the other he layeth vp all his owne & swyngeth it at his backe, which himself neuer listeth to looke in, but other that come after hym cast an ye into it among. Mouldre God we were all of the mynde that euery mã thought no manne so badde as hymself.

Idle.

E For that were the waye to mende bothe them and vs. Nowe they blame vs, and we blame thẽ, and bothe blame worthy, and eyther parte more readye to finde others faultes than to mende theyr own. For in reproche of them we be so studyous, that neyther good nor bad passeth vnreproued. If they be familier we call them light. If they be solitarye we call them fantastike. If they be sadde we cal them solemne. If they be merye, we cal them madde. If thei be comprynable we call them vicious. If they bee holye, we call them ypocrites. If they kepe seuie seruauntes we call them nyggardes. If they kepe many we cal them pompouse.

F If a lewde priesthood a lewde dede, than we say: loe see what saumple the clergye geueth vs, as though that priest wer the clergye. But than forgeat we to looke what good men be therein, & what good counsayle they geue vs, and what good ensample thei shewe vs. But we fare as doo the rauens and the carrin crowes ỳ neuer medle with any quicke flesh. But where they may finde a dead dogge in a ditche, thetto they flee and thereon they fede a pace. So where we see a good mã, and heare and see a good thyng, ther we take litle hede. But whan we se once an

G euill dede, theron we gape, therof we talk and fede our selfe al day with the fylthy delite of euill cõmunicacion. Let a good man preache, a shorte tale shall serue vs therof and we shal neither much regard his exhortacion nor his good examples. But let a lewde freer bee taken wyth a wench, we will iesse and rayle vpon the whole order al the yere after, and say, lo what sãple they geue vs. And yet whan we haue said, we wil folow ỳ same, & thã say ỳ we learned it of thẽ, forgettyng ỳ we lilke not to here & folowe some other, whose word & dede would geue vs light to do better if we lisked as well to learne the better as to folow the worse. In dede

H quod he because ye speake of lighte, they say that if a woman be fayre, than is she ponge, & if a priesse bee good, than he is olde. But yet haue I sene a priest geuen lyghte to the people that was but verye ponge. Marye quod I God forbydde elles, ye maye see that often and ye wyll. Trewlye quod he it is pytye that we see suche lyghte so sielde, beynge thys wretched worlde in suche darkenesse as it is. For I neuer sawe it but once. Nor as it seemed fewe of the people neyther. For in sayth

they

A they wondred as fast theron as though they had neuer sene it before. How happed that q I. Mary quod he it happed ý a yong priest very deuoutly i a processiõ bare a candel before ý crosse for lying w̃ a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke such spiritual pleasure and inwarde solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery merchaunt sayd vnto the priestes ý folowed him. *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*. Thus let your light shine afore the people. For sooth quod I, it were pitie but that an euil priest wer punished. But yet it is as muche pitie that we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame. Good is B it for them to looke on their faultes, but for vs wer it better to loke lesse to theirs and more vnto our owne. But surelye many of vs haue suche delite to heare of their harme, that it semeth we be gladde whan one of them doth any such thyng, as we may haue occasion to se thē punished, or had in derisiõ. Which wretched Note. appetite and sinnefull affeccion, yet is much worse, and much more worthye ý curse of God, than the lewde mynde of Cham whiche fell into the curse of hys father Noe, for that he made a gaude & shewed forth in scorne the secret mēbers C of his father, that of aduenture lay and slept vncouered, which partes Sem, and Gene. 9. Japhet, the blessed children reuerently couered, goyng backeward to hym because they would not se hym. And surely we haue litle cause to laughe at theyr lewdenes. For vndoubtedly if the clergy be nought we must nedes bee worse as I heard once maister Colet the good Maister Colet Deane of Poules preache. For he sayde ý it can be none other, but ý we musse euer be one degree vnder them. For surely as he said it can be no lye ý our sauior Math. 5. D saith himself, which saith of thē, ý thei be salt of the earth. And if the salt once appalle, the worde musse nedes ware vnsauery. And he saith ý thei be ý lyght of the world. And then if the light sayth he, be darked, howe darke will than the darknes be, ý is to wit al ý world beside. wherof he called ý clergy only the light. Howbeit though there be both amōg vs and them many verye naughte, whose faultes be neither the faultes of the temporaltie nor of the spiritualtie, but of those lewde parsons themselfe, yet are I trust nether their part nor ours come to that poynt, but that there be many good men among vs, and as for among them I wote nere whyther I may say manye moe or not, but surelye I thynke manye better. I feare me quod your frende that those many be very few in comparisõ of the multitude. I can not quod I loke into their heartes to see who is good, and who is bad, nor haue the leysour yf they were all knowen to go about and tel thē by the polles, to see which side were the more. And therfore in the meane whyle I trust in god ý the better part is the greater. Howbeit if there were in dede amōg them very few, yet thinke I verelye that for those fewe all the world fareth ý better, and is in their vertue and prayer by gods great mercy mayntenyned and vpholden, as we finde in scripture places moe than one, declaryng plainly the profite that an whole sinful citie or sotyme an whole region, taketh by the prayer of a fewe godly men. And no doubt is ther but likewyse as he that is in the clergye noughte, is farre the worse because he is therein, so he that therein is good, is for his clergy very farre the better, and his prayer to God for himself and all other far the moreauayliable.

The. 12. Chapiter.

The authour toucheth one speryal prerogatiue that we haue by a priesse bee he neuer so bad, in ý his noughtines, can not take from vs the profite of his masse. Whereupon is by the messenger moued a doubt, whither it were better to haue fewer priestes, & better with fewer masses, or mo and worse for to haue ý mo masses. Wher vnto the authour aunswereth.

AND bee a Priesse neuer so nought, albeit that he do som way much harme both to himself & other, yet this auantage take we by the priuilege & prerogatiue of his priesthed beside the ministracion of the sacramentes vnto vs, the goodnes whereof his noughtinesse can not appayre, that be he neuer so vicious and therwith so impenitente and so farre from all purpose of amendement, that his prayers were afore the face of God reiected and abhorred, yet that sacred sacrifice and swete oblacion of Christes holye bodie offred vp by his office, can take none empayryng by the fylthe of his synne, but highlye helpeth to the vpholdynge of thys wretched worlde

The aduentage we haue by priesthede.

The sacrifice of the holy body of Christe.

A wolde from the vengeauice of ý wrath of God, and is to God acceptable and to vs as auayllable for the thyng it selfe, as though it wer offred by a better manne, though percase his praiers ioyned therwith neither much profit other, nor the oblacion himself, as with whom god is the more greatly greued, in that beyng so bad he durst presume to touch it. Ye a rye ye your frende if this be thus I mervaile than why ye said rygh̃t nowe that it wer good to make fewer priestes, that thei might be taken onely of the better, and the worse refused. For if their masses be so good for vs be them self neuer so noughtt, thã semeth it better for vs to
B make yet mo though thei wer yet worse, ý we might haue mo masses. That reason quod I wyll not holde. For though god of his goodnes howe bad so euer the priest be, well accepteth the oblacion of Christes holy bodye for other folke, yet is he with that priestes presũpcõ highly discontented. And we neuer ought to seke our own cõmodite with our neighbours harme. And also we should of our dutie to god, rather forbeare the profyte that our selfe might attayne by a masse, than to see his maiestye disreuerenced, by the bold presumpcion of such an odyous minister as he hath forbodẽ to come about him. Like as if ye sent apresẽt vn-
C to a prince whiche were very pleasaunt vnto him, though the messenger muche misliked hym so farre that he had bene forboden the courte, yet if ye were not ware therof, your gift could not lese his thank, but his malepert boldnes might peradventure be punished, and wel wer worthy to be. But on the other syde if ye knew the messenger for such as ý prince would not haue come at him, ye would rather kepe your present at home, & forbeare the thanke, than wyttynglye to sende it by suche a messenger, or elles
D thoughe your presente were very great, your thanke woulde bee very litle. And surelye in like maner wyse who so surelye knoweth a priest to bee nought, vycious, and in deadly dysplealsure of god, shoulde geat I thynke litle thanke yf he made hym say masse. And therefore wel shall the prelates doo, as muche as they maye to prouide that God shall rather be more seldome presented with the pleasaunt present of the masse, than more often offended with a displeasaunt messẽger. And verely were all the Bishoppes of my mynde (as I know some that bee) ye shoulde not of priestes haue the plentye that ye haue. The tyme hath been
E whan there were verye fewe in a greate citye, and in a monasteryr of fyue hundred in one house, scantly woulde there foure monkes be bolde to be priestes. Than was all holye orders in hygh honour. Than fynde we that the degres of a deaken was a great thyng and of such dignitie, that whan one of them wente sometime in pilgrimage, he woulde not bee a knowen of his order, because he would not that folk should do him worship in the way. But as for now a daies yf he be deacõ and priest to, he shall nede to feare no such pride, but rather rebuke
F and vilany. Which though it haue happened by the lacke of vertue among thẽ, and decaye of deuocion among vs, yet hath muche of all this gere growen by the meane of so great a nũber of priestes and so familier amõg vs. Which thyng nedes must minish on our part reuerẽce and estimacion toward them which we neuer haue but in thinges rare & scarse. Golde would we not set by yf it were as cõmon as chalk or clay. And whereof is there nowe suche plenty as of priestes? In faith quod he there is more plenty of priestes than of good men and there bee to many but if they were better chosen.
G Doubtlesse quod I there would be more diligence vsed in the choyse not of theyr learning onely, but muche more specyally of their liuing. For without vertue the better they be learned the worse they be, sauing that learning is good store against God sende them grace to mende, whiche els it would be than happelye to late to loke for, specially yf the prouerbe were true that ye spake of, ý yf a priestе be good than he is olde. But this is a very suretie that it is not wel possible to be without many verye naught of that cõpany, wherof there is such a main multitude. The tyme was I say, whan fewe men durste presume to take vpon them ý
H high office of a priest, not euen whã thei wer chosen and called there vnto. Now runneth euerye raschal and boldly offereth hymself for able. And wher the dignitie passeth all princes, and they that lewde bee, desyreth it for worldlye wynnyng, yet commeth that forte thereto with suche a madde mynde, that they recken almoste God muche bounden to them that they vouchesauke to take it. But were I Pope. By my soule quod he, I would ye wer, & my lady your wife Popesse too. Well quod I than shoulde the deuilse forbonnes. And as for me touching

The dignitie of priesthode.

A touching the choyce of prieſtes, I could not wel deuiſe better prouiſiõs thã are by the lawes of the churche prouided al ready, yf they were as well kept as they be well made. But for the noumber, I would ſurely ſee ſuch away therin, that we ſhould not haue ſuch a rabell, that every meane man muſt haue a Prieſt in his houſe to wait vpon his wife, whiche no man almoſt lacketh now, to the contempte of prieſthood in as vile office as his horſe keper. That is quod he, trouth in dede & i worſe to, for they kepe haukes & dogges. And yet me ſemeth ſurely a more honeſt ſeruice to wait on an horſe B than on a dogge. And yet I ſuppoſe ye I, if the lawes of the church which Luther & Tindal wold haue al broken, were al wel obſerued & kept: this gere ſhold not be thus, but the noũber of prieſtes wold be much miniſhed, & theremenant much the better. For it is by the lawes of the church prouided to the entent no prieſte ſhould vnto the ſclaunder of prieſthood be driuẽ to liue in ſuch lewde maner or worſe: ther ſhould none be admitted vnto prieſthode, vntill he haue a title of a ſufficiẽt yerely liuing, ether of his own patrimoni or otherwiſe. Nor at this day C thei be none otherwiſe accepted. Why quod he, wherfore go there thã ſo many of them a begging? Mary quod I, for thei delude the law & themſelf alſo. For thei neuer haue graunt of a liuing that mai ſerue them in ſight for that purpoſe but thei ſecretelye diſcharge it ere they haue it, or els they could not get it. And thus the biſhop is blinded by the ſight of the writing, and the prieſt goeth a begging, for all his graunt of a good liuig, & the law is deluded, & the order is rebuked by ye prieſtes begging and lewde liuing, which either is fayne to walke at rouers & liue vpon trentalles or worſe, or els to ſerue in a ſeculer mans houſe, which ſhould not nede if this gappe wer D ſtopped. For ye ſhold haue prieſtes few ynough if the law were truely obſerued ye none wer made, but he ye wer wõut colucion ſure of a liuing alreadye. Than might it happy he ye ye might haue to few to ſerue the rowmes & liuynges that be prouided for them, excepte the prelates woulde prouyde that orders wer not ſo comenly geuen, but alway receiue into orders as rowmes & liuinges fal voyde to beſtowe them in and no faſter. Surelye quod I, for ought I ſee ſodeinly, that would not be much amiſſe. For ſo ſhold they nede no ſuch titles at al, nor ſhould

No mã ſholde be admitted vnto prieſthod without a title of a ſufficient lyuyng.

nedeneither ronne at rouers, nor liue in E ley mens houſes, by reaſon wherof ther groweth among no litle corrupcion in the prieſtes maners, by the conuerſaciõ of ley people & cõpanye of womẽ in their houſes. Nay by our lady quod he, I wyl not agree with you therein. For I think they can not lightlye mete with muche worſe company than themſelf, and that thei rather corrupt vs than we them.

The. 13. Chapiter.

F The meſſenger moueth ye it would do wel ye prieſtes ſhould haue wiues. Whereunto the authour maketh anſwere.

BUt I would wene it would amend much part of this matter, if they might haue wiues of their owne. Mary quod I, ſo ſaith Luther and Tyndall also, ſauing that they go ſomewhat further forth. For Tyndal (whoſe bokes be nothing els in effect, but the worſt heresies picked out of Luthers workes, and Luthers worſte wordes translated by Tyndal, and put forth in Tyndals own name) doth in his frantike booke of obedience (wherin he raileth at large agaiſt G all popes, againſt al kinges, agaynſt al prelates, al prieſtes, al religious, all the lawes, al the ſainctes, againſt the ſacramentes of Chriſtes churche, all againſt vertuous workes, againſt all diuine ſeruice, and finally againſt all thing in effect that good is.) In that boke I ſay Tindal holdeth ye prieſtes muſt haue wiues. And ye he groundeth wiſely vpõ ye wordes of ſaint Poule, where he writeth to Timotheus, *Oportet episcopum esse irreprehensibilem, vnius vxoris virum.* That a biſhop muſte be a man vnrepronable, and the houſband of one wife. And that it muſt be conſidered whither he haue wel brought vp his children, and wel gouerned his houſehold. H By theſe wordes doth Tyndal after Luther conclude for a plaine matter, that prieſtes muſt nedes haue wiues, and ye ſaynt Poule would there ſhoulde in no wyſe ber none other prieſtes but maried folke. Is it not nowe a wonder w̃ what ſpectacles Luther and Tyndall haue ſpyed thys thyng nowe in theſe wordes of ſaynt Poule? In whiche of ſo manye great connyng fathers & holye ſayntes as haue often read, and depelye conſydered thoſe wordes before, there was

Tyndals bokes are furniſhed with Luthers heresies.

Timo.

neuer

A neuer none that had ether the wit or the grace to perceiue that great speciall cõmaundement this .xv. C. yere, til now ý God hath at laste by reuelacion shewed this high secrete misterie to these two goodly creatures, Luther and Tyndal, lest that holy freer should haue lost hys maryage of that holy Nonne, and Tindal som good maryage that I think him towarde. Tyndall nothing aunsweretb in his boke to that point, but runneth & rayleth ouer without reason, and sayth that the scripture is plaine therein for him. And euer he passeth ouer asthough he heard it not that al the holy doctours that euer wer i Christes church, saying
B that the scripture which he alledgeth to be very plain for him, is very playne against hym, as it is in dede. For sainte Poule in ý place, forasmuch as yet at ý time except none but yonge men should haue bene priestes, whiche he thoughte not comenly conuenient, els could they make no priestes thẽ, but such as either wer or had bene maried, therefore the apostle hauing in the choice of priestes, a special respect to chastitie, & willyng to goe as nere to no wife as might bee, did ordain as god had instructed hym, that whosoeuer should be admitted to priesthead, shold be the husband of ons wyfe. Meaning such as then had or before had had no mo but one, & that neuer had had twain. He meaned not as mad Luther & Tindal would now make the worde so mad to beleue ýa priest must nedes haue one, nor that he may neuer lack one, nor that he may haue one after another, nor the only forbiddig of twain at once: but he mẽt only that none shold be admitted to priesthed but only such a mã as neuer had had nor should haue but onely one: Which is ý thing that euer was & hath been by those wordes vnderstande. And not only wher saint Poule taught, but
D also through christẽdõ, wher thother apostles plãted ý faith, hath it euer bee so obserued. Which is a plain proofe ý cõcernig ý phibictõ of any mo wiues then one, & the forbiddig of bigamy by ý wedding of one wife after another, was ý special ordinãce of god, & not of saint Poule. whose epistles wherein he writeth anye thig of this matter, was paduẽture not comẽ to ý hãdes of other apostles, whan thei toke yet ýsame order by ýsame spyrit ý taught it hi. For this is certaine ý euer & euery wher in christẽdõ ý bigamy of two wiues eche after other, hath been a let and impediment against the takig of holy orders, & hath of long tyme been a let, though the one wife had been maried & buried before the mans baptisme. And now these two wise men against the old holy fathers & cõning doctours, and against the cõtinual custom of Christes church so many hundred yeres begonne and continued by the spirit of god, haue spied at last that saint Poule saieth and meaneth that a priest may mary twise & haue one wife after another and that he muste so haue. For by Tindall a priesse must euer haue one wife at the lest. And surely if we leaue the true vnderstãding of saint Poules wordes & beleue Tyndal, that it is there ment and commaunded because of this worde Oportet, that a priest must haue one: then may Tindal as for that place tell vs that a priest is at libertie to haue twenty at once or twain & he will, because saint Poule sayeth no more but that the bishop must be ý husband of one wife. Which wordes Tyndall may tell vs be verifyed, yf he be the husband of .x. wiues. For the husbãde of .x. wiues wer the husband of one, as the father of .x. children is the father of one, if the wiues were as compatible as the children be, as it is no doubt but Luther & Tyndal would sone make thẽ by scripture, if their own interpretacion may be taken for authoritie, against the perceiuing ý god hath geuen to all good christen people this .xv. C. yere. Nowe as I say vpon Tyndals takyng sainte Poule shold meane not that a priest shold haue but one wife (for that but is not in saint Poules wordes) but he shoulde meane ý a priest must haue one at the leaste, as though sainct Poule had leuer that the priest had twẽty saue for ouercharging yet it semeth ý Tindal so take it in dede & that a priest might haue diuers wiues at once, specially for the gret reasõ that he setteth thereto. For where as saincte Poule, sith there was at that time lytle choice to make priests of but maried mẽ, willed therefore that in the choyce of the Bishoppe there shoulde bee consydered howe he hadde gouerned hys owne householde, because he that had misketched his wife and his children, were vnmete for a great cure, therfore saith Tindal that neuer should there any priest be made, but such as hath a wife & childrẽ & by ý gouernãce of thẽ shewed, that he is mete to bere a rule, as though we neuer saw any mã ý neuer had wife, gouerne an houshold better thã many ý haue had wife. And if the hauing & good ruling of a wife

A priest must be the husband of one wife.

Bigamy is a let to take holy orders.

A a wyfe bee so special a prooffe of a man
mete to bee a priesse as Tyndall taketh
it. then sythe saincte Poule after Tyn-
dals interpretacion can not appeare to
forbidde the hauing of dyuers together,
besse were it after Tyndall specyally to
make that manne a priesse that had ma-
nye wyues and all at once, and manye
chyldren by eche of them, yf he gyde thē
all well. For more prooffe is it of a wyse
gouernour to rule well fyue wyues, thā
one, and fourtye chyldren then fowre.
But nowe that euerye chylde maye see
the wysedome of Tyndall and his mayf-
ser Luther in the construccion of holye
B scripture, whereof he speaketh so muche
and vnderstandeth so lytle, I besech you
consider lyke woordes of saincte Poule
in a muche lyke matter. Saincte Paule
as he writeth to Thimotheus that a by-
shop musse bee the housband of one wife
so writeth he also to him that no widow
shoulde bee specially chosen and taken
in to bee founden of the goodes of the
churche that were yonger then. lx. yere,
and that she shoulde bee one that hadde
bene the wife of one housbande. Nowe
sette these two textes together of the Bi-
shop and the widow, & cōsider ý woordes
C of one wyfe in the one, and one husband
in the other, if we shall after Tyndall
take the one woordes for the byshop, that
sainct Poule should meane not that he
haue or haue had but one wyfe, but that
he musst nedes haue one wife, than musst
he likewyse take the woordes spoken by
sainct Poule of the wydowe, as though
saint Poule should meane not a widow
whiche had neuer had mo than one hus-
bande, but a widow that had hadde one
husbande, as though saincte Poule had
nothing fered nor forbode, but lest Thi-
motheus shoulde take in such a wydow
as neuer had no husbande at all. Were
not this wisely construed? Now if Tyn
dall will agree as he nedes musse but yf
D he be madde, that saint Poule in geuing
commaundement ý the wydowe should
be suche as had had one husbande, ment
thereby suche one as neuer had had moe
than one, then musse he nedes graunte
and hys mayster Luther too, that saint
Poule in lykewyse where he sayde that
a Byshop musse bee a good manne and
the housbande of one wyfe, mente that
he musse neuer haue nor haue hadde a-
nye moe than one. And not that he
musse nedes haue one, or that he musse
haue one at the least, and myghte haue
manye moe than one, eyther eche after
other or all together and he lyste. And E
in this matter hath Tyndall no shyfte.
For syth thys woorde one in one wyfe,
and one housebande, was not by saynct
Poule set in for nought. It musse nedes
lygnifye eyther that there should bee no
more but one, or that there shoulde bee
one at the leasse. If he shoulde meane
that a Bishoppe shoulde haue one wyfe
at the least, and that the wydowe should
haue hadde one housebande at the least,
than woulde he rather that they should
haue moe than so fewe, whiche euerye
man seeth howe foolyshe that construc-
cion is. Nowe yf Tyndall wyll sayy that
by this woorde one, sainct Poule ment F
there shoulde bee but one wyfe at once,
and one husbande at once, than did saint
Poule so speke of the Bishop as though
he had saide, a Bishop musse bee a good
manne and haue but one wyfe at once.
In whiche woordes Tyndall had losse
his purpose. For so were onely a prohi-
bicion for any moe than one, and no cō-
maundement but a bare permission for
one. And yet were it lytle to purpose, for
in saincte Poules dayes a ley man had
but one wife at once. And the folye of
this construccion appereth in ý woordes
spoken of saincte Poule in the choyse of
the widowe, wherein Tyndall woulde
by this waye make sainct Poule to say G
thus. Take and chose in, but such a wy-
dowe, as hath hadde but one housbande
at once, as though the gyse were in hys
dayes that wyues might haue two hus-
bandes at once. In faith quod your fred
I thynke sainct Poule ment not so. For
thē had wiues bene in his tyme litle bet-
ter than grasse widowes be nowe. For
they bee yet as seuerall as a barbers
chayre, and neuer take but one at once.
In fayth quod I the folye of suche folke
dothe well appeare that seke in the scrip
ture of god suche new construccions a-
gainst the very sence that god hath thys
xb. hundred yeare so taughte hys whole
churche, that neuer was there Pope so
couetous yet that durst dispence in thys H
poynt, seing ý cōsent of Christes church
so full and whole therein, and the mynd
of saint Poule so clere to suffer only one
wō vtter erclusion of any moe than one,
ý whosoeuer wold cōstrue hi otherwise,
musst nedes fall into such open folyes as
Tindal & Luther do. And thus ye se how
substācially Tidal & his masser cōstrue
ý scripture, and wō what authoritie they
conferme this noble newe doctryne of
theirs, by which thei would condēne al

Christendome

A Chrystendome as breakers of the lawe of God, as long as they suffer not anye Priestes take a wyfe, or rather as long as they suffer hym to bee wythoute a wyfe. For wyues they must nedes haue by Tindals tale whither thei wil or no. By my trouth quod your frend if Tindall and Luther haue none other holde than that place of sainct Poule, they be lykely to take a fall. But I thinke they say more than that. Surely quod I Tidal hath another reasō in dede. He saith that chastite is an exceding seldom gift and vnchastitie exceding perilous for ý estate. And theron he concludeth that priestes must nedes haue wiues. But B now what if a man woulde denye hym though chastitie be a great gift, that yet it is a seldom gift. For though it be rare and seldome in respect of the remenant of ý people that haue it not, yet is it not seldome in dede, for many men haue it. And Christ saith that al men take it not but he saith not that no manne taketh it nor that few men take it. And highly he commendeth them that for his sake doo take it. What inconuenience is it than to take into his speciall seruice men of ý sort that he most specially commēdeth? Or if we graunted to Tyndall that few men can liue chast, which is plain false for many hath done and doth) but nowe C if we did I say graunt him that thyng, though he might peraduenture therupon conclude, that there should not bee so manye priestes made and bounden to chastite as could not liue chast, yet could he not conclude as he nowe concludeth, that no priest shoulde bee suffred to lyue chast, but that euery priest muste nedes haue a wife. For this is his argument. Few mē can liue chast, *ergo* euery priest must take a wife. If we should impugne the fourme of this argument, Tyndall would raile and saye we medle with sophistrie, & wise men would say we were D ydle occupied to labour to shew that foly that so euidently sheweth it selfe. And therfore we shal let his wise argumēt alone, sith it suffiseth vs that euery man ý any wit hath, may wel se ý vpō his vnresonable reasō, one of two thinges must nedes folow, eyther that Christ in commending perpetuall chastitie dyd commende a thyng not commendable, or els if euery priest must nedes haue a wyfe, than wer it not lawfull to make a priest of that sort that is of gods owne mouth commended. Surelye quod your frende me think thei go farre therin to say that priestes must nedes haue wiues. But me think that this thei might well say & I to, that it is not well done to bynd the with a lawe, that they shall haue none, but it maye bee well done to suffer them haue wiues that would as they haue in wales. And I heare say that in Almain thei fynd great ease therein. For like as here the good wife kepeth her husbande from her maides, so there the parsones wife kepeth her housbande from all the wyues in the parishe. As for wales ye I, ye be wrong enformed, for wyues haue they not. But trouth it is that incontynence is there in some place litle looked vnto, wherof much harme groweth in ý countrey. And as for Almayn such part therof as that is vsed in, whiche is only where Luthers sect is receiued, who so consider wel what commoditie hath comen to them by such vngodly wayes, I thinke shall haue no great fantasy to folowe them. Well quod he lette Wales and Almayne goo, yet priestes hadde wyues of olde when they were better than they bee nowe. And yet haue in Greece where they bee better than they bee here. As for the priestes of Grece I wyll not dyspraise them quod I, for I knowe them not. But somewhat was not wel ther, ý god hath suffered al that G Empyre to fall in to heathen mennes handes. And yet be they there not so lose as ye recken them. For though a wedded manne taken ther in to the clergy be not nor can not bee put frō his wife, but is there suffred to minyster in the office of a priest, notwithstandyng his maryage, yet if he bee vnmaryed at the tyme that he taketh priesthoode, he than professeth perpetuall contynence, and neuer maryeth after, as I haue learned by suche as haue commen from thence.

Chastitie in dede is not a seldom gifte.

Math. 19.

In wales Priestes bee suffred to haue wiues

F

In Grece priestes haue wyues.

Nowe where ye speake of old time, surelye ye shall vnderstande that there H maryed not so manye as ye woulde happelye wene. Paraduenture quod he no more there would now. Some of them woulde haue no wiues though that law were sette at large. For as a good felowe sayd once to hys frendes that meruayled why he maryed not, & thoughte hym vnnaturall yf he cared not for the companye of a woman, he sayde vnto them, that he hadde leuer lese a fynger than lacke a woman. But he hadde leuer lacke the whole hande than haue a wyfe. So yf the Pryestes were at lybertye, some of the worsse sort woulde yet I wene rather haue women than wiues.

A merye saying.

A wiues. But other that would bee more honest, would I suppose be maried. And yet would some peraduenture liue in perpetuall continence as fewe doo nowe. God forbid quod I. Well quod he, they that woulde, were not restrayned. But yf I shall be bolde to say what I think, it seemeth me surely a verye harde thing that the churche should make a lawe to binde a mã to chastitie magry his teth to whiche god would neuer binde anye manne. The church quod I, byndeth no man to chastite. That is trouth quod he except a priest be a man. Ye mistake the matter quod I, as I shall shewe you after. Ther would quod he many harmes be auoyded, and much good would ther grow thereof, if thei might haue wiues that would. What good or harme quod I would come therof, the proofe would shewe, wherein we might bee the more bolde to truste well, were it not that we now finde it nought in Saxony, where we newly see it assayde. And as for that ye spake of olde tyme whan the priestes were better, surely as I would if ye had not stopped me, haue sayde further before. We perceiue wel by writers of old tyme, that of those good mẽne very few were maried. And none in effect after ẏ office taken. And many suche as hadde wiues before, willingly with the assent of their wiues forbare the carnall vse of them. And sythe the good or harme growing of the matter best appereth by the proofe, beside the experiẽce that we haue nowe in Saxony where this chaunge is begonne with an infinite heape of heresies, it is eth to see that the good fathers which gaue their aduise to the making of that lawe, with the thing almoste receiued in generall custome before, and with the consent of all christendome in effect that ratefied and receiued it after, had a good profe therof, and founde this the best way before the law made, and therfore I wil not dispute with you ther vpon. But for as muche as ye lay vnresonablenes to their charge that made it, because thei binde mẽ as ye reken against their wil to chastitie, somewhat were it that ye saye, yf the churche compelled any man to be priest. But now whan euery mã is at his libertie not to be priest but at his pleasure, howe can any man say that the church laieth a bond of chastite in ani mans neck against his wil. The church doth in effect no further but prouide, ẏ wher as mẽ will of their own mindes some liue chast & some will not, the ministers of the sacrament shall bee taken of that sorte onely, that wil be cõtẽt to professe chastitie. Wherwith who so findeth faulte, blamed not onelye the clergie but also the temporalitie, which be and haue bene al this while partners in the authoritie of the making and conseruacion of this lawe. Whereof there can no man blame the prouision, but yf he be eyther in that heresie that he think that the clennesse of chastitie is no more pleasãt to god thã ẏ carnal vse of matrimonie, or els that he thinke it euill done to prouide that the priestes whiche shal serue god in his holy sacramẽtes, sholde be taken of the purest and moste pleasãt sort. Wherunto the verye Painims had suche respecte, that their priestes durste not presume to the sacrifice of their mãmettes but after certaine time of corporall clennesse, kepte from their wiues, and some of them bounden to perpetual chastitie, with the losse of that parte of their body wherewith they might do the contrary. Ye mary quod he, that was a good sure waye. It was quod I sure indede, but not so good as this. For therein would be lost the merit that good mẽ haue in resisting of the deuill, and ẏ restraining of their fleshly mocion. But as I would and was about to saye, in the olde lawe geuen to Moyses, the priestes of the temple for the time of their ministracion forbare their owne house and ẏ company of their wiues. And therefore they serued the tẽple by course, as it wel appeareth in the beginnyng of sayncte Lukes ghospell. So that chastitie was thought bothe to God and man a thyng mete and conuenient for priestes, amõg them which most magnified carnal generacion. And than how much more specially nowe to the priestes of Christe, which was bothe borne a virgine, and liued and died a virgin himselfe, and exhorted al his to the same: whose coũsaile in ẏ point sith some be content to folow & som to liue otherwise, what wai wer I say more metely thã to take ito Christes tẽple to serue about the sacrament, only such as be of ẏ sort ẏ ar cõtent & minded to liue after the clennes of Christes holy coũsail. Trouth if thei so would q̃ he. They say q̃ I ẏ they wil whã thei come therto being al redy warned of the law. And to the entent ẏ fewer should breake it, therfore would I as I sayde haue the better respecte taken to the choosyng. And sythe it is harde to haue so manye so good, I woulde haue the fewer made.

The churche bindeth no mã to chastitie.

Note.

Note.

Capt. r. Chastitie is a mete thyng for priestes.

Math. 19.

But

A But to say ȳ the church bynderh men to chastitie against their wil, because they take not a priest but if he first professed chastitie, is as far against reaso, as if ye wold say ȳ they bind men to chastitie against their will, because thei wil make no monkes but such as will promise to liue chaste. Whiche promise euery man wel woteth thei make of their own mindes, though ȳ church will neyther make monkes nor prieskes but such as so wil. And as touchinge whether the order of B the churche therin be better than the cõtrary, good menne and wyse men bothe had the proofe of bothe before the lawe made, & it wel alowed thorow christendome longe tyme synce. Whiche ere I would assent to chaunge, I wouldе see a better author therof, than suche an heretyke as Luther, and Tyndale, and a better saumple than the sedicyous and scysmatyke prieskes of Saxony. Surely quod he ye haue wel declared the church touchynge that lawe. But whatsoeuer the cause bee, by my trouthe noughte they bee, and as farre worse than we, as they be bounden to be better, and yet bee we the worse for them. There be ꝓ I manye ryght good among them, and C els were it wrongе with vs. And manye be ther badde also, and some the worse for vs. But whether part is the better or the worse, wil I not dispute. But this will I saye: that it were belke that they thought themself the worse, and we our self, and euery manne hymselfe worse. I wold that we wer all in case with our own faultes, as my father saith that we bee with oure wyues. For whan he hearetb folke blame wyues, & say that there bee so manye of them threwes: he sayeth that they dyffame them falselye. For he sayth plainly ȳ there is but one threwde wyse in the worlde: but he sayth in dede D that euerī mā weneth he hath her, & that that one is his owne. So would I fayne that euery man would wene ther were but one mā naught in al ȳ hole world, & that that one wer himselfe. And that he would therupon goe about to mend the one, and thus wold al ware well: which thing we should shortly doe, if we wold once tourne oure wallette that I tolde you of, and the bagge with other folkes faultes cast at oure backe, and caste the bagge that bereth our own faultes, cast it once before vs at our breast: it wold be a goodly brooche for vs to looke on our owne faultes another whyle. And I dare boldly say, both thei and we should much the better amend if we wer so ready E eche to pray for other, as we be ready to seke eche others reprooche and rebuke. In fayth quod he I trowe that bee true, and pray god we so may.

The churche bynderh no man to chastitie.

There is but one threwde wyse in all the worlde.

The 14. Chapter.

The author aunswereth the doubte moued before in the. xi. Chapter, concerning ȳ cõstitucion prouincial, and that the clergie is therein farre fro the faute ȳ is imputed to thē in ȳ poynte, shewing also that the clergie hath not forboden the byble to bee made and readde in englishe.

F

But now to the mater we wer in hand with: ye said ye wold make aunswer for the lawe, wherbye the clergye of thys realme hath forboden all the people to haue any scripture translated into oure tong: which is as I said, in my mind an euil made lawe. Mary ꝓ I that is soone answered. Lay the charge to them that made it. Mary ꝓ he so I dooe. For who made ȳ cõstitucio but they? Surely ꝓ I no body els, nor they neyther. No ꝓ he what, euery man knoweth it. Merely ꝓ I many men talke of it, but nõ mā knoweth it. For there is none suche in dede. G Ther is of trouth a cõstitucio ȳ speketh of such matter, but nothing of such fashion. For ye shal vnderstande that the great arche heretike wickliffe, whereas ȳ hole byble was lõg before his dayes by bertuous & wel lerned men trãslated into ȳ english tong, & by good & godly people w̃ deuocion & sobrenes wel and reuerently red, toke vpõ hym of a malicious purpose to translate it of new. In which trãslacio he purposely corrupted ȳ holye text, maliciously planting therein suche wordes, as might in ȳ reders eres serue H to ȳ prose of such heresies as he went about to sow, which he not only set furth with his own trãslacio of the byble, but also w̃ certain prologes & glosis whiche he made therupon. And these thinges he so hãdled (which was no great maistry) w̃ reasons ꝓbable & likely to ley peple & vnlerned, ȳ he corrupted in his time many folke in this realme. And by other ill bokes which he made in latin, being after born into Boheme & there taught by John Husse & other, he was ȳ occasio of the vtter subuersion of ȳ whole realme, both in fayth & good liuing, with ȳ loss also of many a thousād liues. And as he began agayne the olde heresies of those

Wicklifes translacion of the byble.

A auncient heretikes, whā & whose errours ý church of Christ had conoēned & subdued many diuers ages before: so doeth Luther again begin to set vp his. For al ý he hath in effect he hath of him. Sauig that lest he should seme to saye nothing of his own, he added soe thinges of himself, of such maner sort, as ther was neuer heretike before his dayes, neither so wicked ý he would for sinne, nor so foolish that he durst for shame write, say, or I trowe thinke the lyke. I long ye he to heare some of thē, for ý man is taken for wiser thā to mene so madly as men bere him in hand. Wel ye I, that shall we see sone whan we come therto. But for our prēsent purpose, after that it was perceiued what harme ý peple toke by ý translacion, prologes & glosses of Wickliffe, & also of some other, that after hym holpe to set furth his sede, than for that cause: and for as much as it is daungerous to translate the text of scripture out of one tong into another, as holy S. Hyerome testifieth, for as much as in translacion it is hard alway to kepe thesame sentēce whole: it was I say for these causes at a counsayl holden at Oxenford, prouided vpon great payn ý no man should from thencefurth translate into the englishe tong, or any other language of his own authoritie, by way of boke, lybel, or tretice: nor no man openly or secretly anye such boke, lybel, or treatice reade newly made in ý time of the sayd John wicliffe or since: or that should be made any time after, till thesame translacion wer by the dyocesane, or if nede shoulde require, by a prouinciall counsayl approued. And thys is a lawe that so many so long haue spoken of, and so few haue in all this whyle roughte to seeke whither they say trouth or no. For I trowe ý in this lawe ye see nothyng vnreasonable. For it neither forbiddeth ý translacions to be read ý wer alreadyy wel done of old before Wicliffes dayes, nor dāneth his because it was new, but because it was nought: nor prohibiteth new to be made but prouydeth that they shal not be read if they be misse made, til they be by good examinacion amended, excepte they bee such trāslacions as Wicliffe made and Tyndall, that the malicious minde of ý translatour had in such wise handled it as it wer labor lost to goe about to mēde them. I long by my trouth quod he, and euen spt on thornes, tyll I see that constitucion. For not my self onely, but euery man els hath euer takē it farre otherwise, that euer I haue heard spokē ther of tyll nowe. But surely I will see it my selfe ere I slepe. Ye shalbe sooner eased ye I. For I cannot suffer to see you spite so lōg on thornes. And therfore ye shall see it by & by. And therwith I set him furth the constitucions prouincial with Linwood therupō, & turned him to the place in the tytle *De magistris*: Whiche whan hymselfe had read: he said he meruayled much how it happened, that in so playn a matter men bee so farre abused, to report it so farre wrong. This groweth ye I partly by malice, partly by slouth and negligence, in that folke bee more glad to beleue and tel furth a thing that may sown to the dispraysle of the clergie, thā to searche and be sure whether they say true or no.

It is a daungerous thyng to translate scripture.

¶ The. 15. chapiter.

¶ The messenger moueth against the clergie, ý though they haue made no lawe therof: yet they will in dede suffer none englishe byble in no mannes hand, but vse to burne thē where they find them, and sometime to burne the man to. And for ensaumple he layeth one Richard Hūne, shewyng that the chaunceler of London murdered him in prieson & after hāged him, fayning that he hanged himself, and after condemned him of heresie, because he had an english bible, & so burned the byble and him together, whereunto the author aunswereth.

I suppose quod he that this opinion is rather growe another wai, that is to wit by the reasō that the clergie, though the law serue thē not therfore doe yet in dede take al translacions out of euery ley mans hand. And sometyme with those that be burned or cōuicted of heresie, they burne the english byble without respect, be ý translacion old or new, bad or good. Forsoth ye I, if thys were so, than were it in my mynde not well done. But I beleue ye mystake it. Howbeit, what ye haue seene I can not saye. but my self haue seen and can shew you bybles fayre and old writen in englishe, whiche haue been knowen & seen by the bysshop of the dyoces, & left in leye mens handes & womens to suche as he knewe for good and catholike folke, that vsed it with deuocion & sobrenes. But of truth al such as are founde in ý handes of heretikes, they vse to take away. But they doe

A doe cause none to be burned as farre as euer I coulde wit, but onely suche as be founden faultie. Wherof many be sette forth with euill prologes or gloses maliciously made by Wickliffe and other heretikes. For no good manne would (I wene) be so mad to burne vp the byble, wherin they founde no faulte, nor anye lawe that letted it to be loked on & read. Marye quod he, but I haue heard e good men say, that euen here in London not many yeres agoe in the dayes of the bisshoppe that last dyed, they burned vp as fayre bybles in englishe as any mā hath lightly seene, and therto as faulties for B ought that any man could fynd, as any byble is in latine. And yet besydes thys they burned vp the dead bodye of the mā himselfe, whom themself had hanged in the bysshoppes prieson before, makyng as though the man had hanged himself. And of the burning of his body had they no colour, but onely because they found englisch bybles in his house, wherin thei neuer founde other faulte, but because they wer in englisch. Who told you thys tale quod I? Forsooth diuers honest mē quod he, that sawe it, and specially one that sawe the man hangyng in the bysC shoppes prieson ere he was cutte down. And he tolde me that it was wel & clerely proued, that the chaunceler and hys kepers had kylled the man first, & than hāged him after. And that they had laid heresy to hym, onely for hatered that he sued a premunyre agaynste diuers persons, for a suite taken aboute a mortuary in the audience of the archebisshop of Canterbury. And than they proued the heresy by nothing elles, but by the possession of a good englisch byble. And vpō heresy so proued agaynst hym whō they had hanged, lest he shoulde say for hymselfe, they burned vp the holye scripture D of god, and the body of a good man therwith. For I haue heard him called a very honest person & of a good substaunce. Forsooth quod I, of good substaunce he was I think wel worth a thousād markes. And of his worldlye conuersaciō among ý peple I haue herd none harme. But surely as touchig his faith toward christ, me thinketh I may be bold to say that he was not honest. And as touchig trouth in wordes, he that hath tolde you thys tale, was not so honest in dede as mē thinketh ye take hym for. Why q̃ he doe ye know the matter well? Forsooth quod I so wel I knowe it from toppe to toe, that I suppose there be not very many menne that knoweth it much better. E For I haue not only been diuers tymes present my self at certain examinacions therof, but haue also dyuers and manye times sunderlye talked with almost all such, excepte the dead man hymselfe, as most knew of the matter: which matter was many times in sondry places examined. But specially at Baynardes castell one day was it examined at greate length and by a lōg time euery man being sent for before, and readye there all that could be foūd that any thing could tel, or that had said thei could any thing tell in the matter. And thys examinacion was had before dyuers great lordes F spiritual and temporal, and other of the kynges honorable coūsayl, sent thither by his highnes for ý nones of his blessed zele & princelye desyre borne to the searching of ý trueth. Whereunto his gracious mynd was much ēclined, & had ben by a ryght honorable man enformed, ý ther was one had shewed a frend of hys that he coulde goe take him by the sleue that kylled Hunne, for Richard Hunne was his name whō ye speake of. I was also my self present at the iudgemēt geuen in Poules, wherupō his bokes and his bodye were burned. And by all these G thinges I very wel know, ý he of whom ye haue heard this mater, hath told you tales farre from the trueth. ¶ In good fayth quod your frende, he tolde me one thing that ye speake of nowe: that there was one that sayde he coulde goe take hym by the sleeue that kylled Richarde Hunne, and that he did so in dede before the Lordes, and came euen there to the chaunceler and sayde: my lordes thys is he. But whē he was asked how he knew it: he confessed that it was by such an vnlawfull craft as was not taken for a H proofe. For it was (they say) by necromācy. And the bishops that wer there wold haue haue had that man burned too for witchcraft. And told me also that there was another which had seene many mē that had hanged themselfe: a man that had been long in office vnder dyuers of the kynges almoygners, to whome the goodes of such men as kyll themselfe be appoynted by the lawe, and hys office, as deodandes to be geuē in almes. This man as I haue heard saye, shewed vnto the lordes by suche experience as he had good and playn tokens, by whiche they percepued well that Hunne dyd neuer hang hymselfe. I haue heard also that a spirituall man, and one that loued well

Richard Hunne

The kynges almoygners haue they goodes that kyll themselfe.

A the chaunceler, and was a labourer for that parte, yet could not denye before al the Lordes, but that he had tolde a temporall manne and a frende of hys, that Hunne hadde neuer been accused of heresye if he hadde neuer sued the premunyre. And by saynte Marye that was a shrewde woorde. Howe be it in dede it went not so nere the matter as the other two thynges dydde. Yes in good faythe quod I, al three like nere whan thei wer all hearde. But of trouth manye other thinges were there layde, that vpon the hearing semed muche more suspicious than these. Whiche yet whan thei wer aunswered, alway lost more than halfe B theyr strengthe. But as for these three matters I promise you proued very trifles, and such, as if ye had hearde them, ye woulde haue laughed at them seuen yere after. I beseche you quod he let me heare howe they proued. I am lothe ye I to let you, and leese your time in suche trifles. Howe beit, sith you long so fore therfore, rather than ye should lese your chylde for them, ye shall haue them all three as shortly as I can. First ye must vnderstande, that because the cumming together of the Lordes frō Grenewiche to Baynardes castell for the trying out of the matter shoulde not bee frustrate, C there was suche diligence done before, that euery manne that aught had sayde therein, was ready there agaynst theyr cummyng. Where they beganne with the first poynte that ye spake of, as the speciall mocion whereupon the kynges highnes hadde sent them thither. Wherfore after the rehearsall made of ý cause of theyr cummyng: the greatest temporall Lorde there presente, sayde vnto a certayne seruaunte of hys owne standynge there beside. Syr ye tolde me that one shewed you that he coulde goe take hym by the sleeue that kylled Hunne. D Haue ye broughte hym hether? Syr quod he, if it lyke your Lordeshyp thys manne it was that told me so: poynting to one ý he had caused to come thether. Than my Lorde asked that man, howe saye ye syr, can ye doce as ye sayde ye coulde? Forsoothe my Lorde quod he, and it lyke youre Lordeshyppe I sayde not so muche, thys gentleman did sumwhat mysletake me. But in dede I told hym that I hadde a neighbour that told me that he coulde doe it. Where is that neighbour quod my Lorde? Thys man syr quod he bryngeth furth one whiche had also been warned to be there. Than was he asked whether he had sayde that E he coulde doe it. Naye forsoothe quod he my Lorde, I sayde not that I could doe it my selfe: but I sayde that one told me that he could doe it. Well quod my lord who tolde you so? Forsoth my lord quod he my neyghbour here. Than was that man asked. Sir know you one that can tell who kylled Richarde Hunne? Forsoothe quod he and it lyke your Lordeshippe, I sayd not that I knew one surely that could tell who hadde killed hym: but I sayde in dede that I knowe one which I thought verelye could tell who kylled him. Wel quod the Lordes at the last, yet with muche worke we come to F somwhat. But wherby thinke you that he can tell? Nay forsothe my Lord quod he it is a womanne, I woulde she were here with youre Lordeshyppes nowe. Well quod my Lorde, woman or man all is one, she shalbe hadde wheresoeuer she be. By my fayth my Lordes quod he and she were with you, she woulde tell you wonders. For by God I haue wyst her to tell manye meruaylous thynges ere nowe. Why quod the Lordes, what haue you hearde her tolde? Forsothe my Lordes quod he, if a thynge hadde been stolen, she would haue tolde who hadde G it. And therefore I thynke she could as wel tel who killed Hunne, as who stale an horse. ¶ Surelye sayde the Lordes so thynke all we too I trowe. But howe coulde she tell it, by the deuill? Naye by my trouth I trowe quod he, for I could neuer see her vse anye worse waye than lookinge in ones hande. Therewith the Lordes laughed and asked, what is she? Forsoothe my Lordes quod he, an Egipcian, and she was lodged here at Lambeth, but she is gone ouer sea now. Howbeit I trowe she be not in her own countrey yet: for they saye it is a great H way hence, and she went ouer little more than a moneth agoe. Now forsoth quod your frend, thys processe came to a wise purpose, here was a gret post wel thwyted to a pudding pricke. But I pray you to what poynte came the seconde matter of hym that hadde been in office vnder so manye of the kinges almoygners that he knewe by his owne experience, and proued that Richard Hunne hadde not hanged hymselfe. Forsothe quod I, he was called in next. And than was he asked whereby he knewe it. But would God ye had sene his countenance. The man had of likelyhod said somewhat to farre, and was much amased, and loked

as though

A as though hys eyen wouldе haue fallen out of hys head into the Lordes lappes. But to the question he aunswered and sayde, that he sawe that very wel, for he sawe hym bothe ere he was taken down and after. What than quod the lordes, so didde there many moe, whiche yet vpon the sight could not tell that. No my lordes quod he, but I haue another insyghte in suche thinges than other men haue. What insighte quod they? Forsothe quod he it is not vnknowen that I haue occuppyed a greate whyle vnder diuers of the kinges almoygners, and haue seene and considered manye that B haue hanged themselfe, and therby if I see one hange, I can tell anone whether he hanged himself or not. By what token can you tell quod the Lordes? Forsothe quod he I can not tell the tokens but I perceiue it well ynough by mine owne sighte. But whan they heard him speke of his own sight, & therwith sawe what sight he had, loking as though his eyen would haue fallen in their lappes, there couldе fewe forbeare laughing, & sayde: we see well surely that ye haue a sight by your selfe. And than sayd one Lord merily, peradventure as some mãis so cunning by experience of iewelles C that he canne perceyue by hys owne eye whether a stone bee righte or counterfet though he canne not wel make another man to perceue the tokens: so this good felowe, though he can not tell vs ẏ markes, yet he hathe suche an experience in hanging, that himselfe perceiueth vpon the syghte, whether the manne hanged hymselfe or no. Yea forsoth my Lord quod he euẽ as your lordship sayth. For I knowe it well ynough my self, I haue seene so many by reason of mine office. Why quod another Lorde merily, your office hathe no more experience in hanging, than hath an hangman: And yet D he cãnot tell. Nay sy? q̃ he, & it like your lordship, he medleth not w̃ them ẏ hang thẽselfe as I doe. Well q̃ one of ẏ lordes, howe manye of them haue ye medled w̃ in your daies? Withmany my lord q̃ he. For I haue been officer vnder. ii. almoyners, & therfore I haue seen manye. How many q̃ one of ẏ lordes? I can not tell q̃ he, howe manye: but I wot wel I haue sene many. Haue ye sene q̃ one, an hũdred? Nay q̃ he not an hũdred. Haue ye seen fowre score & ten? therat a litle he studied as one standynge in a doubte, and that were loth to lye, and at last he sayde: that he thoughte nay, not fullye fowre score and tenne. Then was he al- G ked whether he hath seene twentie. And thereto withoute anye sticking, he aũswered, naye not twentie. Thereat the Lordes laughed well, to see that he was so sure that he hadde not seene twentie, and was in doute whether he hadde seene fowre score and ten. Than was he asked whether he hadde seene fyftene. And therto he sayde shortly nay. And in likewise of tenne. At the last they came to fyue, and fro fyue to fowre. And there he beganne to studye agayn. Than came they to three, and than for shame he was fayn to say that he hadde seene so manie and moe tw. But whan he was asked, F whan, whom, and in what place, necessitie draue hym at last vnto the trouthe, wherby it appeared that he neuer hadde seene but one in all hys lyfe. And that was an yrish felow called croke shãke, whome he hadde seene hangynge in an olde barne. And whan all hys cunning was come to thys, he was bidde walke lyke himselfe. And one sayde vnto hym that because he was not yet cunninge ynoughe in the craft of hanging: it was pittie that he hadde no more experience thereof by one moe. ¶ Forsothe quod G your frende, this was a madde felowe. Came the thyrd tale to as wise a poynt: Ye shall heare quod I. The temporall manne that hadde reported it vpon the mouthe of the spirituall manne, was a good worshipfull manne, and for hys trouthe and worshippe was in greate credite. And surely the spiritual manne was a manne of worship also, and well knowen bothe for cunning and vertuous. And therefore the Lordes muche meruayled, knowing thẽ both for suche as they were, that they shoulde bee like to fynde eyther the one or the other, ey- H ther make an vntrue reporte, or vntruely denye the trouth. And fyrst the temporall manne before the Lordes in the hearing of the spirituall persone standinge by, sayde. My Lordes all, as helpe me God and halidome maister doctour here sayd vnto me hys own mouth, that if Hunne had not sued the premunyre, he shoulde neuer haue been accused of heresye. Howe say you maister doctour quod the Lordes, was that true, or elles why sayde you so? Surely my lordes quod he, I sayd not all thing so, but marye thys I sayde in dede, that if Hunne had not been accused of heresie, he wold neuer haue sued the premunyre. Loe my Lordes quod the other, I am gladde ye

A fynde me a true manne. Will ye commaunde me any more seruice? Naye by my trouth quod one of the lordes, not in this matter by my will, ye may goe whā ye wil. For I haue espyed good mā, so ý wordes be al one it maketh no mater to you which way they stand: but al is one to you a horse mill ¶ a mill horse, drinke ere ye goe, ¶ goe ere ye drinke. Naye my lordes q̃ he, I wil not drinke God yelde you. And therwith he made curtesie and went his way, leauing some of ý lordes laughing to see ý good playn old honest man, how that as contrary as their two tales wer: yet whan he heard them both agayn, he marked no differēce betwene
B thē, but toke them both for one, because the wordes were one. By my trouth q̃ your frend, these thre thinges came merely to passe, ¶ I woulde not for a good thing but I had herd thē. For here may a man see, ý misse vnderstādīng maketh
Misse vnderstanding. misse reporting. And a tale ý fleeth thorowe manye mouthes, catcheth manye newe fethers: which, whan they be pulled away agayn, leaue him as pilled as a coote, ¶ sometyme as bare as a bydes arse. But I think verely for al this, ther was gret euidence geuē against ý chaūceler, for he was at lēgth indited of Hūnes death, ¶ was a gret while in prison, ¶ in cōclusion, neuer durst abide ý tryal of .xii. men for hys acquitayle: but was
C fain by frendship to geat a pardon. But I beseche you for my mindes sake, shew me what thought your selfe therein. Of trouth q̃ I there wer diuers suspicious thinges laid against him, ¶ al those well and substancially aunswered again for him. Howebeit, vpon ý telling of a tale oftentime happeth, that whā all is herd that can be said therin: yet shall the bearers some thinke one waye and some an other. And therefore though I can not
D thinke but that the Jewery which were right honest men, founde the verdict as themselfe thought in their owne conscience to be trouth: yet in mine own mind for ought that euer I herd thereof in my life, as help me god I could neuer think it. If he had not been gyltie quod youre fred, he would neuer haue sued his pardon. Yes quod I, right wise men haue I heard saye ere this, that they will neuer refuse neither gods pardō nor ý kinges. It wer no wisdom in a matter of many suspicious tales, be they neuer so false, to stand on .xij. mennes mouthes where one may find a surer way. But I think verely, ý if he had been gyltie, he should neuer haue goten his pardon. For albe-
E it that there was neuer I trow brought in this worlde a prince of more benigne nature, nor of more merciful mind, thā is our souerain lord that nowe reigneth and long mought raign vpon vs, where by neuer king coulde finde in his heart more freely to forgeue and forgeatte offences doone and committed vnto himselfe: yet hath hys highnes such a feruēt affeccion to rygh̃te and iustice in other mennes causes, and suche a tender zele to the conseruacion of hys subiectes (of whose liues his high wisdome considereth many to stande in parell by the geuing of pardon to a few wilfull murderers) that neuer was there kynge, I be-
F lieue that euer ware the crowne in this realme, whiche hathe in so many yeres geuen vnto such folke so few. And therfore I make my selfe sure that in such a wilfull purpensed haynous cruell dede as thys hadde been if it had been true, al the frendes that could haue been founden for the chaunceler in thys worlde: could neuer haue gotten his pardone to passe in suche wyse, had it not be that vpon the report of all the cyrcumstances, the kinges high prudence whiche without flattery, perceth as depe into the bottome of a doutful matter as euer I saw man in my life, had well perceiued hys innocency. And sith I verelye beliene,
G that if he had been gyltie, he neuer could haue gotten in suche an haynous murder, any pardon of the kinges highnes, I dare make my self much more bold of his innocencie now. For ye shal vnderstand that he neuer sued pardō therfore. But after long examinacīō of the matter, aswell the chaunceler as the other, beyng indited of the dede, and arrayned vpon the inditemēt in the kinges bench, pleaded that they were not gyltie. And thereupon the kinges grace being well and sufficiently ensourmed of ý trouth, and of hys blessed disposicion not will-
H linge that there should in hys name any false matter bee mayntayned, gaue in commaundemente to hys attourney to confesse theyr plees to be true withoute any further trouble. Which thing in so faythfull a prince, is a cleare declaracion that the matter layde to the chaunceler was vntrue. And as for my selfe, in good fayth as I told you before, I neuer heard in my life (and yet haue I herd all I wene that well coulde be sayde) therin any thynge that moued me after bothe the parties hearde, to thynke that he

King Henry the eyght.

should

A shoulde be gylte. And besydes all thys, considerynge that Hunne was (as they that well know him say he was in dede) though he wer a fayre dealer amōg hys neighbours, yet a man highe mynded, & sette on the glorie of a victorye, whiche he hoped to haue in ỳ premunyre, wherof he muche boasted as they sayd, amōg his familiar frendes, that he trusted to bee spoken of long after hys dayes, and haue his mater in the yeres and termes called Hūnes case. Which when he perceiued would goe agaynst his purpose, and that in the temporal lawe he should not winne his spurres, and ouer that in the spiritual lawe perceiued so much of B his secrete sores vnwrapped and dyscouered, that he beganne to fal in feare of worldly shame. It is to me much more likelye, that for wertinesse of hys lyfe, he ridde hymselfe out therof (which maner of affection, we see not seldome happen, specially syth the deuyll mygbt peradventure ioyne therewith a mernaylous hope, of the which after happed that the suspicion of his deathe mygbt be layd to the charge and parel of the chaunceler.) This is I say, much more likely to me, than the thynge whereof I neuer heard the lyke before, that the bysbops chaun- C celoure shoulde kylle in the Lollardes towre a manne so sore suspecte and conuicte of heresy, wherby he mygbt bring himselfe in businesse, whereas if he hated the manne. (For kyll hym he would not ye wot wel if he loued him) he mighte easelye bringe hym to shame, and peradventure to shamefull deathe also. In god faith quod your frende, wil I that it were trewe, that he was an heretyke in dede, and in peryll to bee so proued, I woulde well thynke, that in malice and dispayre he hanged himselfe. God quod D I knoweth of all thyng the trouth. But what I haue heardde therin, that shall I shew you. My self was preset in Poules whan the bisshop, in the presence of the Mayre and the aldermen of the citie, condemned hym for an heretyke after hys deathe. And than were there read openly the depositions, by which it was wel proued that he was conuicte as well of dyuers other heresies, as of misbelieve towarde the holy sacrament of the aulter. And thereupon was the iudgement geuen, that his body should be burned, and so was it. Nowe thys is quod I to me a full prose. For I assure you the bishop was a very wyse man, a vertuous, and a cunnyng. By saynt Mary quod he, the prowe is the better by so muche. E I shall tell you quod I another thyng, whiche whan ye heare, ye shall peradventure beleue it yet the better. That would I gladly knowe quod he. For as farre as I can heare, neuer mā had hym suspecte of anye suche thynge beefore. ¶ For sothe quod I that can I not tell. But so it happed, that as I remember, fire or seuen yere after that Hunne was thus hanged, and hys bodye burned for an heretike, ther was one in Essex a carpenter, that vsed to make pūpes, whiche hadde entended with other suche as he was himselfe to doe great robbery, and F therupon was he brought vnto ỳ court: Where, by the commaundement of the kinges grace, a greate honorable estate of thys realme, and my selfe hadde hym in examinacion. Wherin among other thinges he confessed that he hadde longe holden dyuers heresies, whiche he sayd ỳ hys brother being a clerke of a church had taughte bothe hys father and hym. And I promise you those heresies were of an heyght. Than he shewed vs what other cunnyng maisters of that schole he had heard rede, & specially in a place whiche he named vs in London, where G he sayde that suche heretikes wer woont to resorte to theyr readinges, in a chamber at midnight. And whā he asked him the names of them that were woont to haunte those midnyghte lectures, he rehearsed vs dyuers. And among other he named Richard Hunne. Wherof we somewhat mernayled in oure myndes, but nothyng sayde we thereto, but lette him rehearse on, all such as he could cal to mynde. And whan he stopped & could remember no more than asked we of thē that he had named, what they were, and H where they dwelled. And he tolde vs of some of them that were conuicted, and some that wer fledde, and some that wer yet at that tyme dwellynge styll in the towne. And in the waye whan we asked hym, what man was that Hunne that he spake of? he tolde vs his persone and his house. And where is he nowe sayde we? Mary quod he I went to Turney, & whan I came thence agayn, than heard I say that he was hāged in the lollardes towre, and his body burned for an heretike. And thus there learned we lōg after, that Hunne had haunted heretikes lectures by nighte long before, whiche we declared vnto the kynges hyghnesse as he had confessed. And hys hyghnesse thoughe he was sorye that any manne

Hunne was conuicted of heresie.

A shoulde be so lewde, yet hyghely dyd re-
joyce that the goodnes of God brought
suche hidde mischiefe more and more to
lyght. So after hadde we (by the kinges
commaundement) that mannes brother
in examinacion, which dyd in dede con-
fesse nothing, neither of the felonies nor
of the heresies. But yet hys brother dyd
abide by them, and auowed them in his
face, with suche markes and tokens, as
it might wel appere that he sayd trueth.
B And surely meruayle wer it if he would
falsely haue fayned such haynous thyn-
ges agaynste his own brother, his own
father, & himselfe beyng therto nothing
compelled, nor putte eyther in payne or
feare. Nowe was the father dead, and
other could we not come by, whome we
mighte further examine of that nyghte
scole, saying that he, whiche as I tolde
you confessed this matter: shewed vs al-
so at the first tyme of one man in Lon-
don taken for good and honest, whiche
was as he said, a scholer also of his bro-
thers in those heresies: whiche man for
hys honestie we forbare to medle with,
tyll we shoulde haue the other brother:
Whome as sone as we had in handes,
and that he was committed to the Mar-
C shalsye, thys other man, whiche was as
I tolde you, detected vnto vs for an here-
tike and a scholer of hys, came to me to
labour and sue for him, pretending ye he
did it for charitie. And for as muche as
we thought we coulde not fayle of hym
whan we would haue hym: we forbare
ther fore to examine hym, till we should
haue examyned the other whome he la-
boured for. But than were we not ware
in what wyse we shoulde be disappoyn-
ted of him. For so mishapped it in dede,
that after hys beeyng at me to laboure
D for him, whose scholer in heresie he was
detecte to be, he was in hys owne house
sodeynlye stricken and slayne. And that
wretched ende had he. What conscience
he dyed with, God knoweth, for I can
tell you no further. By sayntes John q
your frende, but vpon the whole tale it
semeth to me very clere that Hune was
himselfe not cleare of the matter. Surely
quod I so semed it as farre as I could
witte, vnto as many as euer heardc it, &
woulde yet I wene haue semed so more
clerely, if they had been preset at the ex-
aminacions, and sene vnder what man-
ner the man came forth therewith. But
yet quod your frend, as for this englisch
byble, though Hunne were hymselfe an
heretyke, yet myght the boke be good y-
nough. And no good reason is there why E
a good boke shoulde be burned with an
euil man. Ye cal me well home q I, and
put me well in minde. For that was the
thing whereby ye toke occasion to talke
of Hunne: of whom we talked so long,
that at last I had forgotten wherefore, &
wherupon we entred into that commu-
nicacion. And yet make those bokes not
a litle to the matter that we had in hãd,
I meane towarde the perceiuyng what
opinion that Hunne was of. For surely
at such time as he was denouced for an
heretike, there laye his englishe byble o-
pen, and some other englishe bookes of
hys, that every mã might see the places F
noted with his own hand, such wordes,
and in suche wyse, that there woulde no
wise man that good wer, haue any great
doute after ye sight therof, what naugh-
ty mindes the men had, bothe he that so
noted them, and he that so made them.
I remember not nowe the specialties of
the matter, nor the formall wordes as
they wer writte. But thys I remember
well, that besides other thinges framed
for the fauour of diuers other heresies,
there were in the prologe of that byble,
such wordes touching the blessed sacra- G
ment, as good christen men did much ab
horre to heare, and which gaue the rea-
ders vndoubted occasion to thynke that
the boke was written after Wickliffes
coppye, and by hym translated into oure
tongue. And yet whether the boke be
burned or secretly kept, I can not sure-
ly say. But truelye were the cleargie of
my mind, it should be somewhere reser-
ued for the perpetual profe of the mater,
there hath gone so much suspicious ru-
mour therof. Which as I beleue wer al
well aunswered, and the mind fully sa-
tisfied of anye man that wyse were, and
good therewith, that once had ouerloo- H
ked, readde, and aduisedlye considered
that booke.

¶ The. 16. Chapiter.

¶ The messeger rehearseth some cau-
ses which he hath herd laid by some of
ye clergie: wherfore ye scripture should
not be suffred in englishe. And the au-
thor sheweth his mind, that it wer cõ-
uenient to haue the byble in englishe:
And therwith endeth the thyrd booke.

Yet quod your frende, yet for
al this, cã I see no cause why
the cleargie shoulde kepe the
byble out of ley mennes han-
des, that can no more but theyr mother
tong

A tong. I had wenet ye I that I had proued you playnely that they kepe it not from the. For I haue shewed you ye they kepe none fro the, but such translacion as be either not yet approued for good, or such as be alredi reproued for naught, as wiklifes was & Tindals. For as for other olde ones, ye wer before wiklifes daies remain lawful, & be in some folkes handes had and read. Ye saye well quod he. But yet as weomen saye, somewhat it was alway that ye cat winked whan her eye was oute. Sureye so is it, not for nought that ye english bible is in so few mens handes, whan so many wouldе so fayne haue it. That is very trouth ye I: For I thinke ye though the fauourers of a secte of heretikes be so feruent in ye setting furth of their secte, that they let not to lay their money together and make a purse among them, for the printyng of an euill made, or euil translated boke: which though it happe to be forboden & burned, yet some be sold ere they be spyed, and eche of them lese but their part: yet I thinke ther will no printer lightly be so hote to put anye bible in prynte at hys own charge, wherof ye losse shouldе lye hole in his owne necke, & than hang vpon a doutful tryal, whether ye first copy of hys translacion, was made before wiklifes dayes or since. For if it were made synce, it must be approued before the prynting. And surelye howe it hathe happed that in all this whyle God hath eyther not suffered, or not prouided that any good herteous man hath hadde the mynde in faithful wise to translate it, & therupō ether ye clergie, or at ye least wise some one bishop to approue it, thys can I nothing tell. But howesoeuer it be, I haue heardе and heare so muche spoken in the matter, and so muche doute made therin, that peraduenture it would let & withdrawe any one bishop from the admitting therof, without the assent of the remenant. And whereas many thinges be laid against it: yet is ther in my mind not one thynge that more putteth good men of the clergie in doubte to suffer it, than thys: that they see sometime much of the worse sort more feruent in the calling for it, than the whom we find farre better. Which maketh them to feare lest such men desyre it for no good, & lest if it wer hadde in euery mannes hand, there would great peril arise, & that sedicious people should doe more harme therwith than good and honest folke should take fruite thereby. Whiche feare I promise you nothyng feareth me, but ye whosoeuer wouldе of their malice or folye take harme of that thing that is of it selfe ordeyned to doe al men good, I would neuer for ye auoyding of their harme, take from other the profit, which they might take, & nothing deserue to lese. For elles if the abuse of a good thyng should cause ye taking away therof fro other ye would vse it well, Christ should hymself neuer haue been borne, nor brought hys fayth into ye world, nor god should neuer haue made it neither, if he should for the losse of those that would be dāned wretches, haue kept away the occasion of reward from them that would with helpe of his grace endeuor them to deserue it. I am sure quod your frend, ye doubte not but that I am full and hole of your mynde in this matter, that the byble shouldе be in oure englishe tong. But yet that the clergie is of the cōtrary, and would not haue it so, that appeareth well, in that they suffer it not to be so. And ouer that I heare in everye place almost where I find any learned man of the, their mindes all set theron to kepe ye scripture fro vs. And they seke out for that parte euery rotten reason that they can find, & set them furth solēnely to the shew, though syue of those reasons bee not worth a sigge. For they begynne as farre as our first father Adam, and shew vs that his wyfe and he fell out of paradise with desyre of knowledge and cunning. Nowe if thys wouldе serue, it must from the knowlege and studie of scripture, dryue euery man, priest and other, lest it drive all out of paradise. Than saye they that god taught his disciples many thynges apart, because ye people should not heare it. And therefore they wouldе the people should not now be suffered to reade all. Yet they say further ye it is hard to trāslate ye scripture out of one tong into an other, and specially they say into ours, which they call a tong vulgare & barbarous. But of all thing specially they say that scripture is the foode of the soule. And that the romen people be as infantes ye must be fedde but w̄ milke & pappe And if we haue anye stronger meate, it must be chammed afore by the nurse, & so putte into the babes mouthe. But me think though they make vs al infantes, they shall synde many a shrewde brayn among vs, that can perceiue chalke fro chese well ynough, and if they wouldе once take vs our meate in our own hādes we be not so euill tothed but that within a while

What maner of englich bybies are kept from men.

Why the clergie doth not suffer the bible to be had in english.

Gene. 2.

A a while they shall see vs cham it our self as well as they. For let the call vs yong babes and they wil, yet by god they shal for al that well kynde in some of vs ý an olde knaue is no chylde. Surely quod I suche thinges as ye speake, is the thyng that as I somewhat sayd before putteth good folke in feare to suffer the scripture in our englishe tong. Not for ý reading & receiuing: but for the busy chamming therof, and for much medling with such partes thereof, as least will agree with their capacities. For vndoutedlye as ye spake of our mother Euc: inordinate appetite of knowledge is a meane to driue B any mã out of paradise. And inordinate is ý appetite, whã mẽ vnlerned, though they reade it in their language, will be busy to enserche & dysputе ý great secret mysteries of scripture, whiche thoughe they heare, they be not hable to perceue. Thys thing is playnely forbode vs that be not appoynted nor instructed therto. And therfore holi saint Gregory nazianzenus, that great solemne doctour, fore toucheth & reproueth al such bolde busy medlers in the scripture, & sheweth that it is in Exodie by Moyses ascending vp vpon the hill where he spake with God, and the people tarying beneath, signifi- C ed ý the people bee forboden to presume to medle with the hygh mysteries of holy scripture, but ought to be contente to tary beneath, & medle none higher than is meete for them, but receiuyng fro the height of the hill by Moyses that, that is deliuered them, that is to witte, ý lawes and preceptes that they must kepe, and the poyntes they must beleue, loke well therupon, and ofte, and medle wel therwith: not to dispute it, but to fulfille it. And as for the high secrete mysteries of God, and hard textes of hys holye scrip- D ture: let vs knowe that we be so vnable to ascende vp so high on that hill, that it shall become vs to saye to the preachers appoynted therto as the people sayd vnto Moises. Heare you god, & let vs heare you. And surely the blessed holy doctour saynt Hierome greatelye complayneth & rebuketh that lewde homely maner, ý the common ley peple, men and weomẽ, wer in his daies so bold in the medling, disputing, and expowning of holi scripture. And sheweth playnlye that they shall haue euill prefe therein, that will reken themself to vnderstand it by them selfe without a reader. For it is a thing that requireth god help, and long time, and an whole mynde geuen greatelye thereto. And farelye, syth as the holye C Apostle Saynt Poule, in diuers of hys epistles sayth: God hath by his holy spirite so instituted & ordeyned his churche, that he will haue some readers, & some Ephesi. 4. bearers, some teachers, and some learners, we do plainly peruert & tourne vp so down ý right order of christes church whan ý one part medleth with ý others office. Plato the great phylosopher specially forbiddeth suche as be not admitted therunto, nor men mete therefore, to Note. medle much and embusie theself in reasoning and dysputyng vpon the temporall lawes of the citie, which would not be reasoned vpõ, but by folke mete therfore, and in place conuenient. For elles F they that cannot very wel attain to perceiue them, begin to mislike, dispraise, and contemne them. Whereof so foloweth the breche of the lawes, and dysorder of the people. For tyll a lawe bee chaunged by authoritie, it rather ought to be obserued than cõtemned. Or elles the craumple of one lawe boldly broken and sette at naughte, wareth a precident for the remenaunte to be vsed lyke. And commonlye, the best lawes shall G worske lyke muche of the common people, whiche moste longe (if they myght be heard and folowed) to liue al at liberte vnder none at all. Nowe if Plato so wyse a man so thought good in temporall lawes, thynges of mennes makyng howe muche is it lesse meete for euerye manne boldelye to meddle with the exposicion of holye scrypture, so deuyled and endyted by the hyghe wisedome of God, that it farre exceedeth in many places the capacitie and perceiuing of mã. It was also prouided by the Emperour in the law ciuile, that the common people shoulde neuer be so bolde to kepe dis- H picions vpon ý fayth, or holy scripture, nor that anye such thing shoulde be vsed among them or before them. And therefore as I said before, the special feare in this matter is, lest we would be to busy in chammyng of the scripture our self, whiche ye saye we were hable ynoughe to dooe. Whiche vndoubtedlye, the wysest, and the best learned, and he that therein hathe by manye yeres bestowed hys whole minde, is yet vnable to dooe. And than farre more vnhable muste he nedes be, that boldly will upon the first reading, because he knoweth ý wordes, take vpõ him therfore to teche other mẽ the sentence with peril of his own soule and other mennes too, by the bringyng men

Holy scripture is not suffred in our englishe tong.

Holy scripture can not be vnderstanded without a reader.

The commõ people is not al at liberte.

A men into mad wayes, sectes & heresies, suche as heretikes haue of olde brought vp, & ý church hath cõdemned. And thus in these matters if ý cõmen peple might be bold to cham it as ye say, & to dispute it, than should ye haue, the more blind ý more bold: the more ignorant the more busie: the lesse witte the more inquisitife: the more foole the more talkatife of great doutes and hygh questions of holy scripture, and of Godes great and secret misteries, and this not sobrely of any good affection, but presumptcouslye
B and vnreuerently at meate & at meale. And there whã the wyne wer in and the witte out, woulde they take vpon them with foolish wordes and blasphemie to handle holie scripture in more homely maner than a song of Robin hode. And some would as I said solemnely take vpon them like as thei wer ordinary readers to interprete ý text at their pleasure, & therwith fall themself and drawe down other with them into seditious sectes & heresies, wherebyy the scripture of God should lese his honour and reuerence, & be by suche vnreuerente and vnsytting demeanour, among muche people quite
C and cleane abused, vnto the contrary of that holye purpose that God ordayned it for. Where as if we woulde no further meddle therewith, but well and deuouteiye reade it: and in that that is playne and euident as Gods commaundementes and his holy counsayls endeuour our self to folow with helpe of his grace asked therunto, and in his greate & merueilous miracles cõsider his godhead: & in his lowly birth, his godly life, and his bitter passion, exercise our selfe in suche meditacions, prayer, and vertues, as the matter shall minister vs occasion, knowledgeing our owne ignorauncе where we fynd a dout, and therin leaning to the faythe of the churche,
D wrestle with no such text as might bring vs in a doubte and wereslye of anye of those articles wherein euery good christen man is clere: by thys maner of reading can no mã nor womã take hurt in holy scripture. Nowe than, the thinges on the other syde that vnlearned people can neuer by themself attayne, as in the psalmes and the prophetes & diuers partes of the gospell, where the wordes bee some time spoken as in the parsone of ý Prophete himselfe, sometyme as in the parsone of god, sometime of some other as angels, deuils, or men, & sometime of our sauior Christ, not alway of one fashion, but sometime as God, sometime as mã, somtime as head of this mistical body his church militant here in earth, sometime as head of his churche triumphant in heaue, somtime as in ý persone of his sensiball parties of his own body, otherwhile in ý person of some particular part of his body mystical, & these thinges with many other, oftentimes interchanged, & sodeinly sundrye thinges of diuers matters diuerslye mingled together, at these thinges which is not possible for vnlearned men to attayn vnto, it were more than madnes for thẽ to medle withal, but leaue al these thinges to the whose hole study is beset therupon, & to ý preachers appointed therunto whiche may shew thẽ such thinges in time and place conuenient w̃ reuerence & authoritie, the sermon so tẽpered, as may bee mete & conuenient alwaye for ý present audience. Wherunto it appereth ý our sauiour himself, & his apostles after hi, had euer special respect: & therfore as I say forsoth I can in no wise agree with you ý it wer mete for men vnlearned to be busy with the chãming of holy scripture, but to haue it chãmed vnto them. For that is ý preachers part and theirs that after longe studye are admytted to reade and expoun it. And to this entent wayel ý wordes as farre as I perceue of al holy doctours that any thing haue written in this matter. But neuer ment they as I suppose the forbydding of the byble to be readde in any vulgare tong. For I neuer yet heard any reason layd, why it were not conuenient to haue the byble translated into the englishe tong, but al those reasons semed they neuer so gay & glorious at the first sight: yet whẽ they were well examined they mygbt in effect, for ought that I can see, as wel be layde against ý holy writers that wrote the scripture in the Hebrue tongue, and against the blessed euãgelistes ý wrote the scripture in Greke, and against all those in likewise that translated it oute of euery of those tonges into latine, as to their charge that would well & faithfully translate it oute of latine into our englishe tong. For as for that our tong is called barbarous, is but a fantasye. For so is, as euery lerned mã knoweth, euery straunge language to other. And if they would call it barayn of wordes, there is no doubte but it is plenteous enough to expresse our myndes in anye thing wherof one mã hath bsed to speke with another. Nowe as touchynge the difficul-

Note.

How ley men shoulde reade the scripture.

The thinges that the vnlearned can not attayne vnto.

Temper thy sermon after thy audience.

There can be no reson why the byble should not be translated into englishe.

A difficultie which a translatour fyndeth in expressing well and liuely the sentēce of his author, whiche is hard alwaye to doe so surely but that he shall sometime minyshe eyther of the sentence or of the grace that it bereth in the formar tong: that poynt hath lyen in their syght that haue translated the scrypture alreadye eyther out of greke into latine, or out of hebrue into any of them both, as by many translaciōs which we rede already, to them that be learned appereth. Now as touching the harme that may growe by suche blynde bayardes as will whan they reade the byble in englishe be more busy than will become them: They that B touche that poynt harpe vpon the right string, & touche truely the great harme that wer likely to growe to some folke: howe be it not by the occasion yet of the english translacion, but by the occasion of theyr own lewdnes and foly, whiche yet were not in my mynde a sufficiente cause to exclude the translacion, and to put other folke from the benefite therof: but rather to make prouision agaynste such abuse, & let a good thing goe furth. No wise manne wer there that wouide put al weapōs away because manquellers misuse them. Nor this letted not as I sayd the scripture to be first writen in a vulgare tong. For scripture, as I said before was not writen but in a vulgare tonge, suche as the whole people vnderstode, nor in no secrete cyphers but such C common letters as almost euery man could rede. For neither was the hebrue nor the greke tong, nor the latē, neither any other speche than such as all ý peple spake. And therfore if we shold say that it wer euil done to translate ý scripture into our tong, because it is vulgare and comen to euery englishe man, than had it been as euill done to translate it into greke or into latin, or to wrote the new testament first in greke, or the old testa- D ment in hebrew, because both those tonges wer as verye vulgare as ours. And yet should there by this reason also, not onely the scripture be kepte out of oure tong, but ouer that, shouide the reading therof be forboden, both al such ley people and all suche priestes too, as can no more than theyr grammer, and verye scantly that. All which cōpanye though they can vnderstande the wordes, be yet as farre from the perceiuing of the sentence in harde and doubtefull textes, as were our weomen if the scripture were translated to oure own language. Howbe it of trouth seldome hath it been seen E that any secte of heretikes hath begōne of suche vnlearned folke as nothynge couide elles but the language wherein they read the scripture: but there hathe alway comonly these sectes sprongen of the pryde of such folke, as had with the knowledge of ý tōg, some high persuasion in themselfe of their owne lerning beside. To whose authoritie some other folke haue sone after, parte of malice, parte of sympleneffe, and muche parte of pleasure and delighte in new fangleneffe fallen in, and encreased the faccion. But ý head hath ever comonly been eyther some prowde learned man, or at F the least beside ý language some prouide smaterer in learning. So ý if we shouid for feare of heretikes that might hap to growe thereby, kepe the scripture out of any tōg, or out of vnlerned mens hādes we should for like feare be fayne to kepe it out of al tōges, & out of vnlerned mes handes to, and wot not whō we mighte trust therwith. Therfore ther is as me thinketh no remedie but if any good thig shall goe foreward some what must nedes be aduentured. And some folke will not fayle to be naughte. Agaynst which G thinges prouision must bee made, that as muche good maye growe, and as litte harme come as canne bee deuised, and not to kepe the whole commoditie from any hole people, because of harme that by their owne foly and faulte may come to some part, as thoughe a lewde surgion wouide cutte of the legge by the knee to kepe the toe from the goute, or cut of a mans head by the shoulders to kepe him from the twthe ache. There is no treatice of scripture so hard but ý a good vertuous man or woman eyther, shal somewhat find therin that shall delyte and encreace their deuocion, besydes this that euerye preachinge shall be H the more pleasant and fruittull vnto the whan they haue in their mind the place of scrypture that they shall there heare expowned. For though it bee as it is in dede, great wisedome for a preacher to vse discrecion in hys preachyng and to haue a respecte vnto the qualities and capacities of his audience, yet letteth ý nothinge, but that the whole audience maye without harme haue read & haue readye the scrypture in mynde, that he shall in hys preachyng declare and expowne. For no noute is there, but that god & his holye spirite hath so prudentlye tempered theyr speche thorowe the whole

No good thig ought to be put awaye because of the mysedyse therof.

A commoditie ought not to be kepte backe for the harme that may come of it.

A preacher in his preaching must vse dyscrecion.

A whole corps of scripture, that euery mā may take good therby & no man harme, but he that wil in the study therof leane proudly to the poly of hys own wit. For albeit that Christ did speake to the people in parables, and exponned them secretly to hys especiall disciples, & sometime forbare to tell some thynges to thē also, because they were not as yet hable to beare them: and the apostles in lykewyse didde sometyme spare to speake to some people the thinges that they dydde not let playnly to speake to some other, yet letteth all thys nothing the translacion of the scripture into our own tong
B no more than in the latine. Nor it is no cause to kepe the corps of scripture out of the handes of anye christen people so many yeres faitly confyrmed in fayth, because Christ & hys apostles vsed suche prouision in their vtterance of so strāge and vnherd misteries, either vnto Iewes, Paynims, or newly christened folk, except we would say that all the exposicions which Christ made himself vpon hys owne parables vnto hys secret seruauntes and disciples withdrawen frō the people, shoulde nowe at thys day be kept in lykewyse from the comons, and no man suffred to reade or heare them,
C but those that in hys churche representt the state & office of hys apostles, whiche ther will I (wote well) no wyse manne say, consideryng ý those thinges which were than comonly most kept from the people, be now most necessary for ý people to knowe. As it well appeareth by al such things in effect as our sauiour at ý tyme taught his apostles a part. Wherof I would not for my mynde witholde the profite that one good deuoute vnlerned ley man might take by the reading, not for the harme that an hundred heretikes would fall in by theyr own wilful abusion, no more than oure sauiour let-
D ted for the weale of suche as woulde bee with hys grace of hys little chosen flock to come into thys world and be *lapis offensionis & petra scandali*, the stone of stumbling
1 Peter. ii. and the stone of falling, and ruine to all the wilful wretches in the world beside. Finally me thynketh that the constitucio prouincial of whiche we spake right now, hath determined thys question alreadye. For whan the cleargie therein agreed that the englyshe bybles should remayne whiche were translated afore Wickliffes dayes, they consequentlye dydde agree that to haue the byble in englishe was none hurte. And in that they forbade any new translacion to be read
E till it wer approued by the bishoppes: it appeareth well therby that theyr intent was that the bysshop should approue it if he found it faultlesse, and also of reason amend it where it wer faultye but if the manne wer an heretike that made it, or the faultes such and so many, as it were more eth to make it all newe than mend it. As it happed for bothe poyntes in the translacion of Tyndall. Now if it so be that it wouldē happely be thought not a thyng metely to be aduentured to set all on a flushe at ones, and dashe rashelye out holye scrypture in euerye lewde fe-
F lowes teeth: yet thynketh me ther might such a moderacion be taken therein, as neither good verteous ley folke shoulde lacke it, nor rude and rashe braynes abuse it. For it might be w̄ diligence well Good coūsell
and truelye translated by some good cātholike and well learned man, or by dyuers diuiding the labour among them, and after conferring theyr seueral parties together eche with other. And after that might the worke be alowed and approued by the ordinaries, and by theyr authorities so put vnto prent, as all the copies should come whole vnto the bysshoppes hande. Which he may after his
G discrecion and wisedom deliuer to such as he perceiueth honest, sad, & verteous, with a good monicion & fatherly coūsell to vse it reuerently with humble heart & lowly mind, rather seekyng therin occasion of deuocion than of despicion. And prouiding as much as may be, that the boke be after ý decease of the partie brought again & reuerently restored vnto ý ordinarye. So that as nere as maye be deuised, no man haue it but of ý ordinaries hande, & by hym thought & reputed for such, as shalbe likly to vse it to gods
H honor & merite of his own soule. Amōg whō if any be proued after to haue abused it, thā ý vse therof to be forbodē him, eyther for euer, or till he be warē wyser. By our lady ye your frēd this way misliketh not me. But who should sette the price of the boke? Forsoth ye I that rekē I a thing of litle force. For neither wer it a great matter for any man in maner to giue a grote or twain aboue the mene price for a boke of so greate profite, nor for the bysshoppe to geue them all free, wherin he myght serue his dyoces with the cost of.x.li. I thynke or.xx.markes. Which summe, I dare saye there is no bishop but he wold be glad to bestow about a thing ý might do his hole dyoces

so spe-

A so special a pleasure w̃ such a spirituall profit. By my trouth ꝓ he yet wene I ý ý peple would grudge to haue it on this wise deliuered thē at ý bishops hande, & had leuer pay for it to ý priter, thā haue it of the byshop free. It might so happen w̃ some ꝓ I. But yet in myne opinion ther wer in that maner more wilfulnes thā wisedom or any good mind in suche as would not be contēt so to receiue thē. And therfore I wold think in god faith ý it wold so fortune in few. But for god the more dout would be, lest they would grudge & hold themself sore greued, that wold require it & wer happely denied it: which I suppose would not often happē vnto any honest householder to be by his B discreciō reuerētly red in his house. But though it wer not taken to euery lewde lad in his own hādes to rede a litle rude ly whā he list, & than cast the boke at his heles, or amōg other such as himselfe to kepe a quotlibet & a pot parlamēt vpō, I trow there wil no wise mā find a faulte therin. Ye spake right now of ý Jewes, among whō ý hole peple haue ye say, the scripture in their hādes. And ye thought it no reason ý we shold reken christē mē lesse worthy therto than thē. Wherin I am as ye see of your own opinion. But yet wold god we had ý like reuerence to ý scripture of god ý they haue. For I assure you I haue heard very worshipfull C folke say which haue been in their houses, ý a man could not hyre a Jewe to sit down vpon his byble of ý olde testamēt, but he taketh it w̃ gret reuerence in hād whan he wil rede, & reuerently layeth it vp agayn whan he hath done. Wheras we (god forgeue vs) take a litle regarde to sit down on our byble w̃ the old testament & the new tw. Which homely handeling, as it pcedeth of litle reuerēce, so doth it more & more engēdre in ý mind a D negligēce & contēpt of gods holi words. We find also ý among ý Jewes, though al their whole byble was writē in their vulgare tōg, & those bokes therof wherin their lawes wer writē, wer vsuall in euery mans handes, as thinges ý God wold haue cōmonly knowen, repeted, & kept in remēbrance: yet wer ther again certain parts therof which ý cōmon peple of ý Jewes of old time, both of reuerence & for the difficultie did forbeare to medle w̃. But now sith ý peple of the tē ple is broke asunder ý diuided among ý Jewes, ý peple from ý sight of ý secretes and ý god had set his holy spirit to be assistent w̃ his hole church to teche all necessary trouth, though it maye therfore C be ý better suffred ý no part of holy scripture wer kept out of honest ley mens hādes, yet wold I ý no part therof shoulde cōe in theirs, which to their own harme & happely their neybours to, would hādle it ouer homely, & be to bold and busy therw̃. And also though holye scripture be as ye saide whyleere, a medicine for him ý is sick, & fode for him ý is hole: yet sith ther is many a body sore soule sicke ý taketh himself for hole, & in holy scripture is an whole feast of so much diuers vyand, that after ý affection & state of sōdry stomakes, one may take harme by ý selfsame that shall do another good, and sicke folke often haue such a corrupt tal- F lage in their tast, ý they most like ý mete that is most vnholesome for thē, it were not therfore as me thinketh vnreasonable that ý ordinary whō god hath in the dyoces appointed for ý chief philiciō, to discerne betwene ý hole & the sicke, & betwene disease & disease, should after hys wisedom & discreciō appoynt euery body their part, as he shoulde pceiue to bee good & holesome for thē. And therfore as he should not fayle to find many a man to whō he might commit all ý hole, so to say ý trouth I can see none harme therin, though he shold cōmit vnto some mā G the gospel of Mathew, Marke, or Luke, whome he shoulde yet forbydde the gospell of S. John, and suffer some to reade ý actes of ý apostles, whō he woulde not suffer to medle w̃ the Apocalips. Manye wer there I thinke ý shoulde take much profit by saint Paules epistle *ad Ephesios*, wherein he geueth god counsaile to euery kind of people, & yet should find litle fruit for their vnderstanding in hys epystle ad Romanos, conteynyng suche hygh dyfficulties as verye fewe lerned men can very wel attayne. And in likewise would it be in diuers other partes of the byble, aswell in the olde testamēt as the newe: so that as I say: though the H bishop might vnto some ley man betake and commit with god aduise & instruccion the hole byble to rede: yet might he to some manne well and with reason restrayne the readyng of some parte, and from some busy body the medling with any parte at al, more than he shal heare in sermons sette out and declared vnto hym, and in lykewise to take the byble away from such folke agayn, as be proued by their blynde presumpcion to abuse the occasyon of theyr profitte vnto theyr owne hurte and harme. And thus

A pot parlamēt.

How reuerentlye the Jewe doeth vse the scripture.

The Vayle of the temple is broken asunder.

The epistle to the Romanes conteyneth hygh difficulties.

may

A may the bisshoppe order the scripture in our handes, with as good reason as the father doeth by his discrecion appoynte which of his children may for hys sadnes kepe a knife to cut his meate, and which shal for his wantonnes haue his knife taken fro him for cutting of hys fyngers. And thus am I bold wout prejudice of other mens iudgement, to shew you my mind in this matter, how the scripture might without great perill, & not without great profite, be brought into oure tong, & taken to ley men & women both, not yet meaning therby but ý the whole byble might for my minde be suffered to B be spred abrode in englishe. But if that wer so much douted, ý perase al might thereby be letted: then woulde I rather haue bied such moderacion as I speake of, or some such other as wyser men can better deuise. Howbeit, vpō that I read late in the pistle that the kinges highnes trāslated into english of his own, which hys grace made in latine, aunswerynge to the letter of Luther: my mind geueth me that his maiestie is of his blessed zele so mynded to moue thys matter vnto ý prelates of the clergie, among whom I haue perceiued some of the greatest and C of the best of their own mindes well inclinable thereto alredy, that we ley people shal in this matter ere lōg time passe except the faulte be founde in oure selfe, be well and fully satisfyed and content. In good fayth quod he, that will in my mynde be very well done. And now am I for my mind in al this matter fully cōtent & satisfied. Wel q I, than wil we to diner, & the remenant wil we finishe after diner. And therwō went we to meate.

¶ The end of the thirde boke.

¶ The fourth boke.

D

The. 1. Chapter.

The author sheweth wherfore it wer not wel done to suffer Luthers bokes or any other heretikes, to goe abrode & bee read among the people, though ther wer some good thinges in thē amōg the bad.

WHē we had after diner a little paused, your frend & I drewe our selfe aside into the garden. And there sitting down in an herber, he began to entre furth into the mater, saying that he had wel perceiued ý not in his coūtrey onely, but also in ý vniuersitie where he had ben, thers wer that had none euil opiniō of Luther, but thought that his bokes wer by ý clergie E forbode of malice & euil wil, to the end ý folk shold not surely see & perfitly preue what he saith: or at ý least whatthing he meaneth by his wordes, which will not appere, they thinke, by a line taken oute in ý middes of a lefe, but by the diligent cōsideracion of ý hole matter. Without which mē might imputte a wrōg blame, they saye, to ý best writers ý euer wrote in this world. But they think ý the clergie wil not haue his bokes read, because ý in thē ley men may rede ý priestes fautes, which was they say, ý very cause of ý condemnacion. For elles whether he F had writen wel or euil, yet they say hys bokes had ben kept in mennes handes & read. For there is they thinke therein, though soe part wer naught, many thinges yet wel said, wherof ther was no reson ý men shold lese ý pfit for ý bad. And also reason men thinke it wer, ý all wer heard ý can be said touchyng ý trueth to be knowē, concerning ý matters of oure saluaciō, to ý entent ý all heard & perceiued mē may for their own suretie ý better chese & hold ý right way. For soth q I, if it wer nowe doutful & ambiguous whether the church of Christ wer in the G right rule of doctrine or not: than wer it very necessary to geue thē al good audience ý could & would any thing dispute on either partie for it or against it, to ý end that if we wer now in a wrōg way, we might leaue it & walk in some better But now on the other syde, if it so be as in dede it is, ý Christes church hath the true doctrine alredy, & the self same that S. Paule wold not geue an angel of henē audiēce to ý contrary: what wisdom wer it nowe therin to shewe our selfs so Gala. c. H miskrustful & wauerig, that for to serche whether our faith wer false or true, we should geue hearing not to an angel of Luther is paynted accordingly. heuē, but to a fond frere, to an apostate, to an open incestuous lechour, a playne limme of ý deuill, & a manifest messēger of hel. In which wordes if ye wold happely thinke ý I vse my selfe to sore to cal him by such odious names, ye must cōsider that he spareth not bothe vntruely & without necessitie in his rayling bokes to call by as euill, them whom hys duetie wer highly to reuerēce, wherās I do betwene vs twain cal hī but as himself hath shewed hī in his writing, in his liuing, & in his mad mariage. And yet I neither doe it, nor wold, wer it not that the matter selfe of reason doeth require it. For my parte is it of necessitie to tell

how

A howe nought he is, because ý the worse the man is, the more madnes wer it for wise men to geue his false fables harkening agaynst goddes vndoubted trouth by his holi spirit taught vnto his church and by suche multitude of miracles, by so muche blood of holye martirs, by the vertuous liuing of so many blessed confessors, by the puritie and clennes of so manye chaste wiedowes and vndefyled vyrgins, by the holesome doctrine of so many holy doctours, and finallye by the whole consent and agrement of al christen people thys xiiiiiie hundred yere cõfyrmed. And therefore not any respecte
B vnto hys rayling against the clergy, is as some would haue it seme the cause of hys condemnacion and suppressyon of hys bookes. For the good menne of the clergie be not so sore grieued with them that toche the faultes of the bad, nor the bad themself be not so tender eared, that for the only talking of their faultes they would banish the bokes that were good in other thinges besyde. For elles could not the bokes of many old holye fathers haue endured so long, wherin the vyces of them that in the clergie be naught, be very vehemently rebuked. But the very cause why his bokes be not suffred to be read, is because his heresies be so many, and so abhominable, & the proues wherwith he pretendeth to make them probable, be so farre from reason and trouth,
C and so farre agaynst the right vnderstãding of holy scripture, wherof vnder colour of great zeale and affecciõ he laboreth to destroye the credence & good vse, and finally so farre stretcheth all thyng against good maner and vertue, prouoking the worlde to wrong oppinions of god, and boldnes in sinne and wretchednes, that there can no good, but muche harme growe by the reding. For if ther were the substance good, and of errour or ouersight, some cokle among ý corn, which might be sifted out and the reme-
D naunt stand in stede, men wouldе haue been content therewith as they be with such other. But now is his not besprent with a few spottes, but with more than halfe venome poisoned the whole wine, and that right rotten of it self. And this doone of purpose and malice, not without an euil spirite in such wise walking with hys woordes, that the contagion therof wer likely to infect a feble soule, as the sauour of a sickenes sore infecteth an whole body. Nor the trouth is not to be lerned of euery mans mouth. For as Christe was not content that the deuyll
E should call hym goddes sonne though it wer true, so is he not content that a deuilles limme as Luther is or Tyndall, should teache hys flocke the trouth, for infecting them with their false deuelish heresies besydes. For lykewyse as the holy scripture of god because of ý good spirit that made it, is of his own nature apte to purge & amend the reder, though some that rede it of their inuincible malice tourne it to their harme, so doe such wrytinges as Luthers is, in the makig wherof the deuil is of counsayl, and geueth therwith a breth of hys assistence, though the goodnes of some men mayster the malice therof, walking harmelesse with goddes helpe as the Prophete
F sayth vppon the serpent and the cockeatryce, and treadyng vpon the lyon & the dragon: yet be such workes of themselfe alway right vnholesom to medle with, mete and apte to corrupt and infect the reder. For ý prose wherof we nede none other example, than this ý we be in hãd withal, if we consider what good the reding of his bokes hath done in Saxony.
G And this fynde we more than to muche proued here amõg vs, that of.x. that vse to reade hys bokes, ye shal scantly finde twayne, but that they not onely cast of prayer and fasting, and al suche godlye vertues as holy scripture commendeth and the church commaundeth, and vertuous peple haue euer had in gret price, but also fall in playn contempte & hatered therof. So that what fruite shoulde growe of the reding ye may some geasse.

Marke.i.

The deuill in makig of Luthers workes was of counsagie.

Psalm.90.

What fruite doth growe of reading Luthers workes

¶ The. 2. Chapiter.

¶ The author sheweth manye of Luthers heresies to be so abhominable, & some part also so peuish, that the very
H bare rehearsall is ynough without any ferther despicion therupõ, to cause anye good manne abhorre them, and to be ashamed also to seme so foolyshe as to holde them. And for a saumple ý author reherseth diuers, wherof some be new set forth by Tindale in his englishe bokes, worse yet in some parte than his maister Luther is himselfe.

And in good fayth I wouldе wene that any good man except some reasonable necessitie should cõpel him therto elles would (if he hearde but hys opinions once rehearsed) bee verye loth to lose hys time in the reading, eyther of

A ther of his fonde proſe, or of the very titles & names therof againe. Yf they be ſuch in dede quod your frende and that they bee not miſtaken or miſreported. Ye thynketh quod I that ý frute which ye ſe ſpringe of theim, ſhoulde ſuffice to make you perceyue theym for nought. And ywis a freres liuing that weddeth a nunne whē his liuing is ſuch, ſhould make it eth to witt ý hys teching is not very good. Surely quod he, I cā not ſay nay but that theſe be ſhrewde tokens. I ſhall quod I do more for you. For I ſhall fynde the meanes that ye ſhall ſee B hys owne bookes, & then perceiue your ſelf that men belye hym not. I pray you quod he let me heare ſome of his oppynions by mouthe the whyle, and for the ſeing of them in hys owne bokes, I ſhall bethinke me after. First he began quod I with pardons, & with the Popes power, denieng finally any of both to be of any effecte at all. And ſone after to ſhewe what good ſpirite moued him, he denied all the ſeuen ſacramētes, except babtiſme, penance, and the ſacramēt of the auter, ſayeng playnly that al the remenant be but fained thinges & of none effect. Now theſe that he leueth for good it is good to ſe how he handleth theym. C For in penance hee ſayth, that ther neither nedeth contrycion nor ſatiſfacciō. Also he ſayth that there nedeth no prieſt for the hearing of confeſſiō, but ý euery man & euery woman to, is as ſufficient to heare cōfeſſion & aſſoyle & do al ý longeth to a cōfeſſour as is a prieſt. Mary ſir quod your frend thys were an eaſye way for one thing. For the forſeſt thyng that I fynd in confeſſion, is that whan I ſe many confeſſours at a pardon, yet can I ſcant lyke one of theim ſo wel vp D on the ſyght, that I would tel any ſuch tales to, ones in ſeuē yere and I might chele. But nowe if I might after Luthers way be cōfeſſed to a fayre womā, I would not let to be confeſſed weekly. Ye would quod I peraduentnre tel her a tale that ye would not tell euery mā. But yet if ſome men told ſome tales to a faire woman that they tel in confeſſiō to a fowle frere, thei wold wiſh I wene among that thei had kept their cōſaile in their own breſt. Mary quod he ý mai happen alſo in the confeſſion ý is made vnto a prieſt. Poſſible it wer in dede q I. And Tindall in hys boke of obedēce or rather diſobedience ſaith, ý the cura- O what a fal ſe lye is this. tes do go & ſhew the byſhops the cōfeſſi- ons of ſuch as be rych in their pariſhes, and that the biſhoppes therupon do cite E theim & lay their ſecrete ſinnes to theyr charge, and either put thē to opē ſhamefull penance, or compell theym to pay at the biſhops pleaſure. Now dare I be bold to ſay, & I ſuppoſe al the honeſt mē in thys realme wyl ſay & ſwere ý ſame, that thys is a very folithe faſhed ymagyned of hys own minde, wherof he neuer ſaw the ſample in hys life. We ſe in ſom rather the contrary faute, that not onely the rich but the pore alſo, kepe opē quenes & lyue in open aduoutry, wout paiment or penaunce or any thyng almoſt ones ſayd vnto them. But therewō F findeth Tyndal no faut in the biſhops. For he ſayth plainly that the Biſhoppe hath none authorite to puniſh any ſuch thyng at all. But he letteth not on the tother ſide to belye the Biſhoppes & the curates to, fayning that the tone dothe vtter folkes confeſſions to the tother. And whā he hath ſo belied thē, thē forthwith as though he had proued hys tale true, he taketh the ſame fals fayned lye for a ground therupon to byeld the diſtruccion of that holy ſacrament of penaunce. For vpon that lye & ſuch other like, he ſayth playnly that confeſſion to G the prieſt is the worſt thynge that euer was founde. Nowe if that were trewe as it is as falſe as he that ſayd it, howe happed it than (which queſtion Luther and he be aſked often, & allway make as they hard it not) how happed it I ſaye ý of ſo many vertuouſe, wiſe, & cunning fathers as haue ben in Chriſtes church in ſo many hundred yeres, neuer none had the wit nor the grace to ſpye thys great thing but al teach confeſſion, tyll now that Tyndall came, which yet in thys poynt paſſeth his mayſter Luther. For he ſayth he wold in any wiſe haue cōfeſſiō ſtand, but he wold haue it made P at libertie as well to women as men. But Tyndall wyll haue none at al, becauſe he liſteth to belie both the biſhops and the curates, fayning ý thei ſhould betwene them diſcloſe our confeſſions. In ſayth quod your frend that is a thig that I neuer hard to haue happened. Nor he neither quod I that dare I boldly ſaye. And yet I wote well as ye ſay right nowe, that prieſtes ſhould vtter folkes confeſſion were well poſſible, & in many of them nothing in this world more lykely neyther, if god & hys holye ſpirite were not as it is aſſiſtent & working wyth hys holy ſacrament. But ſurely where as there be many thinges

A that wel & clerely prone the sacrament.
Confession was deuised of god
of confession to be a thig institute & deuised by god, yet yf all the remanaunt lacked, thys one thyng were vnto me a playne persuasyon & a full proofe, which thyng I finde in the noble boke that the kynges highnes made against Luther, that is to wyt, that in so cõmen a custõe of confession ofter than ones in the yere where no man letteth boldly to tel such his secretes, as vpon the discouering or close keping therof hys honestye comely and often time his life also depẽdeth, so many symple as be of that sorte that heare theym, & in al other thing so light and laues of theyr tong, and some therwith so lewde in all theyr lyuing ý for mony they force lytel to steale to robbe and murder to, & might many times w the disclosing of some such thiges gette so muche as some of them woulde kill a man for a lesse: yet finde we neuer any man take harme by hys confession, or cause giuen of complaint, through any such secretes vttred & shewed by the cõfessoure. In good faith quod he thys is very trouth & a great thing in mine opinion. But vndowtedly yf confession came ones to womens eares, there would be a sore chaunge. For it would be harde for god & the deuyll to, to kepe
All is in cõsaite that women tell.
there tonges. Yes yes quod I, a womã can kepe a counsaill well ynough. For thoughe she tell a gossippe shee telleth it but in counsayle yet, nor that gossippe to her gossip neither, and so whan all the gossippes in the towne know yt, yet is it but counsayle still. And therefore I saye yt not for any harme ý wold come by thẽ but for the newelty therof. Nowe in earnest quod your frende this was a much mery madde inuedcion of Luther, and Luther is in a maner as madde as Tindall. For it wet as good almost to haue no confession at al, as to set women to heare it. Forsoth q I, if it had ben wisdome & not against goddes will, it would of likelyhedde haue bene founden by some good men before these dayes, in thys longe tyme of so many hundred yeres. Howbeit he goeth nere ynough to take it al away. And diuers of hys scolers besyde Tyndall, do now deny it vtterly. And himself leueth lytel substaunce and lyttel frute therin. For he wold ý we should not care much for any full confession of all deadly synnes nor be very studyouse in the gatheryng of our sautes to mynde nor pondering the circumstaunces nor the weight, & graunite therof, nor taking any sorowe therfore. Now these thiges taken away and the sacrament of penance left suche as he woulde haue it, consider in your selfe what frute were a man lykelye to find in it, he ý taketh a cõfessour he forceth not whome, and thẽ confesseth he forceth not what, disposing hym to repentaũce he forceth not how, good workes in satisfacciõ accõpteth for nought what maner of amendement shall thys man cum to: & specially if beside al this he mai take to his cõfessour a fayre woman such as a yonge man wouldẽ haue a lust to breake hys minde vnto, doth it not playnly appere ý this fonde felowe so playeth with thys holy sacrament of penaunce, that he goeth aboute vtterlye to distroy it? And yet is thys one of the three that he leaueth, taking foure away expressely. Surely q your frende so doth he thys to, as thinketh me. Forsoth quod I, & he hãdeleth the sacramẽt of baptisme not muche better. For he magnifyeth baptisme but to the supression of penance & of al good liuing. For therin he techeth that the sacramẽt selfe hath no vertue at all, but ý faith onely. Luthers conclusions & moste vnmerciful opinions.
Item he techeth that onely sayth suffyseth to our saluaciõ with our baptisme, without good workes. He saith also ý it is sacrilege to go about to please god with any workes & not with faith only. Item ý no mã can do any good worke. Item that the good & righteouse mã alway synneth in doing well. Item that no sinne can dampne any christen mã, but only lacke of beliefe. For he saythe that our faith suppeth vp all our sinnes how great so euer thei be. ¶ Item he techeth ý no man hath no fre wyll, nor cã any thyng do therwith, not though the help of grace be ioyned therunto, but ý euery thinge that we do good and bad, we do nothing at al ther in our self, but onely suffer God to do all thinge in vs good & badde, as were is wrought in to an ymage or a candel by the mãs hande without any thing doyng therto it self. Item he sayth that god is as verylye the author & cause of the euyll wyll of Judas in betraieng of Christ, as of ý good will of christ in suffring of his passion. In matrimony he saith plainlye that it is no sacrament, & so sayth Tindall to. Itẽ if a mã be not able to do his duty to his wife, he is boundẽ secretly without sclaunder to prouide a nother to doo it for him. Forsoth q your frende thys was curteisly considered of him, he is a very

A very gēttilman I warant you. It is no meruail though his wife be wel teemig if he make her such prouisiō. Surely q̃ I, this wise deuise hath he, & much other beastlinesse he saith in such thiges & hys disciple after hym of such sort as honest eares could scant abide the hearing. In the sacramēt of order he sayth, ý preesthede & all holy orders bee but a fayned inuencion. Item that euerī christen mā and euery christen woman is a priest. Item that euery man may consecrate ý bodi of christ. This is a shamefull sayyng in good faith q̃ your frende. Abide B ye q̃ I, & ye shal heare worse yet. For he saith ferther that euery woman & child may consecrate the bodye of our lorde. Surely quod he, thā is the mā mad out right. He saith q̃ I, ferther yet, that the canon of the masse is false. Itē that the hosse in the masse is none oblacion nor sacrifice. Item that the masse with hys canō after the fourme that is and euer hath bē vsed in christes church, is sacrilege & abominaciō. And though much of this cōcerneth hys dampnable heresies touching the blessed sacrament of the auter, yet sayth he thereof many lewde doctrines mo. And among other he tea- C cheth ý it is heresye to beleue ý there is not veri bred, & veri wine in ý sacramēt of ý auter ioyned w̄ the body & bloud of our lord. Itē Swinglius & Ecolāpadi⁹ scolers of Luther haue byelded ferther vpon thys vngraciouse ground of their maister, & teach that ý sacrament of the auter is not the very body nor bloud of our lord at all. And Luther hym self all be it he now writeth against them therin, yet (as it by many thinges appereth) minded and intended to put forthe by laysour the same heresy hym self, tyl he chaunged hys minde for enuy ý he bare D towarde them, whan he sawe that they would be hedes of a sect them self (for ý coulde he suffer no man to be but hi self) But before as I say he did entēd it him selfe. And therefore he made a way toward it by these other heresies ý I haue reherseed you, and by dyuerse other mo. For he techeth also that the masse auaileth no man quick nor dead, but only to the priest him self. Item he techeth that men shoulde go to masse as well after sowper as before brekefast, & in hys cōmen clothes as he goeth all daye without light or anye honorable ryte vsed therin. Item he saith it were best ý men should neuer bee howseleed, but ones in theyr lyfe. And that neuer til they lye a dyeng, as they be but ones cristened, & E that at their beginning. Itē he techeth that euery man & woman should take ý holy sacrament & spare not to touch it & handle it as much as them list. Itē he sayth that the blessed sacrament of the auter is ordeined of god to bee receiued but to be worshipped. In faith q̃ your frend these thinges be far out of course Yes q̃ I, now how he hādleth al ý blessed sacramētes. But now hath he other wilde heresies at large. For he techeth against scripture and al reason, that no christen man is or can bee bounden by any lawe made among men, nor is not bounden to obserue or kepe any. Item F he techeth that there is no purgatorye. Item that all mens soules lye styll and slepe tyll the daye of dome. Item that no man shoulde pray to sayntes nor set by any holy reliques nor pilgrimages, nor doo any reuerence to any ymages. By my trouth q̃ your frende I had forgotten, that whan I was nowe in the vniuersite in the communicacion that I had wyth my frendes ther in ý mater, one of theim obiected against me, that the worshippe of ymages hath bee ere thys condempned by a great counsayle in Grece. Ther was in dede q̃ I, a coū- G saile ones in Grece gathered by an emperour, that thē was an heretique ther, which was after in the eighteth Sinode by the general counsaile dampned and adnulled. But this no more dothe to ý matter, thē if ther wold now in Saxony and Swicherland and suche other places, such people as swarued fro the fayth gather theim selfe togither & kepe as they would call it a generall counsel, wherin thei might determine what they woulde. And yet were all that no preiudice to the right beleue of the catholique churche, wyhche is alwaye H that knowen people that styll perseuer The catholique church. as one bodye wyth our sauiour Christ in theyr former fast confermed fayth, from whiche faithfull body these other withering braunches be blowen away by the deuill. And therefore as a counsayle of Lutherans assembling them selfe in Saxony coulde make none authorite against the true faith of ý church so could that coūsaile in grece no thing proue their purpose, which made none interrupciō of the ryght beleue & godly custome of worship done to sayntes & images, that yet dyd for al that cōtinue styll in all the catholike church of christ and euer sinnes hath done. For sothe q̃

A he, that is trouth. But yet quod he, was there one at our communicacio lerned in the lawe, & in his chamber were we, which said that if he list he could shewe a fayre law incorporate in the decrees of the church, which law if it wer laied in their light that would take vpon thē the defence of any worship to be done to ymages, wold make al their eyen dase. Then longed not onely I but all the remanaūte also very fore to se ý lawe. In bringyng forth wherof he made a while B somwhat straunge, as of a thing kepte for a secrete mistery. But in conclusiō he fet forth a boke of ý decrees, & therein he redde vs in good fayth a playne text as me thought and all that were presēt, by which saint Gregory writeth vnto a certain bishop that had brokē downe the ymages in hys church, & there saint Gregory albeit that he blameth him for breking theim, yet for all that he commendeth him for that he would not suffre theym to be worshipped. Dyd you q̄ I, rede that law your self? In good faith quod he I stode by and loked on ý boke whyle he redde it. Dyd he quod I or you C eyther rede the next law folowing in ý boke? Nay verely q̄ he, for me thought thys was ynough. So was it verely q̄ I & to much to, wythout more. But and if ye had eyther red the next lawe folowynge or the glose vpon the selfe same lawe that ye redde, ye should then haue sene that the lawe which he shewed you made litle for his purpose. By my troth as for the glose q̄ I neyther I nor anye man els that there was had list ones to loke on, considering that the texte was playne and eth to vnderstand. And as for the law next folowing we loked not D after, for we thought to fynde it contrary. And if we should, thē should we not yet haue wist which we shoulde beleue. Yes, yes q̄ I ye woulde not much haue douted if ye had redde the lawe that foloweth, for it is a law synodall made in the. vi. Sinode, in which there is well & playnely shewed that ymages be to bee worshipped amōge christē mē, & wel declareth in what wyse we worship them & owe to do, that is to witt none ymage to be worshipped as god, nor the hope of our helth to be set vpon the ymage, nor to loke that the ymage shal be he which shal iudge our soules in tyme to come, but we worship the image and reuerēce and well owe to do for the remēberāce of the thing that the image representeth. And yet though we do ý ymage honour & reuerence, yet for dyuine honour and G seruice onely done to god, that kynde of worshippe called latrya we neyther do nor may do, neyther to image nor anye creature in al the hole worlde eyther in heauen or earth. And thys shoulde ye haue seene if ye hadde eyther redde as I say the lawe next folowing or the glose of that law that ye redde. Mary quod he but in the lawe selfe that we rede, good saint Gregory saith plaine the cōtrary. For he commendeth the bishoppe there because he would not suffer the images to be worshipped at al. That word at al F quod I ye set to your selfe more then ye fynde in the boke. For in dede the boke sayth no more but that they should not be worshipped by thys laten worde *adorare*. By whych worde he vnderstode ý diuine worship called latria. Whereby knowe we quod he, he vnderstode it so, for I bylene not muche the glose? Ye may quod I perceiue it by the law that foloweth. Where in albeit that thereby ý same word *adorare*, yet is it there shewed howe we maye *adorare*, that is to wyt how we may worshippe images. Why quod he if that law saye *quod possumus adorare* and sait Gregory sayth *quod non licet adorare*, be not they twayn playne repugnāt? Yes quod I if they both toke G that worde *adorare* in one sence. But when the Synode vsed ý word for such worshyppe as we may do to a creature, and saint Gregory vsed it for such worship onely as may not be done but only to ý creatour, thē thei benothing repugnāt at al. But yet q̄ he wherbi shal I be sure ý saint Gregory toke it so, for it appereth by the law as your self saith ý the worde may be taken otherwise. For the same law it selfe taketh it otherwise, & then paraduenture so dyd he, & thereby forbode all maner worshippe to be done H vnto ymages. That were very vnlikely quod I that saint Gregory were of one mynde and the hole Synode of the contrary. But now syth ye make the matter so clere vpō the wordes of saint Gregory incorporate in the decrees, & wyll not beleue ý glose, which appereth plaiye that he ment only to forbed vs to do such worship to ymages as is only due to god: wil ye be cōtent therin to beleue saint Gregory hym selfe if he tell you hym selfe that he ment none other. Ye for god quod he that will I well. Then quod I we shall agree well ynough. And therwith I toke downe of a shelfe amonge my bookes the registre of saint

Ca. periatum de consecra. distinc. 4.

Ca. venerabiles de consec. distinc. 4.

The taking of thys word. adorare.

Howe ymages should be worshipped.

Gregories

A Gregories epistles, and therin turned to the very wordes which are by Gracianne taken out of hys secude epistle *ad serenum episcopum Massilie*, and in corporate in the decrees. And thē caused I hi to rede the formall wordes as they be cowched in the decree. And by the collusiō of the tone with the tother I caused hym to see that Gracian had taken but a parte of the epistle, and that by other wordes of the epistle self, it appereth euid entlye ý saint Gregori spake of none other worshippe to be with drawen from ymages
B but onely diuine worshippe and obseruaunce dew to god, as by diuerse other thinges in theppistle appereth plain, as in that he sayth, that it is not lefull to
Luke. 4. worship any thinge wrought by hand, because it is writen. *Dominum deum tuum adorabis, & illi soli seruies.* Thou shalt woorshypp thy Lord god and onely hym shalt thou serue. Nowe is it in this place of scrypture mēt none other worshippe nor seruice thē deuine honour, & seruice called latria as is to lerned mē well knowne. And he that wyll affyrme the contrary and sat that in scripture is forboden frō ymages all maner of worship, he musse
C affirme also that all maner worshippe and all maner seruice is forboden by scripture frō all maner creatures. For the scripture saythe there, thou shall worshippe and serue onely god, and so should we by that construccion neyther worship nor serue father, nor mother, maistre, nor prince nor kyng. And in ý same place saint Gregory saith that we do worship only the holy trinite, which
The worshyp called Latria. sheweth that he speaketh only of diuine worshippe called latria, which is done wyth a mind that reputeth the thynge worshipped to be very god. For els by
D those wordes yt he forbode any maner worshippe for to be done to any thinge sauing the trinite, then did he forbedde any worshippe to be done to any saynt, or to our blessed lady eyther. And euery man well woteth how reuerently hym selfe worshypped both our lady and all saintes as well by many bokes & epystles of hys, as by the letany which as hys epistels well sheweth, he ordeyned to be with great deuocion vsed in honour of god, our lady, and al holy saintes. And ouer that by the great honour that he dyd to saintes in churches specially dedicate vnto theim, & also great honour and reuerence vsed vnto theyr holy reliques, as in hys owne bookes & epistles appereth. And finally if hys epystles had been lost, oute of which the
E decree is takē yet ý wordes of ý decree it selfe would wel ynough suffice. For therin is it specifyed that images be the bookes of laye people, wherein they rede the life of christ. And thē if it be as it is in dede wel and vertuously done, deuoutely to kisse a boke in which christes lyfe and hys death is expressed by wrytyng: why shoulde it be euyll done reuerently to kisse the ymages by which Christes life and hys passyon be represented by scripture or paynting. ¶ In good faith q̃ he, I am well satisfyed in thys matter, and so would they ý then
F were wyth me if they had sene al that I se nowe. They may quod I. sone se as much whē so euer they lisk to loke therfore. But nowe to turne againe to the matter, neyther the Bishoppe of Massile that breake the ymages that they speake of, nor the coūsaile of grece neither scismatical as it was, went neuer yet so farre as Luther and Tindal, and theyr company do, which not onely set at nought ymages, but also leue no sait vnblasphemed, nor Christes owne mother neither. For Luther can not abide the comen anthem of our ladye and the most deuout *salue regina*, bcause we therin cal that blessed virgin our aduocate.
G Itē he sayth that euerye other woman nowe liuing, if she haue the same fayth maye be prayed vnto as our lady, and wyth her prayer as much profite vs.
Item he techeth that men should doo no worship to the holy crosse that Christe dyed on, saying, that if he had it hole or all the percys therof, he would cast it in such a place as no sunne should shyne therō, to thende it should neuer be foūden to be worshipped more. Item of all feastes he sayth that he hateth the feaste of the holy crosse, and the feast of *Corpus christi*. He techeth also that no man or
H woman is boundē to kepe and obserue any bowe that he hath made to God of virginite, or widowhed or other chastitie of mariage, but that they may mary at theyr liberte, their bowe not withstanding. And howe proueth he ý quod your frende? Mary quod I by the breaking of hys owne, whan he maryed the nunne. And now he rayleth against all chastyte, and saith that if a preest lyue chaste, he is like to the priestes of the poole Sibeles. Longe woulde it bee to write you all thabominable heresies of this newe sect. But some of thē haue I reherled, that ye may thereby consyder

Images be the bokes of lay people.

The kissing of Images.

Luthers other heresies most abhominable.

A whither he that teacheth such thynges, go not about vtterly to distroy the hole fayth, religion, and vertue of christendome. And that he is not in any of these pointes belied I shall fynde the meane that ye shall se it in his own bokes. And there shal ye see how madly he laboreth to proue theim. Proue theim quod your frinde: the substaunce of these matters be to abominable to be reasoned. And to make hym hated of all good folke, is ynough to here theym rehersed. But I marvail me much how he fell into such an heape of heresies.

B

The, 3, chapiter.

The author sheweth by what occasion that Luther first fel to the deuysing of these heresies. And that the occasion was such as well declareth, ye he was pricked therto by malice, and euer proceded frō euyll to worse, not wytting where to hold hym, and that he refuseth to stand to the iugemēt of any folk earthly, cōcerning the truth or falshed of hys oppinions saue onely hym selfe.

NOw that is quoth I, somewhat worthe to consider, howe thys lewde frere began to fall in the mischeuous matters. Ye shall vndestande that there was a pdon obtayned in Saxony, for which pardō as the maner is there, Luther was the preachour and preched to the people, exhortyng them therto, & auauncinge the authoritie therof al that he possible might not wythoute hys great aduauntage therefore. So happed it than sone after, that the setting forth of the pardon with thaduauntage therof, was taken from hym & set to a nother. For anger wherof he fel into such a fury, that forthwith he began ta write agaynst all pardons. Howbeit because the matter was new and straunge, he began fyrst by way of dowtes and questions onely, submytting him selfe and hys wrytinge to the iudgement of the pope, and desyring to be enformed of the trouth. Whereupon whan he was by writing answered by the maister of the popes palays, than wared he more woode & fell to railinge against him, & made also another boke against the power of ye pope affirming that hys power vpon the church was neuer institute of god, but ordeined only by the cōmune cōsent of christen people for auoidyng of scysmis. But yet he said that all christen men wer bounden to stand and obay therunto, and that ye Bohemes were dampnable heretyques for doyng the contrary. But sone after whan he was in such wyse aunswered by good and cunning men, that he perceiued hym selfe vnable to defende that he had affirmed, than fell he from reasoning to rayling, & vtterly denied that he had before affirmed. And thā began to write that ye pope had no power at all, neyther by God nor man. And ye the Bohemes whom he had in his wrytinges before called dampnable heretiques, were good christen men, and all their opinions good, and catholique. Than whā he was cited by ye popes holynesse to appere, he appeled to ye nerte generall counsayle, whych shoulde bee gathered in the holy ghost. So ye what soeuer generall cōsayle were after assembled, he might iest, and raile therō, and saye it was not it, that he appeled vnto, for it was not assembled in the holy ghost. Ye take quod your frind a good wyly way. As wyly as it was & I, yet woulde he not stande therby, but fledde from that to a nother. Now shall ye vndersta, that yet sone after this, in the booke by which he not aunswereth, but rayleth against ye boke wherin our soueraine lord ye king like a most faithful vertuous & most erudite prince, euidetly, & effectually reuinced, & cōfuted ye moste venemous and pestilent boke of Luther entitled the captiuite of Babylon, in which he laboreth to destroy the holy sacramentes of Christes church: in that booke I saye Luther which had before appeled to the next generall cōsayle, vtterly denieth the authoritie of all generall counsailes, & setteth theim all at nought. By my trouth quod your frinde eyther was the man very negligent before, or very naught after, whā he chaūgeth so often, and writeth euer the longer, the more cōtrary, not to his aduersary onely, but also to hym selfe. But I praye you howe excuseth he hys inconstauncie? Mary & I, he saith, that he seeth farther than he sawe before. Wherunto the kinges grace sheweth him that it wer vnlikely, that he should see better through a paire of euil spectacles of ire and enuy. Very true & your frinde by my trouth. But yet I here sai ye he hath offered to stand at the iugemēt of learned mē in all hys matters, if hys offre had ben takē in time. In dede & I. ones he promised to stande to that iudgement of the vniuersite of Parys, and

D The occasion whye Luther fell vnto heresye.

C

E

F

G

H

and therupon was ther opē dispicions kept & the veri wordes written by notaryes sworn for both the parties. But whan hys oppinions were after at Paris by the vniuersite condempned, thā he refused to stande to their iudgement, and fell agayne to hys olde craft of rayling. He appered also at Worms before the emperour and the princes of the empyre by a safeconducte. And ther recognised, and knowleged as well the said pestilent boke writē against the sacramētes, as many other of like sort to be his owne, & offred to abyde by theim. Whych he might boldely do beyng by ý sauf conducte in good suretye of hym self that he could take none harme. Thā was he moued to dispicions vpō ý articles, so ý he should agree vpon soe psōs vertuous, and well learned, that should be iudges of that disputacions, & that he should be cōtent to stande to their iudgement vpon ý same. Wherupō he agreed to come to dispicions, but he would in no wise agre to make any men straynge iudges vpon it, nor stande to no mans iudgement earthly.

The. 4. chapiter.

The author sheweth how that Luther in the boke that him self made of hys owne actes at ý cyte of Wormes in Almaine, dothe so madly ouersee himselfe, that he discloseth vnware certayne folies of him selfe, whych a man will wel laugh at, and meruaile much to se it.

And that these thynges be true, it well appereth to all ý worlde in the booke that he made hym selfe of hys demeanure and his actes at the cite called Wormes in Almaine. Which boke who so redeth, shal haue a great pleasure to see therin, both the frantyke bainglorye of that fonde frere, and yet there with all to see hym carped out wyth foly so farre from hym self, that in a line or twaine he discouereth all that he went aboute to hyde, in all the booke beside. For ye shall vnderstande that albeit he made ý booke hym selfe, yet he made it so, that he would it shoulde seme to haue ben of some other mans making and not of hys owne, to thentent that such worshipfull wordes as he speaketh of hym selfe, might make hym in the eares of the reader, seme soe honorable person. Which wordes elles he wyll wel spoken of his owne mouth, all the worlde woulde wōder on. Now in thys booke beside ý he leueth out soe thinges ther said and spoken where the wordes written in, coulde doo him no worship, & some thynges reciteth wyth aduauntage for hys part, rehersing the tother syde nakedly & barely and some parte pared of to, to make it seeme the more slender, one thynge he obseruetb diligently, that where as, speaking of ý emperour he calleth hym neuer but sply and syngly charles, he neuer speaketh of hym selfe but he setteth forth his name in great capital letters & solēpne titles. The man of God Luther. And where as they that spake agaynsse hys errrours, he writeth that thei brast out in vrulēt and venimouse wordes, whā he cometh to hys owne aunswere, than he writeth in thys wyse, but than D. Martyne for hys incredyble humanyte and bountye, aunswered in thys wyse benignely. And sometyme with these wordes. The most benigne father most mildely made answere. And finally he fynished & endeth hys booke as it were w̄ a *Gloria patri* to the hole psalme in thys wyse. Thys holy deuout man therfore euen borne to teach and preserue ý gospell of god, our lord longe preserue for his church w̄ his holy word also Amen. Now who was there euer borne so suspicouse ý euer woulde haue suspected that he which wrote such glorious wordes of Luther, should be Luther hiself. For wher should a man finde so bery a bainglorious foole, ý would not in hiself be ashamed of himself to think such thiges. But now ye ý reade this, I pray you for gods sake see how vtterly thys ich & tickling of vanite & bainglory had cast hym clene beyde hys minde & memory. For whereas all the booke beside was so deuised & hādeled, that it should seeme some other to haue made it, & not hym selfe, sodenly the fonde felowe bewrayed hym selfe vnware. For in one place forgetting himself, he speaketh in thys wyse. Whan thys was spokē, thā the orator of the empire in a chidinge maner saide that I had not aunswered to the purpose, and that those thynges which had bē dampned and determined in generall counsailes of old, ought not now of newe to bee brought againe in question by me, & therfore I should giue a playne aunswere whither I woulde reuoke myne errours or not. Thā vnto thys I aunswered in thys wise. Sith ý it is so. &c. Lo here may ye see ý incredible humilitie and lowely minde of thys

Thinges determined in generall counsaile shoulde not be brought in question

A moſt benigne father which vnder ý viſour of a ſtraunge herald, bloweth out himſelfe hys owne boaſt. Than may yo ſe therwyth hys marueilouſe profoude prudence, that had not the wit to beware that hymſelfe bewrayed not hys owne ſo folithe a deuice, in the vaine auaunting of hys own falſe boaſt and prayſe, that though ý wordes had ben true, yet woulde almoſt a verye naturall foole haue ben aſhamed of hym ſelfe to write theym. By my trouth quod your frend thys deuiſe was madly minded, of Luther, & madly hãdled, & madly ouerſene, B to ſhew him ſelf ſo fonde, but if pride as ý prouerbe is muſt nedes haue a ſhame.

The.5.chapiter.

¶ The author ſheweth the perpetual inconſtaunce of Luther, and hys cõtrarietie and repugnaunce agayneſt hym ſelfe.

NOw as for his cõſtaunce appereth ye I, by ý I haue before reherſed of hys cõtinu all chaũge in his hereſies, fro dai to daiſro worſe to worſe, wherych courſe he kepte not onely in the matters aboue rehearſed, but almoſt in al the remenaũt. For C as cõcerning purgatory, he wrote firſt that all though it coulde not bee proued by euydẽt ſcripture as he affirmed, yet was there no doubte but that there is purgatory, & that thynge he ſaide was of al chriſten mẽ firmely to be beleued. And than he wrote that he wondred of the madnes of ſuch falſe and folithe heretiques as were borne with in one hũdred yere paſſed, and are not aſhamed to denye purgatory, which the hole church of chriſt hath beleued this fiftene hundred yere. Now what conſtance is therein this frere, that wrote this of heretiques that deny purgatory, & with in a whyle after denieth it himſelf, saieng in the ſermon that he wrote of the riche man and Lazare, that all mens ſoules lye ſtill and ſlepe tyll domes day: Mary quod your frende than hath ſome man had a ſlepe of a fayre legth. They wil I wene whan they wake forgette ſome of their dreames. By my fayth quod I, he that beleueth Luther that his ſoule ſhal ſlepe ſo long, ſhall whan he dieth ſlepe in ſhrewde reſte. I muche meruayle ye your frinde what euyll ayled hym to fynde out thys fond foly. To thys oppinion quod I, or rather to the fainning of this oppinion (for I verely thynke that him ſelf thynketh not as he wryteth) he ſel for enuy, and hatered that he bare to priesthode, by the malice of which, hys vngracious minde, he rather were content that all the world lay in the fyre of purgatory tyll domes day, than ý there were one peny gyuen to a prieſt to pray for any ſowle. Thys is quod your frind very likely. Like conſtaunce ye I, hath he vſed in ý matter of holy vowes. For in hys boke of the captiuite of Babylõ he writeth that neither man nor aũgell is able to diſpenſe with the vowe made by man to god. And ſone after he wrote that no vowe could bynde any man but E that euery man maye bouldely breake them of hys owne hedde. But it weil appereth that he wrote the fyrſte of angre and malice towarde the pope, and than chaunged to the ſecond of a lecherous luſt to the nunne that he minded to mary.

The church beleueth that there is a purgatory.

¶ The.6.chapiter.

¶ The author ſhewed howe that Luther hath bee fayne for the defence of his vndefencible errours, to go backe & forſake al ý manet of proofe & trial, G which he firſt promiſed to ſtande to. And nowe like a man ſhamefull and ſhameleſſe, hath no proofe in ý worlde but hys owne word, and calleth that, the worde of god.

IAs inconſtaunt wyt and verye deuyliſhe entent ſpecialiye ſhewed it ſelfe, by thys alſo which I ſhall now rehearſe you. In ý beginning the man had the minde that commenly ſuch fooles haue, he reckened all the worlde wylde geeſe ſaue hym ſelfe, and al the wyt & learning to ſtand in his own hed. And than weening ý he B ſhould fynde no matche but ý he ſhould as he liſt be able to proue ý mone made of greene cheeſe, he profeſſed in hys bokes ý he would for ý vſe or reprofe of his oppiniõs, ſtãd to natural reaſõ, to ý authoritie of ý old holy fathers, ý lawes and canons of chriſtes churche, & to the holy ſcripture of god with thinterpretacions of the olde holy doctours. But ſone after whan he perceiued himſelfe in hys oppinion deceiued, and ý he ſaw hymſelfe confuted and concluded euidently both by ſcripture, naturall reaſon, the lawes and determinacions of the church, and the hole cõſent of the holy fathers interpreters of holy ſcripture, than beganne he to ſinge a nother ſonge. For thã as for reaſon he refuſed

A ther of his fonde proſe, or of the very titles & names therof againe. Yf they be ſuch in dede quod your frende and that they bee not miſtaken or miſreported. Ye thynketh quod I that ý frute which ye ſe ſpringe of theim, ſhoulde ſuffice to make you perceyue theym for nought. And ywis a freres liuing that weddeth a nunne whē his liuing is ſuch, ſhould make it eth to witt ý hys teching is not very good. Surely quod he, I cā not ſay nay but that theſe be ſhrewde tokens. I ſhall quod I do more for you. For I ſhall fynde the meanes that ye ſhall ſee B hys owne bookes, & then perceiue your ſelf that men belye hym not. I pray you quod he let me heare ſome of his oppynions by mouthe the whyle, and for the ſeing of them in hys owne bokes, I ſhall bethinke me after. First he began quod I with pardons, & with the Popes power, denieng finally any of both to be of any effecte at all. And ſone after to ſhewe what good ſpirite moued him, he denied all the ſeuen ſacramētes, except babtiſme, penance, and the ſacramēt of the auter, ſayeng playnly that al the remenant be but fained thinges & of none effect. Now theſe that he leueth for good it is good to ſe how he handleth theym. C For in penance hee ſayth, that ther neither nedeth contrycion nor ſatiſfacciō. Also he ſayth that there nedeth no prieſt for the hearing of confeſſiō, but ý euery man & euery woman to, is as ſufficient to heare cōfeſſion & aſſoyle & do al ý longeth to a cōfeſſour as is a prieſt. Mary ſir quod your frend thys were an eaſye way for one thing. For the forſeſt thyng that I fynd in confeſſion, is that whan I ſe many confeſſours at a pardon, yet can I ſcant lyke one of theim ſo wel vp D on the ſyght, that I would tel any ſuch tales to, ones in ſeuē yere and I might chele. But nowe if I might after Luthers way be cōfeſſed to a fayre womā, I would not let to be confeſſed weekly. Ye would quod I peraduentnre tel her a tale that ye would not tell euery mā. But yet if ſome men told ſome tales to a faire woman that they tel in confeſſiō to a fowle frere, thei wold wiſh I wene among that thei had kept their cōſaile in their own breſt. Mary quod he ý mai happen alſo in the confeſſion ý is made vnto a prieſt. Poſſible it wer in dede q I. And Tindall in hys boke of obedēce or rather diſobedience ſaith, ý the cura- O what a fal ſe lye is this. tes do go & ſhew the byſhops the cōfeſſi- ons of ſuch as be rych in their pariſhes, and that the biſhoppes therupon do cite E theim & lay their ſecrete ſinnes to theyr charge, and either put thē to opē ſhamefull penance, or compell theym to pay at the biſhops pleaſure. Now dare I be bold to ſay, & I ſuppoſe al the honeſt mē in thys realme wyl ſay & ſwere ý ſame, that thys is a very folithe faſhed ymagyned of hys own minde, wherof he neuer ſaw the ſample in hys life. We ſe in ſom rather the contrary faute, that not onely the rich but the pore alſo, kepe opē quenes & lyue in open aduoutry, wout paiment or penaunce or any thyng almoſt ones ſayd vnto them. But therewō F findeth Tyndal no faut in the biſhops. For he ſayth plainly that the Biſhoppe hath none authorite to puniſh any ſuch thyng at all. But he letteth not on the tother ſide to belye the Biſhoppes & the curates to, fayning that the tone dothe vtter folkes confeſſions to the tother. And whā he hath ſo belied thē, thē forthwith as though he had proued hys tale true, he taketh the ſame fals fayned lye for a ground therupon to byeld the diſtruccion of that holy ſacrament of penaunce. For vpon that lye & ſuch other like, he ſayth playnly that confeſſion to G the prieſt is the worſt thynge that euer was founde. Nowe if that were trewe as it is as falſe as he that ſayd it, howe happed it than (which queſtion Luther and he be aſked often, & allway make as they hard it not) how happed it I ſaye ý of ſo many vertuouſe, wiſe, & cunning fathers as haue ben in Chriſtes church in ſo many hundred yeres, neuer none had the wit nor the grace to ſpye thys great thing but al teach confeſſion, tyll now that Tyndall came, which yet in thys poynt paſſeth his mayſter Luther. For he ſayth he wold in any wiſe haue cōfeſſiō ſtand, but he wold haue it made P at libertie as well to women as men. But Tyndall wyll haue none at al, becauſe he liſteth to belie both the biſhops and the curates, fayning ý thei ſhould betwene them diſcloſe our confeſſions. In ſayth quod your frend that is a thig that I neuer hard to haue happened. Nor he neither quod I that dare I boldly ſaye. And yet I wote well as ye ſay right nowe, that prieſtes ſhould vtter folkes confeſſion were well poſſible, & in many of them nothing in this world more lykely neyther, if god & hys holye ſpirite were not as it is aſſiſtent & working wyth hys holy ſacrament. But ſurely where as there be many thinges

A that wel & clerely prone the sacrament.
Confession was deuised of god
of confession to be a thig institute & deuised by god, yet yf all the remanaunt lacked, thys one thyng were vnto me a playne persuasyon & a full proofe, which thyng I finde in the noble boke that the kynges highnes made against Luther, that is to wyt, that in so cõmen a custõe of confession ofter than ones in the yere where no man letteth boldly to tel such his secretes, as vpon the discouering or close keping therof hys honestye comely and often time his life also depẽdeth, so many symple as be of that sorte that heare theym, & in al other thing so light and laues of theyr tong, and some therwith so lewde in all theyr lyuing ý for mony they force lytel to steale to robbe and murder to, & might many times w the disclosing of some such thiges gette so muche as some of them woulde kill a man for a lesse: yet finde we neuer any man take harme by hys confession, or cause giuen of complaint, through any such secretes vttred & shewed by the cõfessoure. In good faith quod he thys is very trouth & a great thing in mine opinion. But vndowtedly yf confession came ones to womens eares, there would be a sore chaunge. For it would be harde for god & the deuyll to, to kepe
All is in cõsaite that women tell.
there tonges. Yes yes quod I, a womã can kepe a counsaill well ynough. For thoughe she tell a gossippe shee telleth it but in counsayle yet, nor that gossippe to her gossip neither, and so whan all the gossippes in the towne know yt, yet is it but counsayle still. And therefore I saye yt not for any harme ý wold come by thẽ but for the newelty therof. Nowe in earnest quod your frende this was a much mery madde inuedcion of Luther, and Luther is in a maner as madde as Tindall. For it wet as good almost to haue no confession at al, as to set women to heare it. Forsoth q I, if it had ben wisdome & not against goddes will, it would of likelyhedde haue bene founden by some good men before these dayes, in thys longe tyme of so many hundred yeres. Howbeit he goeth nere ynough to take it al away. And diuers of hys scolers besyde Tyndall, do now deny it vtterly. And himself leueth lytel substaunce and lyttel frute therin. For he wold ý we should not care much for any full confession of all deadly synnes nor be very studyouse in the gatheryng of our sautes to mynde nor pondering the circumstaunces nor the weight, & graunite therof, nor taking any sorowe therfore. Now these thiges taken away and the sacrament of penance left suche as he woulde haue it, consider in your selfe what frute were a man lykelye to find in it, he ý taketh a cõfessour he forceth not whome, and thẽ confesseth he forceth not what, disposing hym to repentaũce he forceth not how, good workes in satisfacciõ accõpteth for nought what maner of amendement shall thys man cum to: & specially if beside al this he mai take to his cõfessour a fayre woman such as a yonge man wouldẽ haue a lust to breake hys minde vnto, doth it not playnly appere ý this fonde felowe so playeth with thys holy sacrament of penaunce, that he goeth aboute vtterlye to distroy it? And yet is thys one of the three that he leaueth, taking foure away expressely. Surely q your frende so doth he thys to, as thinketh me. Forsoth quod I, & he hãdeleth the sacramẽt of baptisme not muche better. For he magnifyeth baptisme but to the supression of penance & of al good liuing. For therin he techeth that the sacramẽt selfe hath no vertue at all, but ý faith onely. Luthers conclusions & moste vnmerciful opinions.
Item he techeth that onely sayth suffyseth to our saluaciõ with our baptisme, without good workes. He saith also ý it is sacrilege to go about to please god with any workes & not with faith only. Item ý no mã can do any good worke. Item that the good & righteouse mã alway synneth in doing well. Item that no sinne can dampne any christen mã, but only lacke of beliefe. For he saythe that our faith suppeth vp all our sinnes how great so euer thei be. ¶ Item he techeth ý no man hath no fre wyll, nor cã any thyng do therwith, not though the help of grace be ioyned therunto, but ý euery thinge that we do good and bad, we do nothing at al ther in our self, but onely suffer God to do all thinge in vs good & badde, as were is wrought in to an ymage or a candel by the mãs hande without any thing doyng therto it self. Item he sayth that god is as verylye the author & cause of the euyll wyll of Judas in betraieng of Christ, as of ý good will of christ in suffring of his passion. In matrimony he saith plainlye that it is no sacrament, & so sayth Tindall to. Itẽ if a mã be not able to do his duty to his wife, he is boundẽ secretly without sclaunder to prouide a nother to doo it for him. Forsoth q your frende thys was curteisly considered of him, he is a very

A very gēttilman I warant you. It is no meruail though his wife be wel teemig if he make her such prouisiō. Surely q̃ I, this wise deuise hath he, & much other beastlinesse he saith in such thiges & hys disciple after hym of such sort as honest eares could scant abide the hearing. In the sacramēt of order he sayth, ý preesthede & all holy orders bee but a fayned inuencion. Item that euerī christen mā and euery christen woman is a priest. Item that euery man may consecrate ý bodi of christ. This is a shamefull sayyng in good faith q̃ your frende. Abide B ye q̃ I, & ye shal heare worse yet. For he saith ferther that euery woman & child may consecrate the bodye of our lorde. Surely quod he, thā is the mā mad out right. He saith q̃ I, ferther yet, that the canon of the masse is false. Itē that the hosse in the masse is none oblacion nor sacrifice. Item that the masse with hys canō after the fourme that is and euer hath bē vsed in christes church, is sacrilege & abominaciō. And though much of this cōcerneth hys dampnable heresies touching the blessed sacrament of the auter, yet sayth he thereof many lewde doctrines mo. And among other he tea- C cheth ý it is heresye to beleue ý there is not veri bred, & veri wine in ý sacramēt of ý auter ioyned w̄ the body & bloud of our lord. Itē Swinglius & Ecolāpadi⁹ scolers of Luther haue byelded ferther vpon thys vngraciouse ground of their maister, & teach that ý sacrament of the auter is not the very body nor bloud of our lord at all. And Luther hym self all be it he now writeth against them therin, yet (as it by many thinges appereth) minded and intended to put forthe by laysour the same heresy hym self, tyl he chaunged hys minde for enuy ý he bare D towarde them, whan he sawe that they would be hedes of a sect them self (for ý coulde he suffer no man to be but hi self) But before as I say he did entēd it him selfe. And therefore he made a way toward it by these other heresies ý I haue reherseed you, and by dyuerse other mo. For he techeth also that the masse auaileth no man quick nor dead, but only to the priest him self. Item he techeth that men shoulde go to masse as well after sowper as before brekefast, & in hys cōmen clothes as he goeth all daye without light or anye honorable ryte vsed therin. Item he saith it were best ý men should neuer bee howseleed, but ones in theyr lyfe. And that neuer til they lye a dyeng, as they be but ones cristened, & E that at their beginning. Itē he techeth that euery man & woman should take ý holy sacrament & spare not to touch it & handle it as much as them list. Itē he sayth that the blessed sacrament of the auter is ordeined of god to bee receiued but to be worshipped. In faith q̃ your frend these thinges be far out of course Yes q̃ I, now how he hādleth al ý blessed sacramētes. But now hath he other wilde heresies at large. For he techeth against scripture and al reason, that no christen man is or can bee bounden by any lawe made among men, nor is not bounden to obserue or kepe any. Item F he techeth that there is no purgatorye. Item that all mens soules lye styll and slepe tyll the daye of dome. Item that no man shoulde pray to sayntes nor set by any holy reliques nor pilgrimages, nor doo any reuerence to any ymages. By my trouth q̃ your frende I had forgotten, that whan I was nowe in the vniuersite in the communicacion that I had wyth my frendes ther in ý mater, one of theim obiected against me, that the worshippe of ymages hath bee ere thys condempned by a great counsayle in Grece. Ther was in dede q̃ I, a coū- G saile ones in Grece gathered by an emperour, that thē was an heretique ther, which was after in the eighteth Sinode by the general counsaile dampned and adnulled. But this no more dothe to ý matter, thē if ther wold now in Saxony and Swicherland and suche other places, such people as swarued fro the fayth gather theim selfe togither & kepe as they would call it a generall counsel, wherin thei might determine what they woulde. And yet were all that no preiudice to the right beleue of the catholique churche, wyhche is alwaye H that knowen people that styll perseuer The catholique church. as one bodye wyth our sauiour Christ in theyr former fast confermed fayth, from whiche faithfull body these other withering braunches be blowen away by the deuill. And therefore as a counsayle of Lutherans assembling them selfe in Saxony coulde make none authorite against the true faith of ý church so could that coūsaile in grece no thing proue their purpose, which made none interrupciō of the ryght beleue & godly custome of worship done to sayntes & images, that yet dyd for al that cōtinue styll in all the catholike church of christ and euer sinnes hath done. For sothe q̃

A he, that is trouth. But yet quod he, was there one at our communicacio lerned in the lawe, & in his chamber were we, which said that if he list he could shewe a fayre law incorporate in the decrees of the church, which law if it wer laied in their light that would take vpon thē the defence of any worship to be done to ymages, wold make al their eyen dase. Then longed not onely I but all the remanaūte also very fore to se ý lawe. In bringyng forth wherof he made a while B somwhat straunge, as of a thing kepte for a secrete mistery. But in conclusiō he fet forth a boke of ý decrees, & therein he redde vs in good fayth a playne text as me thought and all that were presēt, by which saint Gregory writeth vnto a certain bishop that had brokē downe the ymages in hys church, & there saint Gregory albeit that he blameth him for breking theim, yet for all that he commendeth him for that he would not suffre theym to be worshipped. Dyd you q̄ I, rede that law your self? In good faith quod he I stode by and loked on ý boke whyle he redde it. Dyd he quod I or you C eyther rede the next law folowing in ý boke? Nay verely q̄ he, for me thought thys was ynough. So was it verely q̄ I & to much to, wythout more. But and if ye had eyther red the next lawe folowynge or the glose vpon the selfe same lawe that ye redde, ye should then haue sene that the lawe which he shewed you made litle for his purpose. By my troth as for the glose q̄ I neyther I nor anye man els that there was had list ones to loke on, considering that the texte was playne and eth to vnderstand. And as for the law next folowing we loked not D after, for we thought to fynde it contrary. And if we should, thē should we not yet haue wist which we shoulde beleue. Yes, yes q̄ I ye woulde not much haue douted if ye had redde the lawe that foloweth, for it is a law synodall made in the. vi. Sinode, in which there is well & playnely shewed that ymages be to bee worshipped amōge christē mē, & wel declareth in what wyse we worship them & owe to do, that is to witt none ymage to be worshipped as god, nor the hope of our helth to be set vpon the ymage, nor to loke that the ymage shal be he which shal iudge our soules in tyme to come, but we worship the image and reuerēce and well owe to do for the remēberāce of the thing that the image representeth. And yet though we do ý ymage honour & reuerence, yet for dyuine honour and G seruice onely done to god, that kynde of worshippe called latrya we neyther do nor may do, neyther to image nor anye creature in al the hole worlde eyther in heauen or earth. And thys shoulde ye haue seene if ye hadde eyther redde as I say the lawe next folowing or the glose of that law that ye redde. Mary quod he but in the lawe selfe that we rede, good saint Gregory saith plaine the cōtrary. For he commendeth the bishoppe there because he would not suffer the images to be worshipped at al. That word at al F quod I ye set to your selfe more then ye fynde in the boke. For in dede the boke sayth no more but that they should not be worshipped by thys laten worde *adorare*. By whych worde he vnderstode ý diuine worship called latria. Whereby knowe we quod he, he vnderstode it so, for I bylene not muche the glose? Ye may quod I perceiue it by the law that foloweth. Where in albeit that thereby ý same word *adorare*, yet is it there shewed howe we maye *adorare*, that is to wyt how we may worshippe images. Why quod he if that law saye *quod possumus adorare* and sait Gregory sayth *quod non licet adorare*, be not they twayn playne repugnāt? Yes quod I if they both toke G that worde *adorare* in one sence. But when the Synode vsed ý word for such worshyppe as we may do to a creature, and saint Gregory vsed it for such worship onely as may not be done but only to ý creatour, thē thei benothing repugnāt at al. But yet q̄ he wherbi shal I be sure ý saint Gregory toke it so, for it appereth by the law as your self saith ý the worde may be taken otherwise. For the same law it selfe taketh it otherwise, & then paraduenture so dyd he, & thereby forbode all maner worshippe to be done H vnto ymages. That were very vnlikely quod I that saint Gregory were of one mynde and the hole Synode of the contrary. But now syth ye make the matter so clere vpō the wordes of saint Gregory incorporate in the decrees, & wyll not beleue ý glose, which appereth plaiye that he ment only to forbed vs to do such worship to ymages as is only due to god: wil ye be cōtent therin to beleue saint Gregory hym selfe if he tell you hym selfe that he ment none other. Ye for god quod he that will I well. Then quod I we shall agree well ynough. And therwith I toke downe of a shelfe amonge my bookes the registre of saint

Ca. periatum de consecra. distinc. 4.

Ca. venerabiles de consec. distinc. 4.

The taking of thys word. adorare.

Howe ymages should be worshipped.

Gregories

A Gregories epistles, and therin turned to the very wordes which are by Gracianne taken out of hys secude epistle *ad serenum episcopum Massilie*, and in corporate in the decrees. And thē caused I hi to rede the formall wordes as they be cowched in the decree. And by the collusiō of the tone with the tother I caused hym to see that Gracian had taken but a parte of the epistle, and that by other wordes of the epistle self, it appereth euid entlye ý saint Gregori spake of none other worshippe to be with drawen from ymages
B but onely diuine worshippe and obseruaunce dew to god, as by diuerse other thinges in theppistle appereth plain, as in that he sayth, that it is not lefull to
Luke. 4. worship any thinge wrought by hand, because it is writen. *Dominum deum tuum adorabis, & illi soli seruies.* Thou shalt woorshypp thy Lord god and onely hym shalt thou serue. Nowe is it in this place of scrypture mēt none other worshippe nor seruice thē deuine honour, & seruice called latria as is to lerned mē well knowne. And he that wyll affyrme the contrary and sat that in scripture is forboden frō ymages all maner of worship, he musse
C affirme also that all maner worshippe and all maner seruice is forboden by scripture frō all maner creatures. For the scripture saythe there, thou shall worshippe and serue onely god, and so should we by that construccion neyther worship nor serue father, nor mother, maistre, nor prince nor kyng. And in ý same place saint Gregory saith that we do worship only the holy trinite, which
The worshyp called Latria. sheweth that he speaketh only of diuine worshippe called latria, which is done wyth a mind that reputeth the thynge worshipped to be very god. For els by
D those wordes yt he forbode any maner worshippe for to be done to any thinge sauing the trinite, then did he forbedde any worshippe to be done to any saynt, or to our blessed lady eyther. And euery man well woteth how reuerently hym selfe worshypped both our lady and all saintes as well by many bokes & epystles of hys, as by the letany which as hys epistels well sheweth, he ordeyned to be with great deuocion vsed in honour of god, our lady, and al holy saintes. And ouer that by the great honour that he dyd to saintes in churches specially dedicate vnto theim, & also great honour and reuerence vsed vnto theyr holy reliques, as in hys owne bookes & epistles appereth. And finally if hys epystles had been lost, oute of which the
E decree is takē yet ý wordes of ý decree it selfe would wel ynough suffice. For therin is it specifyed that images be the bookes of laye people, wherein they rede the life of christ. And thē if it be as it is in dede wel and vertuously done, deuoutely to kisse a boke in which christes lyfe and hys death is expressed by wrytyng: why shoulde it be euyll done reuerently to kisse the ymages by which Christes life and hys passyon be represented by scripture or paynting. ¶ In good faith q̃ he, I am well satisfyed in thys matter, and so would they ý then
F were wyth me if they had sene al that I se nowe. They may quod I. sone se as much whē so euer they lisk to loke therfore. But nowe to turne againe to the matter, neyther the Bishoppe of Massile that breake the ymages that they speake of, nor the coūsaile of grece neither scismatical as it was, went neuer yet so farre as Luther and Tindal, and theyr company do, which not onely set at nought ymages, but also leue no sait vnblasphemed, nor Christes owne mother neither. For Luther can not abide the comen anthem of our ladye and the most deuout *salue regina*, bcause we therin cal that blessed virgin our aduocate.
G Itē he sayth that euerye other woman nowe liuing, if she haue the same fayth maye be prayed vnto as our lady, and wyth her prayer as much profite vs.
Item he techeth that men should doo no worship to the holy crosse that Christe dyed on, saying, that if he had it hole or all the percys therof, he would cast it in such a place as no sunne should shyne therō, to thende it should neuer be foūden to be worshipped more. Item of all feastes he sayth that he hateth the feaste of the holy crosse, and the feast of *Corpus christi*. He techeth also that no man or
H woman is boundē to kepe and obserue any bowe that he hath made to God of virginite, or widowhed or other chastitie of mariage, but that they may mary at theyr liberte, their bowe not withstanding. And howe proueth he ý quod your frende? Mary quod I by the breaking of hys owne, whan he maryed the nunne. And now he rayleth against all chastyte, and saith that if a preest lyue chaste, he is like to the priestes of the poole Sibeles. Longe woulde it bee to write you all thabominable heresies of this newe sect. But some of thē haue I reherled, that ye may thereby consyder

Images be the bokes of lay people.

The kissing of Images.

Luthers other heresies most abhominable.

A whither he that teacheth such thynges, go not about vtterly to distroy the hole fayth, religion, and vertue of christendome. And that he is not in any of these pointes belied I shall fynde the meane that ye shall se it in his own bokes. And there shal ye see how madly he laboreth to proue theim. Proue theim quod your frinde: the substaunce of these matters be to abominable to be reasoned. And to make hym hated of all good folke, is ynough to here theym rehersed. But I marvail me much how he fell into such an heape of heresies.

B

The, 3, chapiter.

The author sheweth by what occasion that Luther first fel to the deuysing of these heresies. And that the occasion was such as well declareth, ye he was pricked therto by malice, and euer proceded frō euyll to worse, not wytting where to hold hym, and that he refuseth to stand to the iugemēt of any folk earthly, cōcerning the truth or falshed of hys oppinions saue onely hym selfe.

NOw that is quoth I, somewhat worthe to consider, howe thys lewde frere began to fall in the mischeuous matters. Ye shall vndestande that there was a pdon obtayned in Saxony, for which pardō as the maner is there, Luther was the preachour and preched to the people, exhortyng them therto, & auauncinge the authoritie therof al that he possible might not wythoute hys great aduauntage therefore. So happed it than sone after, that the setting forth of the pardon with thaduauntage therof, was taken from hym & set to a nother. For anger wherof he fel into such a fury, that forthwith he began ta write agaynst all pardons. Howbeit because the matter was new and straunge, he began fyrst by way of dowtes and questions onely, submytting him selfe and hys wrytinge to the iudgement of the pope, and desyring to be enformed of the trouth. Whereupon whan he was by writing answered by the maister of the popes palays, than wared he more woode & fell to railinge against him, & made also another boke against the power of ye pope affirming that hys power vpon the church was neuer institute of god, but ordeined only by the cōmune cōsent of christen people for auoidyng of scysmis. But yet he said that all christen men wer bounden to stand and obay therunto, and that ye Bohemes were dampnable heretyques for doyng the contrary. But sone after whan he was in such wyse aunswered by good and cunning men, that he perceiued hym selfe vnable to defende that he had affirmed, than fell he from reasoning to rayling, & vtterly denied that he had before affirmed. And thā began to write that ye pope had no power at all, neyther by God nor man. And ye the Bohemes whom he had in his wrytinges before called dampnable heretiques, were good christen men, and all their opinions good, and catholique. Than whā he was cited by ye popes holynesse to appere, he appeled to ye nerte generall counsayle, whych shoulde bee gathered in the holy ghost. So ye what soeuer generall cōsayle were after assembled, he might iest, and raile therō, and saye it was not it, that he appeled vnto, for it was not assembled in the holy ghost. Ye take quod your frind a good wyly way. As wyly as it was & I, yet woulde he not stande therby, but fledde from that to a nother. Now shall ye vndersta, that yet sone after this, in the booke by which he not aunswereth, but rayleth against ye boke wherin our soueraine lord ye king like a most faithful vertuous & most erudite prince, euidetly, & effectually reuinced, & cōfuted ye moste venemous and pestilent boke of Luther entitled the captiuite of Babylon, in which he laboreth to destroy the holy sacramentes of Christes church: in that booke I saye Luther which had before appeled to the next generall cōsayle, vtterly denieth the authoritie of all generall counsailes, & setteth theim all at nought. By my trouth quod your frinde eyther was the man very negligent before, or very naught after, whā he chaūgeth so often, and writeth euer the longer, the more cōtrary, not to his aduersary onely, but also to hym selfe. But I praye you howe excuseth he hys inconstauncie? Mary & I, he saith, that he seeth farther than he sawe before. Wherunto the kinges grace sheweth him that it wer vnlikely, that he should see better through a paire of euil spectacles of ire and enuy. Very true & your frinde by my trouth. But yet I here sai ye he hath offered to stand at the iugemēt of learned mē in all hys matters, if hys offre had ben takē in time. In dede & I. ones he promised to stande to that iudgement of the vniuersite of Parys, and

D The occasion whye Luther fell vnto heresye.

C

E

F

G

H

and therupon was ther opē dispicions kept & the veri wordes written by notaryes sworn for both the parties. But whan hys oppinions were after at Paris by the vniuersite condempned, thā he refused to stande to their iudgement, and fell agayne to hys olde craft of rayling. He appered also at Worms before the emperour and the princes of the empyre by a safeconducte. And ther recognised, and knowleged as well the said pestilent boke writē against the sacramētes, as many other of like sort to be his owne, & offred to abyde by theim. Whych he might boldely do beyng by ý sauf conducte in good suretye of hym self that he could take none harme. Thā was he moued to dispicions vpō ý articles, so ý he should agree vpon soe psōs vertuous, and well learned, that should be iudges of that disputacions, & that he should be cōtent to stande to their iudgement vpon ý same. Wherupō he agreed to come to dispicions, but he would in no wise agre to make any men straynge iudges vpon it, nor stande to no mans iudgement earthly.

The. 4. chapiter.

The author sheweth how that Luther in the boke that him self made of hys owne actes at ý cyte of Wormes in Almaine, dothe so madly ouersee himselfe, that he discloseth vnware certayne folies of him selfe, whych a man will wel laugh at, and meruaile much to se it.

And that these thynges be true, it well appereth to all ý worlde in the booke that he made hym selfe of hys demeanure and his actes at the cite called Wormes in Almaine. Which boke who so redeth, shal haue a great pleasure to see therin, both the frantyke bainglorye of that fonde frere, and yet there with all to see hym carped out wyth foly so farre from hym self, that in a line or twaine he discouereth all that he went aboute to hyde, in all the booke beside. For ye shall vnderstande that albeit he made ý booke hym selfe, yet he made it so, that he would it shoulde seme to haue ben of some other mans making and not of hys owne, to thentent that such worshipfull wordes as he speaketh of hym selfe, might make hym in the eares of the reader, seme soe honorable person. Which wordes elles he wyll wel spoken of his owne mouth, all the worlde woulde wōder on. Now in thys booke beside ý he leueth out soe thinges ther said and spoken where the wordes written in, coulde doo him no worship, & some thynges reciteth wyth aduauntage for hys part, rehersing the tother syde nakedly & barely and some parte pared of to, to make it seeme the more slender, one thynge he obseruetb diligently, that where as, speaking of ý emperour he calleth hym neuer but sply and syngly charles, he neuer speaketh of hym selfe but he setteth forth his name in great capital letters & solēpne titles. The man of God Luther. And where as they that spake agaynsse hys errrours, he writeth that thei brast out in vrulēt and venimouse wordes, whā he cometh to hys owne aunswere, than he writeth in thys wyse, but than D. Martyne for hys incredyble humanyte and bountye, aunswered in thys wyse benignely. And sometyme with these wordes. The most benigne father most mildely made answere. And finally he fynished & endeth hys booke as it were w̄ a *Gloria patri* to the hole psalme in thys wyse. Thys holy deuout man therfore euen borne to teach and preserue ý gospell of god, our lord longe preserue for his church w̄ his holy word also Amen. Now who was there euer borne so suspicouse ý euer woulde haue suspected that he which wrote such glorious wordes of Luther, should be Luther hiself. For wher should a man finde so bery a bainglorious foole, ý would not in hiself be ashamed of himself to think such thiges. But now ye ý reade this, I pray you for gods sake see how vtterly thys ich & tickling of vanite & bainglory had cast hym clene beyde hys minde & memory. For whereas all the booke beside was so deuised & hādeled, that it should seeme some other to haue made it, & not hym selfe, sodenly the fonde felowe bewrayed hym selfe vnware. For in one place forgetting himself, he speaketh in thys wyse. Whan thys was spokē, thā the orator of the empire in a chidinge maner saide that I had not aunswered to the purpose, and that those thynges which had bē dampned and determined in generall counsailes of old, ought not now of newe to bee brought againe in question by me, & therfore I should giue a playne aunswere whither I woulde reuoke myne errours or not. Thā vnto thys I aunswered in thys wise. Sith ý it is so. &c. Lo here may ye see ý incredible humilitie and lowely minde of thys

Thinges determined in generall counsaile shoulde not be brought in question

A moſt benigne father which vnder ý viſour of a ſtraunge herald, bloweth out himſelfe hys owne boaſt. Than may yo ſe therwyth hys marueilouſe profoude prudence, that had not the wit to beware that hymſelfe bewrayed not hys owne ſo folithe a deuice, in the vaine auaunting of hys own falſe boaſt and prayſe, that though ý wordes had ben true, yet woulde almoſt a verye naturall foole haue ben aſhamed of hym ſelfe to write theym. By my trouth quod your frend thys deuiſe was madly minded, of Luther, & madly hãdled, & madly ouerſene, B to ſhew him ſelf ſo fonde, but if pride as ý prouerbe is muſt nedes haue a ſhame.

The.5.chapiter.

¶ The author ſheweth the perpetual inconſtaunce of Luther, and hys cõtrarietie and repugnaunce agayneſt hym ſelfe.

NOw as for his cõſtaunce appereth ye I, by ý I haue before reherſed of hys cõtinu all chaũge in his hereſies, fro dai to daiſro worſe to worſe, wherych courſe he kepte not onely in the matters aboue rehearſed, but almoſt in al the remenaũt. For C as cõcerning purgatory, he wrote firſt that all though it coulde not bee proued by euydẽt ſcripture as he affirmed, yet was there no doubte but that there is purgatory, & that thynge he ſaide was of al chriſten mẽ firmely to be beleued. And than he wrote that he wondred of the madnes of ſuch falſe and folithe heretiques as were borne with in one hũdred yere paſſed, and are not aſhamed to denye purgatory, which the hole church of chriſt hath beleued this fiftene hundred yere. Now what conſtance is therein this frere, that wrote this of heretiques that deny purgatory, & with in a whyle after denieth it himſelf, saieng in the ſermon that he wrote of the riche man and Lazare, that all mens ſoules lye ſtill and ſlepe tyll domes day: Mary quod your frende than hath ſome man had a ſlepe of a fayre legth. They wil I wene whan they wake forgette ſome of their dreames. By my fayth quod I, he that beleueth Luther that his ſoule ſhal ſlepe ſo long, ſhall whan he dieth ſlepe in ſhrewde reſte. I muche meruayle ye your frinde what euyll ayled hym to fynde out thys fond foly. To thys oppinion quod I, or rather to the fainning of this oppinion (for I verely thynke that him ſelf thynketh not as he wryteth) he ſel for enuy, and hatered that he bare to priesthode, by the malice of which, hys vngracious minde, he rather were content that all the world lay in the fyre of purgatory tyll domes day, than ý there were one peny gyuen to a prieſt to pray for any ſowle. Thys is quod your frind very likely. Like conſtaunce ye I, hath he vſed in ý matter of holy vowes. For in hys boke of the captiuite of Babylõ he writeth that neither man nor aũgell is able to diſpenſe with the vowe made by man to god. And ſone after he wrote that no vowe could bynde any man but E that euery man maye bouldely breake them of hys owne hedde. But it weil appereth that he wrote the fyrſte of angre and malice towarde the pope, and than chaunged to the ſecond of a lecherous luſt to the nunne that he minded to mary.

The church beleueth that there is a purgatory.

¶ The.6.chapiter.

¶ The author ſhewed howe that Luther hath bee fayne for the defence of his vndefencible errours, to go backe & forſake al ý manet of proofe & trial, G which he firſt promiſed to ſtande to. And nowe like a man ſhamefull and ſhameleſſe, hath no proofe in ý worlde but hys owne word, and calleth that, the worde of god.

IAs inconſtaunt wyt and verye deuyliſhe entent ſpecialiye ſhewed it ſelfe, by thys alſo which I ſhall now rehearſe you. In ý beginning the man had the minde that commenly ſuch fooles haue, he reckened all the worlde wylde geeſe ſaue hym ſelfe, and al the wyt & learning to ſtand in his own hed. And than weening ý he B ſhould fynde no matche but ý he ſhould as he liſt be able to proue ý mone made of greene cheeſe, he profeſſed in hys bokes ý he would for ý vſe or reprofe of his oppiniõs, ſtãd to natural reaſõ, to ý authoritie of ý old holy fathers, ý lawes and canons of chriſtes churche, & to the holy ſcripture of god with thinterpretacions of the olde holy doctours. But ſone after whan he perceiued himſelfe in hys oppinion deceiued, and ý he ſaw hymſelfe confuted and concluded euidently both by ſcripture, naturall reaſon, the lawes and determinacions of the church, and the hole cõſent of the holy fathers interpreters of holy ſcripture, than beganne he to ſinge a nother ſonge. For thã as for reaſon he refuſed

A to stande to, saieng ý the matters of our faith be thiges aboue reasō and ý reasō hidereth vs in our faith, & is vnto faith an enemy. And as for the lawes of the church, he wyth other blasphemouls heretiques burned vp openly at Wittenberge, singinge in derision a Dirige about the fire for the lawes soule. And than wouldе he stande to nothing but only scripture, not to that, neither but if it were very playne and euidēt. But now if it were in question whither the scripture were euydent for hym or agaynst hym, therin would he stande to no mannes iudgement but hys owne. For as for the hole fayth of Christes B church continued by so many hundred yeres, he set vtterly at naught, callinge it mennes deuices. And in scripture the interpretacion of saint Hierome, saynt Austine, sainct Ambrose, & all the olde holy fathers of so many yeres passed, he nothing would esteme, but wyth blasphemouse wordes letted not to write, I care not for Austine I care not for a hūdred Ciprians, I care not for a thousād Hieromis, I care not but for scripture alone, & that is playne on my parte. As though none of these old holy cunning men had de vnderstande any scripture tyll he came. C Nowe was he by thys vnreasonable maner dreuē to another deuillishe deuice against sainctes. For to thentēt ý their authoritie should not by the deuocion and reuerence that all good men beare theym, minishe hys credence, he was forced to labour to bringe men in that heresie ý thei should pray to no saites, but would haue their ymages drawen downe al, they pilgrimages left vp, al their reliques cast out all their honour, and mens deouciō toward theym withdrawen, so ferforth ý D he coulde neyther abyde the honour of our blessed lady, nor the holy crosse, nor Christes blessed bodye, as playnely declareth hys abhominable bookes.

Reason hindereth vs in our fayth.

¶ The. 7. Chapiter.

The author sheweth what thynges caused the people to fal in to Luthers fonde and furiouse secte. And he sheweth also what mischiefe ý folowers of that secte haue done in Almayne, Lombardy, and Rome.

IT is ye your frid a wōder to me ý the peple beig before brought vp in the right beliefe, coulde find in their hartes to giue him audience in some such heresies as these be. Ye must vnderstand and maye perceiue ye I, that he dyd not set forth al at ones. But as Tindall hath begonne here in England wyth the thinge ý had a good visage, though he had corrupted it and ment nought in dede, puttinge forth firste the newe testament in suche wise hādled, that vnlearned, folke were likely to take harme & conceiue diuers heresies in their hartes, ere they coulde perceyue his falshed, & than hathe sinse by .ii. other bookes openly shewed himselfe to lacke nothing of Luther, but ý E he hath not yet maried a nunne: so dyd Luther also put forth in the beginning no more but the matter of pardons as I tolde you, and therin nothing affirmed neither against the determinaciō of the church, but submitted hymselfe therto. Now wyth this demeanure was there no man offended. But yet dyd he that time entends a farther mischiefe, which he littell and littell pursued, and brought to passe. And one special thing, wyth which he spised al the poisō, was ý libertie that he so hyghlye commended vnto the people bringing thē in beleue that hauing faith, they neded nothing G elles. For as for fastyng, prayer, & such other thynges, he taught theim to neglecte and set at nought as vayne & vnfrutefull ceremonies, teaching theim also that being faithful christiens, they were so nere cosyns to christ, ý they be in a ful freedom & libertie discharged of all gouernours, & all maner lawes spiritual or tēporall, except ý gospel only. And albeit he said ý of a speciall perfecciō it should be wel done to suffer & bere the rule & authoritie of popes, princes, and other gouernours, which rule, and authoryte he calleth but onely tyrāny, H yet he sayth that the people be so free by faith, that thei be no more boūden therto, then they be boundē to suffre wrōg. And thys doctrine also teacheth Tidal. as the speciall matter of hys holy boke of disobediēce. Now was thys doctrine in Almaine of the comen bplandishe people so plesaūtly harde, ý it blynded theim in the looking vpon ý remenaūt, & could not suffer theim to consider and see what ende ý same would in cōclusiō come to. The tēporall lordes wer glad also to here this gere against ý clergie, & the people as glad to heare it against ý clergy, and agaynst the lordes too, and against all they gouernours of euery good town & cite. And finally so far wet it forward, ý at the last it begā to brake

Luther doth call the rule of lordes tyranny.

A out and fall to open force and violence.
For entending to begin at the feblest, there gathered theym together for the setting forth of these vngracious heresyes, a boistyous cõpany of ý vnhappye sect, and first rebelled against an abbot and after against a bishop, wherewith the temporall lordes had good game & sporte, & dissembled the matter, gaping after the landes of the spiritualtye, tyl they had almost plaied as Esope telleth of the dogge, which to snatch at the shadow of the chese in the water, let fal and lost ý chese that he bare in hys mouth.
B For so was it shortely after that those vplandishe Lutheranys toke so great boldnes and so gegan to grow stronge, that thei set also vpõ the tẽporal lordes. Which had they not set hand therto the soner whyle they loked for other mens landes, had ben like shortly to lese their owne. But so quite they them self, that thei slew vpõ the point of. lxx. thousand Lutheranis in ons somer, and subdued the remnaũt in that parte of Almain to a right miserable seruitude. Howbeit i ý meane while many mischeuos dedes they did. And yet in diuerse other pties of Almaine and Swicherland, this vngracious secte by the negligence of the
C gouernours in great Cities, is so ferforth grown that finally the commune people haue compelled the rulers to follow them, whõ, if thei had take hede in time, they might haue ruled and led.
And now is it to pyteouse a sight to se ý dispytuous dispyghtes done there in many places to god & al good mẽ, w̃ the meruailouse chaũge frõ all face & fassiõ of chrisstendome, into a very tyrannous persecucion, not onely of al good christen people quicke and dead, but also of christ him self. For there shal ye se now the goodly monasteries destroyed, the
D places burned vp, the religious people put out and sent to seke their liuing, or in many cities the places yet standyng w̃ more dispite to god, thã if they were burned vp to ashes. For the religious people, monkes, friers, and nunnes, be clene drawẽ and driuẽ out, except such as would agree to forsake theyr vowes of chastite & be wedded. And the places dedicate to clennes & chastitie, lette only to these apostatas & brotheles to liue there in lecherye. Now the parishe churches in many places not onely defaced, all ornementes wythdrawen, the holy ymages pulled downe, and eyther broken or burned, but also the holy sacrament cast out, & the abhominable bestes (which abhorreth me to thynke on) not abhorred in dispite to lyle in the pirys, and vse in many places continually the churches for a comen siege. And that in so dispitefull wyse, ý whã a straũger of other places where christ is worshipped resorteth to these cities, sõe of those vnhappy wrecheds cytesins faile not as it were for courtesie & kyndenes, to accompany theim in walkinge abrode to shewe them the pleasures and commodyties of the town, and thã bring theim to no place syghtly but onely the churches, to shew them in diristõ what vses the churches serue for. Of this sect was the great part of those vngracious people also, which late entered in to Rome with the Duke of Burbon, not onely robbing and spoyling the cite as well theyr owne frindes as the contrary pt, but like very beastes dyd also violate ý wynes in the syght of their husbandes, slew the children in the syght of the fathers. And to extort the discouering of more money, whan men had brought out all that euer they had to saue them selfe from death or ferther paine: & were at pactes and promises of rest without ferther busines, than the wretched tyraũtes & cruel tormentours, as though all that stoode for nothing, ceased not to put thẽ ekstesones to intollerable tormentes. And olde auncient honorable men, those fierce hetetiques letted not to hange vp by the preuy membres, and from many they pulled theym of, & cast theym in the strete. And some brought out naked with hys handes boundẽ behinde him, and acorde tied fast vnto his preuy membres. Than wouldẽ they set before him in hys way other of those tiraũtes with theyr morishepikes, ý pointes toward ý brestes of these pore naked men. And thã one or two of those wretches would stand behynd those morishpikes and drawe the pore sowles by the members towarde theim. Nowe, than was all their cruel sporte and laughter eyther to see the sely naked mẽ in thrinking from ý pykes to teare of their mẽbres, or for pain of that pulling, to rũne their naked bodies in depe vppon the pikes. To piteouse and to abhominable were it, to rehearce the vilanouse paine and tormentes ý thei deuised on the sely womẽ, to whõs after ý thei had beastly abused them, wiues in the sight of their husbandes, and the maydens in the syght of their fathers, thei wer rekened for

C O what a bo minacio was thys.

E

F

G

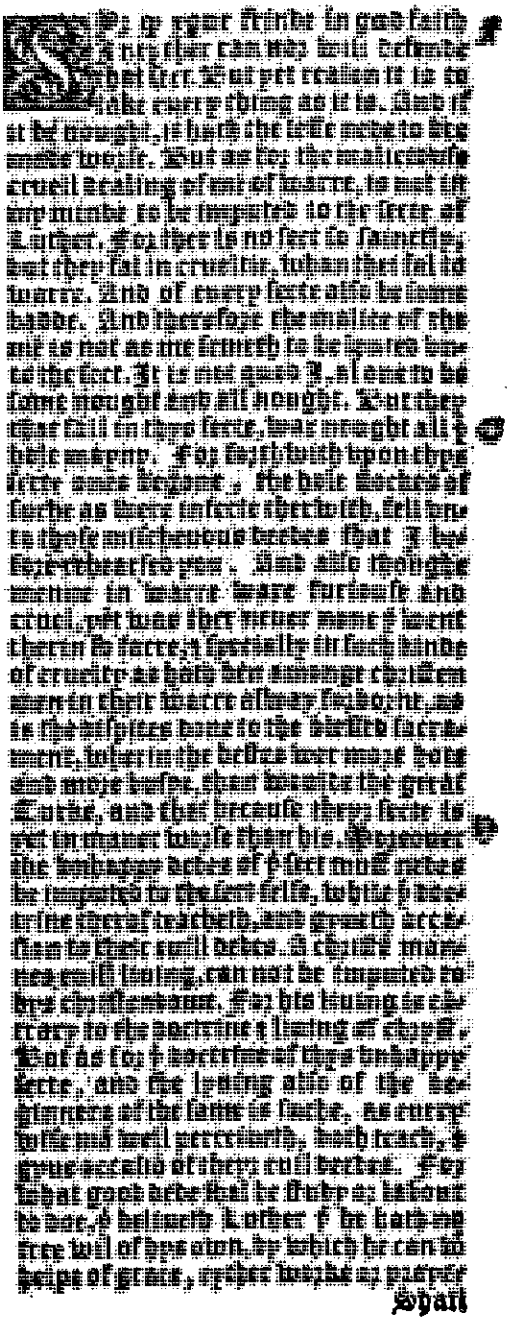
O what crueltie,

H

A for pitcous, ý did no more but cut their throtes. And very certaine is it, ý not in Rome onely but also in the countrey of Millein that they kept and oppressed, after tormentes bled and mony set out that way, than some calling hym selfe a gentilmã in Almaine or Spayne, would fayne hym selfe fallen in loue of hys hostes daughter, & that he would mary her in any wyse, & than make much ernest bulines for to haue some mony wher. And whither he gate ought or gate nought bi that deuise, he letted not lone
B after to put the father, the mother, the fayre doughter and al the hole howse to newe tormentes, to make thē tel where any more monye were, were there any or none. And some failed not to take the childe and bynde it to a broch, and lay it to the fyre to rost, the father & mother loking on. And than begin to comen of a price for the sparing of the chylde, asking first an hundred duckets, than fifty, thã fourty, than twenty, than ten, than fyue, than twayne, whan the sely father had not one lefte, but these tyrauntes had all before. Thã would they let the childe rost to death.
C And yet in diuision as thoughe they pytyed the childe thei wouldе say to the father, & the mother. Ah fy fy for shame what mernaile is it though god sende a vengeance amonge you. What vnnaturall people bee you, that can finde in your hartes to se your own child rosted afore your face, rather thã ye wolud out with one ducket to deliuer it from death. Thus deuised these cursed wrethes so many diuers fassions of exquisite cruelities, that I wene they haue taught ý deuill new formētes in hell, ý he neuer knewe before, & will not fayle
D to proue him selfe a good scoler, & surely render theym hys lesson whan they come there, where it is to be fered that many of them be by this. For sone after ý they had in Rome exercised a whyle thys fyerce, and cruel tiranny, & entred into the holy churches, spoyled the holy reliques, cast out the blessed sacramēt, pulled the chalice frō ý auter at masse, slaine priestes in the church, left no kind of cruelte or spite vndone, but frō howrs to howre embruinge their handes in bloode, & ý in such wyse as any Turke or Saracine would haue pytyed, or abhorred, our lorde sent sone after suche a pestilence amonge them that he left not of them the thyrd parte aliue. For thys purpose I reherse you thys their heuye mischeuous dealing that ye mãi preue
E by their dedes what good commeth of Mat. 7.
their sectes. For as our sauiour sayth ye shall know the tree by the frute.

¶ The. 8. chapiter.

¶ The messenger sayth that the malice of the mē is not to be imputed to the sect, sith that of euery secte some be nought. And the author sheweth ý in the Lutheranis, the secte selfe is ý cause of the malice ý the men fall to.



Pa. ye your frinde in good faith
A nyther can my boke defende
bet then. But yet reason it is to
take every thing as it is. And if
it be nought, is hurt the lesse mete to bee
made worse. But as for the malicious
cruell dealing of mi of matter, is not it
any mynde to be imputed to the secte of
Luther. For there is no sect so sainctly,
but they fal in cruelte, whan they fal to
warre. And of every secte also be some
bande. And therefore the malice of the
mē is not as me seemeth to be ymputed
to the sect. It is not good ý, al ought to be
some nought and all nought. But they
that fall in thys secte, bear nought all ý
B bete mayny. For faith bith upon thys
secte made begynne, the bete sectes of
sectes as there infecte therwith, fell
to those mischeuous sectes that I bee
fore rehearsed you. And also thoughe
mynne in warre were furiouste and
cruel, yet was ther never mene ý went
therin to fierce, & spetially in such kinde
of cruelty as hath bee amongst christen
men in their warre allway forbidde, as
is the hispites bone to the blessed sacra-
mente, yet in the bellow wer more bone
and more bestie, than were the great
Turke, and that because they secte is
yet in manner worse than his. Wherefore
C the unhappy dedes of ý sect must nedes
be imputed to the sect selfe, whiche ý nede
to fine cerral teacheth, and greatly accy-
stome to their cruell dedes. A christē man
nea cruell liuing, can not be imputed to
hys christendome. For his liuing is
contrary to the doctrine & liuing of christē.
But as for ý doctrine of thys unhappy
secte, and the liuing also of the be-
ginners of the same sectes, as every
wise mā well perceiueth, both teach, &
prue accesse of their cruell dedes. For
what good dede shal be shuppe, bifoure
to bee, ý believeth Luther ý he hath no
free wil of hys own, by which he can do
helpe of grace, either worke or prepare

A Shal he not say to hym self that he may syt styll & let god alone? What harme shal thei care to forbere, that beleue Luther, that god alone without their wyll worketh all the mischiefe that they doo thē selfe. What shall he care how longe he liue in sinne that beleueth Luther, that he shall after thys life neyther fele well or il in body nor soule tyll the daye of dome? Wyll not he trowe you say as the Welsheman sayd: If thou gyue her that daye, by God Dauy will haue thy B cote to. And thys thyng I saye but for a sample. For loke his opinions thorow and ye shall finde that they planly set forth all the world to wretched liuing. If they would say ý we misse construew their wordes, their bookes be open, and the wordes playne, & inculked agayne and againe so often and so openly that men can not erre therein, nor they by anye cloke or colour defende theym. And besides that not onlye the comenaltye of their secte shewe the effecte C and frute of their doctrine by their abhominable dealing as I haue rehersed you, but also the doctours, & the archeheritiques them selfe, well declare ý holynesse of their doctrine by their owne liuing. For as they liue they teach, and as thei teach they liue.

¶ The. 9. chapter.

¶ The author sheweth ý it is a great tokē that the world is nere at an ende. While we se people so farre fallen fro god, that they can abide it to bee contēt with this pestilent frantike secte, D which no people christen or hethen coulde haue suffred afore our days.

If the world were not nere at an ende, and the feruour of deuocion so fore cooled ý it were almoste quenched amonge christen people, yt could neuer haue comen to passe that so many people shoulde fal to the folowing of such a beastly secte. For albeit that the machometanys beyng a sensuall & filthy sect, dyd in fewe yeres draw the great part of the world vnto it, by the selfe same wayes whych now the Lutheranys vse, that is to witte voluptuouse lyuinge and vyolence, offeryng delite vnto the receyuours, and death to ý refusours, yet was there before thys abhominable secte neuer any sect so shamelesse, ý woulde styl auowe theym selfe for christen folke, graūting the scrypture to be trewe, & therewō all E so enemyously blaspheme & oppugne ý church of Christe, the sacramentes of christ, the saintes of christ, the crosse of christ, ý mother of christ, & ý holy body of christ, so shamefully liuing & openly pfessing a bestial maner of liuing, clene contrary to the doctrine & life of christ. Tharrianis, ý Pelagianis, the Manicheis, & so forth euery sort of heretikes, began of such as though they wickedly erred in substaūcial articles of ý faith, yet was their outward fassiō of lyuing so honest and spirituall in apparence, F ý men thought the selfe bounden ý better to beleue their doctrine as christen, for some spirituall fourme and fassion of their christen liuyng. But nowe the chieftains of these execrable herelies, both teach and vse more sensuall & licēciouse liuing, thā euer did Machomet. Which though he licence men to many wiues, yet he neuer taught nor suffered his folke to breake their chastitie pmysed ones and solēpnely dedicate to god. Where as Luther not onely teacheth G monkes, friers, & nunnes, to mariage, but also beyng a frere hathe maryed a nunne him self, & with her liueth vnder the name of wedlocke in open incestuouse lechery without care or shame, bebecause he hath procured and goten so many shamefull and shameles companions. Who coulde haue bidden to looke any man in the face that shoulde haue donthus in sainct Hieromes and saint Austeins dayes? what speke we of saint Hierom and saint Austyne? who H durst haue done it for shame any time sinse christes bythe vntyl our wretched dayes? Or who synce Adams tyme amonge the chosen peple of god? What speke we of the chosen people of god? the very Paynyms and Paganys ydolaters kepte their chastite vowed ones to their false goddis, and rather chase to cut of the mēbres wō which they myght breke it, than to stande in the leopardy to breake it. And in Rome of olde tyme whan thei were Paganis, if any vestal virgin (for so called they their nunnes) were violated, they not onely bette the man to death with roddys in ý market place, and buryed the woman quicke, but also rekened it for a wōderfull mōster, and a token of wrath and indignacion of their goddes towarde their cite, and empyre, putting thereuppon them selfe in deuour with open processyons, and prayers and sacrefice, to procure ý

A vestal virgin.

Where wyth the Lutheranis draw men to their secte.

rece-

A recouery of they⁹ goddes fauoure. Is it not than nowe a wōderous case to se, since that the chastite p⁹omised ones to god, and also to the false ydols vnder the name of god, hath alway bē sith the wo⁹ld began, among ch⁹isten & hethen so highlye esteemed, that the b⁹eakers thereof haue alwaye been by the commune consent of the hole wo⁹lde, as a thing taught by God vnto good men, & by nature to all men, taken, reputed and punished as abominable wycked w⁹etches, is it not I sai now a wonderouse thing to se that in ỏ flock of ch⁹isten people & which by Ch⁹ist him selfe, by all hys apostels, by al hys holy mar-ty⁹s, cōfessours, and doctours, bi al his hole church, all ỏ hole time of these. xv. C. yeres passed, chastite hath ben mo⁹e hyghly p⁹aysed & esteemed than euer it was of any other sects sith the wo⁹lde began, we shoulde se now a lewde frere so bolde & so shameles to mary a nunne and bide therby, and be taken stylll fo⁹ a ch⁹isten man, and ouer that fo⁹ a man mete to be the beginner of a secte, whōe any honest man shoulde vouchesafe to folow? If our lo⁹d god whose wisdōe is infinite, should haue syt & studied to deuise a way, wherbi he might cast in our face the cōfusiō of our foly, how might he haue founden a mo⁹e effectual, openly to shewe vs ỏ shame of our sinne, thā to suffer vs that call our selfe Ch⁹isten folke, to se such a rable sp⁹ing vp amōg vs, as p⁹ofessing the fayth & religion of Ch⁹ist, let not to set at nought al ỏ doctours of Ch⁹istes churche, & lene to the onely autho⁹ite of frere tuck and mayd Maryon.

Promised chastite hathe alway been highly esteemed.

¶ The. 10. chapiter.

¶ The autho⁹ inueyeth against thys detestable article of thys vngracious secte, wherby they take awaye the lybertie of mannes frewill, & ascribe all thinge to destenye.

SUrelye as I saye thys wo⁹lde is eyther after the wo⁹des of saint Johan, *Totus positus in maligno*, all sette in malice, that we be so p⁹one wittingly to take so wr̄ōg a way o⁹ els is it in a meruelous blindnesse, if we can neither perceyue by the nowghtie lyuing of the persons that they⁹ secte is nought, no⁹ cā perceiue by their doctrine ỏ their secte must make they⁹ persons nought, their heresies beyng such as ye haue herd. Wherby euery man ỏ ani faith hath & ani maner knowlege of ch⁹istē beliefe, may wel, & surely perceiue that Luther and al hys offsp⁹yng, with all those that fauour and sette fo⁹th hys secte, be very lymmes of the deuill, and opē enemyes to the fayth of ch⁹ist. And not onely to the faithe and manhode of our sauiour Ch⁹ist, but also against the holy ghost and the father hym self, and vtterly against all goodnes of the godheade, as those that w⁹echedly lai al ths weyght and blame of our sinne to the necessite and constraynt of goddes o⁹dinaūce, affirming that we do no sinne of our selfe by any power of our owne wyll but by the compulsion and handy wo⁹ke of god, And that we do not ỏ sine our self, but ỏ god doth the sinne in vs hym selfe. And thus these w⁹etched heretiques with this blasphemouse heresye alone, lay mo⁹e vilaynouse rebuks to the great maiesse of god, than euer any one ribaude layd vnto a nother. Fo⁹ who was there euer that laid vnto a nother all the perticulere euill dedes of any one other man, where these ribawldes lay to the charge and blame of god, all the malice and mischiefs from the fy⁹st faute to the last, that euer was wo⁹ought o⁹ thought bi man woman o⁹ deuyll? And by this gīue they w⁹etches great boldnesse to folow they⁹ fowle affections, as thinges after their oppiniō mo⁹e verely w⁹ought in theim by god, than the beste myndes bee in god men. And that it were therefo⁹e in vayne fo⁹ them to respyte they⁹ synfull appetites. And if they shall be dampned, yet they say it shall be long o⁹ they fele it. Fo⁹ Luther sayth that all soules shal slepe & fele neither good no⁹ bad after this lyfe tyl domes day. And than they ỏ shall be dāpned, shalbe dāpned he saith fo⁹ no deseruing of they⁹ own dedes, but fo⁹ such euill dedes, as god only fo⁹ced & cōstrained them vnto and w⁹ought in thē hym selfe, vsing them in all those euyll dedes but as a dead instrument, as a mā heaweth w̄ an hachet. And ỏ god shal dāpne all that shall be dampned fo⁹ hys owne dedes onely which him selfe shall haue done in them, & finally fo⁹ his only plesure because it lyked hym not to chose them as he dyd his chosen people. Whō they say that he chose in suche wyse be-fo⁹e the begynnyng of the wo⁹lde, that they can neuer sinne.

The Lutherans lay all mis dedes to god.

A ¶ The .11. chapter.

¶ The messenger saith ý howsoeuer Luther & his folowers in Almain beleue, yet he cannot thinke ý such as be Lutheranes in Englād, of whō sum he saith haue semed good & honest bee so mad and vnhappy to beleue that al hangeth vpon deiseny. Wherupō the author sheweth the contrarye, & that they be nought in dede, seeme they neuer so good. And for prose that how so euer they colour their wordes they B meane that all dependeth vpon only deiseny, he reherseth a certain disputacion had with an heretique detected to the bishop and examyned, the author being present, where the heretique being lerned & a prechour, made many shiftes to make it seme ý in hys euill wordes he ment but well.

When your frend had herd all thys he sayd at last that albeit ý wordes of Luther semed very plain toward the affirming of suche opinions, yet wer the thinges so farre out of frame, ý it gaue him occasiō to doute lest Luther C mēt not al thing so euyll as his wordes seme to way to. And if he so ment hym self wyth other of his flock & affinite in Almaine, yet thought your frend ý such as here fauour & folow his sect in England, of whom sum seme right honest & far frō hys maner of liuyng, doo not so take hys wordes nor vnderstande them that way, but cōstrue thē to sum better sence. Forsoth ye I, they can not but knowe hys opē lyuyng in lechery with hys lewde lemmā the nunne. And ý all ý capteins of ý sort, sū late cartusiēces, sum obseruātes, sū of other religiōs, & al now apostatas & wedded, liue in like D maner & tech other the same. And bi this can thei not doute but ý their doctryne is nought, except thē selfe alow ý way for good. Now as for theyr owne goodnes ye kind few that fal to that sect, but that sone after they fal into the contēpt of prayer and fasting & of al good workes vnder the name of ceremonies. And if any do otherwise, it is for some purpose for the while to blinde the people & kepe theym selfe in fauour, while they may fynde the tyme by leisoure to fassiō & frame them better to their purpose, which in the beginning if they shewed thē self plainly, could happeli not abide to heare thē. Of which their demenure, & that in these heresyes thei meane here no better than Luther doth hym self, I haue hadde good experience, & amōge E many other thynges thys that I shall shewe you. It happed me to bee lately present, where as one in the Lutherans bokes depely lerned, & of trouth neither in holi scripture nor in seculare litterature vnlerned (as I perceiue not onelie by the testimonye of other men and the degrees that he had takē in the vniuersyte, but also by hys wordes & hys wryting) was in the presence of right honorable, vertuous, & very cunning persōs examined. For he was at that time in warde for heresie, because that beyng F lerned and vsing to heare confessions, & amonge many folk metely wel alowed in preching, & therby growing in good oppinion & fauour of many good symple people, abused al the open & apparet good thinges, to the secrete sowing and setting forth of Luthers heresies. And had for that entent not only taught and written and couertly corrupted diuers light and lewd persons, but also hadde bought great number of bokes of Luther, & wiclike, Husse, & Zuynglius, & such other heretikes, & of mani one sort diuers bookes, to bee deliuered as he could fynde occasion vnto yong scolers G of the vniuersitees, suche as he thought of youthe and lyghtnes of likely to be sone corrupted. Thys man I say beyng examined & long keping hym selfe close from disclosyng of the matter, & more redy to go straighte to ý deuil wō lyenge & false forswering, thē to be a knowē of hys euyll demeanure and confesse the trouthe, at the last perceyuing the maters partlye by the confession of other folke, partly by his own hand writing so ferforth comē to light that thei coud in no wise be cloked, than began he sū what plainly to confesse & declare, not only what he had done for the settinge H forth of that secte, but also partly what oppiniōs he and other his felowes had holden and were of. Setting neuertheless all the colours he coude to make it seme, ý though the wordes which they spake or wrote were straūge & cōtrarys to right beleue, yet theffect of their mening was not much discrepāt from the trew fayth of christes church. Howbeit whan he was reasoned with all, & sawe that he coud not so shifte it of, but that for any coloure he could finde one part of hys tale euer contraried another, at last he shewed plainly their oppinions, & laid forth as in pte for his own excuse as thinges enducing hym therto, al the

A textes of scripture, by which thei pretēd to proue their oppinions true. Amonge which oppinions whan he came to the oppinion, by which they hold that only fayth alone is sufficient without good workes, vnto that he sayd in the beginnyng that thei mēt nothing els therbi, but that men shoulde put their fayth in gods promises & hope to be saued therby, and that they shoulde not put their trust in their workes, for that woulde turne them to pride. Then was it aunswered hym that he and hys felowes
B could not meane so. For if they dyd, thā could thei not blame the church as they do, making as though the churche had all thys whyle hyd the true fayth from the people, & ý thē selfe were now shent for preching the gospell truely. For yf thys were their meaning, they then ment none other then euery comen prechor of the church hath alway preached
Luke.18. before Luthers dayes. For what pchor hath not tolde the people the parable of ý pore publican ashamed of his sinnes, & the proude pharisey boastynge of hys
Put not your trust in good deedes. vertues? Who hath not bod thē do well and albeit that god will reward thē for their good dedes, yet put not their trust in them self & their owne deedes, but in
C gods goodnes. Who hath not tolde thē that thei should as god bydderh them in the gospell that whan thei haue done al
Luke.17. thei can do, yet say to them selfe, we be but vnprofitable seruauntes we haue done but our dutye. These thinges and such other ý church hath alway taught against the putting of a proud trust in
Men cannot surely iudge their owne deedes. our owne dedes, because that we cā not alwaye surely iudge our owne deedes for ý blynd fauor that we bere towarde our selfe. And therefore was it sayd to hym. Yf ye mēt but thus as the churche
D meaneth, than would ye preach but as the church precheth, and not blaspheme the church in your sermons, as though ye began true prechyng of the gospell, & that ý church had hitherto preched false And also ye must nedes mene soe other thig. For Luther whose sect ye cōfesse ý ye haue lened vnto, writeth in this mater far other wise. For he sayth plaine that faith alone without any good workes doth iustifie vs and sufficeth for our saluacion. Then answered he ý therein they ment none other, but that faith is sufficient alone, if one happen after he haue faith & baptisme to die ere he haue time to do any good workes. Thā was it said vnto him, if thei should tech this oppinion vnder such wordes for a gret
G secreat miserye newe founden out, and therbi blame the church for misteching the people, as though the church taught theym to put lesse trust in god & in faith of christ than they should do, & induced theim to put their trust in them self and their owne good workes, they vsed thē selfe meruelously, considering ý if they ment none other, the church and they ment all one thing. But they could not meane so. For than why shoulde they blame the church, that saith not the cōtrary. And also if they ment none other thinge, few wordes would serue them.
F They shoulde not nede often to speake therof. For thā that tale cā do litel good here or any where elles where folke be christened in their cradels. For eyther thei die ere thei haue tyme to doo good workes, & than thei be to ponge to heare that sermon, or els thei liue & haue time to do good workes. And thā that sermō were not holsome for them, that good workes nede not but onely faith is sufficient without theym. And when the peple take it as ye speke it, ý faith alone is ynough for them, thā is it nowa bare glose for you to say that ye ment not so, but onely ý faith alone had be ynough
G for thē, if thei had dyed in their swadlig clowtes. To this he sayd ý thei thought also that faith alone doth iustifye a mā without any good workes, not onely in children but also in euery age. For whā soeuer a mā that hath ben a sinner doth repent and amend in hys minde with a full faith in the promises of God, he is iustified ere euer he do any of these good workes, almoyse, fastyng or any suche other. For he can not worke well tyl he be good all ready. For as christ sayth,
Arbor mala non potest bonum fructum facere, an
H euyll tre can not bring forth good frute & therefore sith good workes bre good frute, an euyl mā cān not worke them. Wherby it appereth wel that the mā is iustified before bi his faith alone without the workes, & thē out of ý faith groweth ý good frute of good workes. But faith did iustify ý mā before, & the man was as good before ý works as he is after. For his faith did iustifie hi. And as for ý workes be but thinges ý the faith in ý mā or ý mā by ý faith bringeth forth, as ý tre bringeth forth his leues & cā do none other. faith beig i ý hart. Thē was it said vnto him ý in this tale he semed to make ý good workes to be much like a shadow ý ý body maketh of necessite

while

A while it stãdeth in ý sonne, & is neuer ý better therfore. And then was it asked hym whither a mã must not if his faith shall serue hym haue charite therwith and a purpose to do good workes. Yes quod he, that he must if he haue age and discrecion therto. Then was it answered hym that thẽ was all gone that him selfe had sayd before. For than dyd not fayth alone iustify the mã, but the charite with the purpose of good workes, must by his owne graunting nedes go therwith, or els would hys faith iustyfye nothing at all. For if he had neuer so great a faith and neuer so sure a beleefe in gods promises, yet if he purposed to do no good dedys therewith, but paradueuture harme, he shoulde haue lyttell iustificacion by hys onely faith. And therfore it was false ý he had sayd a man is neuer the better for hys good workes, whyle hys good workes bee so taken & reputed with god, that the purpose of them yet vndone so farre forthe worketh to hys iustificaciõ, that wout that purpose he cã not be iustifyed. And it is also false that he said ý fayth alone iustifieth a man, whẽ him selfe is faine to graunt that faith without charite & purpose of good workes can not iustify which is as much to say as fayth alone can not iustifye. To thys he answered that he had sayd that faythe onely was sufficient, & that faith alone doth iustifye, because that if a man had faith, it could not be but that hee shoulde worke good workes. For faith he sayeth could neuer be ydell, as the fyre muste nedes burne & giue heate. And therefore as a mã may say, ý fyre is ynough to burne a tre thongh he speake nothing of hete, and yet the fire doth it by heate, & a man may say the fyre maketh me se by night and yet the fyre doth it but by the light, so may a man say that fayth dothe saue vs, though faith do it not without hope and charite & other vertuouse workes, because that faith hath alwai good hope & charite with it, & can not but worke well, no more than the fire can be wout heate and light and burne al combustible thinges that it may towch and tary with. Then was it saied vnto hym that albeit a man might so speake by the fire yet woulde not thys thynge serue theyr secte. For ho that sayth fyre alone is ynough to burne, would not say nay to hym that would say the fyre couldc not burne but if it had hete. But your secte scorneth & blameth the church, because the church saith ý faith will not suffise but if it haue charite & good workes. For els ye had no cause in this mater to preche contrary to the church. More ouer where ye say that faith hath alway good hope wyth it, that semeth not alwaye trewe. For he that hopeth that by fayth alone he shal be saued without any good workes, as Lutheranes dos beleue in dede, he hath an euyll hope and a dãpnable. Now wher ye say that ye preach faith alone to be sufficient, because that fayth hath alway charite ioyned therewyth, if thys were trewe, why preache ye not as well that charite alone is sufficyent, which wher as nere the trouth as the tother. Nowe where ye make all the ground vpon this, that faith hathe euer charyte therewith, and that it can not be but that charite which is in dede the thing that specially bringeth forthe good workes much more properly thã fayth, for fayth bringeth them forth by charyte when it is ioyned therwith, as the apostle sayth, *Fides que per dilectionẽ operatur*, faith worketh by charite, where ye say it can no be but that this charite is alway ioyned vnto fayth, this ground wil fayle you, and make your foundacion false, & all your bylding fall. Thapostell Poule in manye places of hys epistels sayth ý contrary thereof. For he sayth that if a man haue so gret faith that he might by the force of his faythe worke myracles, and also such feruent affeccion to the fayth that he wold giue his body to ý fire for the defence therof, yet yf he lacked charite, all hys fayth suffised not. In good fayth quod your frende he was well and properly aunswered. But yet me thynketh he might haue replied a littel again to those wordes of saint Poule, & might haue aucided them well wyth other wordes of his owne. For where he writeth also to the Galathes, that if any angell would come downe from heuen & preach a cõtrary gospell to ý that he had preched al redy, accursed shoulde he be & not to be beleued, he dyd not in ý wordes affirme nor entend therby that euer it should so be, or could so bee, that any aungell so should do in deede. For he knew tyght well it was impossible that any aungel of heauen shoulde come downe and tell a false tale. But he sayd it oneiy by a maner of speking which is amonge lerned men called *Yperbole*, for the more behemẽt expressing of a matter, nothige meaning els but that the gospell which he

Faith alone doth not iustifye man.

Charite is it that bringeth forth good workes.

Gal.5.

1.Corinth.13.

Yperbole

A he had preached, was ý plain, sure, and vndoubtable trouth, against which no man wer to be beleued. And in likewyse me thinketh the man, that ye speake of, might haue saide, ý though saint Poule said, If he had so great faith that he wer able therby to remoue hilles, excepte he had charitie therwith, it wold not serue him, he mēt therby no more but to shew the great nede that men haue to charite, and not that it wer possible ý faith could be without charitie, no more thā he mēt that an angell maye come downe from heauen to preach a false faith. And therfore might it yet stande right well wyth all those wordes of sainct Poule, ý faith
B can not fayle of saluacion, sythe it cannot fayle of charitie. And of trouth me semeth as that man sayde that faith can not be ydle, but it must nedes worke wel. Forsoth quod I, the manne lacked you there, for he foūd not that glose. Which though he had, yet would it not haue serued hym. For betwene those two places of saint Poule is there great difference. For in the tone is ther an impossible excesse and yperbole, in the tother is there not so. For angels of heauen neuer can come down and teach a false faith. But faith may be seuered from charitie. And in the tone place he none other thing entēded thā as ye say, to shew by that great
C erceding word, the vndoubted trouth of the faith whiche himselfe had preached. But in the tother place his speciall purpose was to teache the Galathees, that they shoulde neyther trust that any gyft of nature, or gift of God aboue nature, or any maner vertue, almosedede, faith or other, were able to stande thē in stede without charitie. And thys dyd he specially, for that he would that no mā shold be in suche errour, as to recken, that eyther excellent gift of cunnyng, great labour spent in preaching, great almoyse spent on poore people, or a very feruent fayth, might suffise to theyr saluacion if charitie lacked. Against which errour
D he doth in such wyse exhort them to charitie, in auoiding the rancour which by occasion of scismes did arise among thē that he shewed thē precisely that wout charitie thei lost clerely the merite of all their other vertues & graces ý God had geuē thē, cūning, almoisedede, faith, & al, putting therample by his owne self, which though he were a chosē seruaunte & apostle, yet if he wer in language egal wō al the whole world & with angels to, & had al the cunning that possible could be had, & the spirit of al prophecy therwō, G & would geue al his goodes in almoyse, & had also al the full fayth so great that it suffised to worke wonders wō, & so feruēt that he would abide to be burned for it, yet if he lacked charitie, all this wouldē not serue hym. So that ye may se nowe that your glose would not haue releued this man. For though none angel could come down and teach an vntrouth, and therefore the wordes that ye alledge can be none otherwyse taken than as ye say by waye of excesse & yperbole, to declare the vehemence of his mynde in the matter of fayth, whiche he than spake of, yet this other place of saint Poule that was E layd against that heretike that I speake of, as gret and vehement as the wordes be, yet do they playnly prone that the apostle sheweth, that fayth may be without charitie, and that both so great that it may suffice to the doyng of great wōders, and so feruent that it may suffer a payneful death, and yet for fault of charitie not sufficient to saluacīō, and that this may happe as wel in faith as in almoysedede, which the apostle putteth in the same case. And therefore where that man sayde and ye seme to confirme the same, that faith can not be ydle from the working of good workes, the apostle to, G shew the contrary, & that al the workes of faith though they seme neuer so good, bee yet noughte in deede yf they bee not wrought wō charitie, & cōmēdeth only ý faith ý worketh bi charite, signifyig ý al other workes of faith bee not auailable. And surelye faith alone wōute charitie mai be besides this not only idle wō out ý busines of good workes, but also for lack of good workes it may be vtterlye dead. And therfore as it was ther obierted vnto ý mā, ý holi apostle James saith to thē Iac. 2. ý rekē faith sufficiēt for saluacīō, wōut good workes, ý thei be worse thā deuils. For he saith ý the deuils do beleue & trēble for ý fere of god. And ý mē which by H ý hope & boldnes of their believe thynke their faith wōut good workes sufficiēt, be worse than deuils, because thei stand out of drede of god, ý manasseth vnto thē ý paines of hel except thei do good works Without which saint James for a final conclusion saith ý the fayth is but dede. But here was it also sayd vnto hym yet again, that though saint James do sayd ý faith without good workes is dead, he should not therby rūne to his old glose & say ý therfore he & other Lutherans mēt ý faith sufficeth to saluacīō, because thei

Fayth may be without charitie.

No good worke auaileth without charitie.

A thinkit can not be but that it shal nedes
bryng foorth good woorkes, & that there-
fore on the contrary side if one haue no
good woorkes he hath no faith, be-
cause a dead faith is no faith, as a dead
man is no man. It was tolde him ý this
glose would not serue him. For sainte
James mente not that the faith that he
calleth dead for lacke of good woorkes is
no faith, no more then saint Poule mēt,
that a widow liuyng in delite and plea-
sure is no woman, though he sayde that
ye is dead euen as she goeth aliue. But
saint James ment onely that such fayth
shal not stande them in stede. For saint
B James denieth not but that such a dead
faith as he calleth dead, because it is vn
profitable, is yet a verye faith in dede,
though it be not quick in good woorkes.
And therfore he resembleth such a fayth
in a man, vnto the vnprofitable fayth ý
is in a deuil. For he saith ý where suche
a man is bold of his faith, the deuil hath
faith as well as he, for the deuil doth be-
lieue such thiges as we believe. To this
the man answered, that some rypht wel
learned men wer of the mind, that with
out a man wrought gōd woorkes it was
a good profe ý he had no faith at all, for
C very faith could not but worke, & that ý
deuil had no faith but by equiuocacione
of this worde (faith.) For the very fayth
in dede, is a fayth in the promises of god
And the deuil is desperate and hath not
nor cannot haue faith and truste in gods
promises. Then was it answered hym,
ý those right wel lerned mē wer Luther
& Tindal & their felowes, ý take thēselfe
for better learned than Christes bles-
sed apostles saint Poule or saint James
which in their holi writing afferme ful-
ly ý contrary. And where thei say that ý
deuil hath no faith but hath ý knowlege
of ý thinges ý we beleue & so he hath not
faith, thei affirme therin more then thei
D may make good. For saint James saith
thei believe, & faith not they know. And
he whē he wrote it knewmuch better thē
Luther & Tindal to, what maner perceiu-
ing the deuils haue in ý articles of our
faith. In which as therebe some wherof
the deuils haue peradventure not a be-
lief, but a certain and sure knowlege as
of Christes descencion into hell, & spoy-
lyng of their possessiō, so are thei of like-
lihed in any other articles of our fayth,
wherof they haue onely belief & perswa-
siō wōut the very knowledge & scyence.
And where those well learned men Lu-
ther and Tyndall, sayth that the deuyll
hath not faith but by the equiuocacion
of the woorde (faith) beyng in dede as ye
say a faith in the promises of god, wher-
by christen men hope to come to heauen
wheras the deuils be desperate and can
haue no such faith in gods promises, nor
hope or loke for heauē, these wel learned
men that so saye, go about to sette sainte
James to schole. For they woulde we
should wene that sait James did speake
of faith like one ý wyste not what faith
ment, but wer deceiued by equiuocatiō
of the word, calling faith the thing that
is not faith in dede, where as in dede sait
James speaketh of it as he shoulde, and
F vseth the worde in his right significaci-
on, and these Lutheranes abuse ý word
of a malicious minde to deceiue vnlear-
ned people wō equiuocacion. For where
as fayth syguifyeth the belief and firme
credence geuen, not only to such thiges
as god pmiseth, but also to euery trouth
that he telleth his church by wrytyng or
without, which thyng, he wyll haue vs
boundē to believe, & where as of trouth
the deuils as saint James saith, doo be-
lieue such thiges and haue them in a re-
uerent dread, now wold these heretikes
blynde vs with their equiuocacion, by
which they not onely restrayn the fayth
vnto the promises alone from all other
articles of the faith, of which many bee
no promises as to believe that there is a
god and that there bee. iii. parsones and
many such other articles, but also abuse
the worde (faith) altogether, turnyng it
slyly from beleife in to truste, confidēce,
and hope, and woulde haue it seme as
though our fayth wer nothing els but a
sure truste and a faythfull hope that we
haue in gods promises. And this sophy-
sticall handling of faith is the thing that
as appeareth by Tyndall in his boke of
obedience these Lutheranes wene to de-
ceyue al ý world wō al, & to make menne
wene that faith betokeneth not beleyse,
but hope and truste, and so to make men
wene that sainte James wiste not what
faith ment, when he layed against them
that put their truste as these Lutheranes
teache vs in their onely fayth, ý cōpary-
sō betwene thē & deuils which believe as
surelie as thei. And therefore to reproue
sainte James, they woulde make vs be-
lieue that oure fayth were no thyng but
hope, wheras euery mā woteth ý faith &
hope be two distinct vertues, & ý hope is
not faith but foloweth faith in hī ý hath
hope. For no mā cā hope for heauē yf he
beleue it not. But on the tother syde he
may

A dead fayth is a faith, but vnprofitable.

4 Timo. 5.

The Lutheranes deceiue the people with equiuocacion.

A may as the deuil doth though he beliene it & know it to, yet fal far frō al hope ther of. And if these Lutheranes wyll defend their heresie by ý sophisticall glose, they must then change their article, and saye no moze that faith alone is sufficiente, but thei must saie ý hope alone is sufficient. And yet shall they then lye as lowd as thei do now. Foz hope without charitie wil but begile them. After suche resoning the mā said ý he & thother Lutheranes whan they spake that onely fayth was sufficient, thei meane not of a dead faith that is without charitie and good wozkes, but a very faith ý is quicke and
B wozketh by charitie, & that suche fayth he thought was sufficient. But thā was it answered, ý neither they noz he coulde meane so. Foz how could they call that thyng fayth onely that is ioyned w̄ charitie & good wozkes? Oz how cā it stand that they meane ý fayth which by charitie wozketh good woozkes, whan they say ý it is sufficient alone without good wozkes, & ý it is as Luther sayth, great sinne and sacrilege to go about to please god by good woozkes, and not by onely fayth? Howe could they say ý only faith suffiseth, if thei should meane that without charitie and good wozkes, no faith suffiseth. Foz it wer a mad thyng to say
C that faith alone suffiseth withoute good woozkes, & therw̄ to say ý without good wozkes fayth suffiseth nothyng. And so was it saide vnto him ý therfoze though they colour their matters whan thei bee examined, yet it cannot be but ý he and other Lutheranes where thei sow theyz heresy, meane plainely as thei speake, ý folke nede no moze but believe and than how so euer they liue shal make no matter. Foz no thyng as Luther sayeth can damne a chzisten man, saue onely lacke of beliefe. Foz all other synnes (if belief and faith stād fast) be quite absozpt and supped vp he sayth in that fayth. Whan this man was with such reasoning and much better than I doo, oz can rehearse
D you somewhat soze presed vpon, than bzought he fozth another glose and sayd ý thei meaned not but ý faith if it should suffise foz saluaciō, must nedes haue w̄ it charitie & good wozkes, oz els it were no very faith, as a dead man is no very mā. Howbeit he said ý though it bee nothing w̄out good wozkes, yet whā it is ioyned w̄ good wozkes, al ý merit commeth of our faith only, & no part thereof foz our wozkes. So ý god geueth vs heuē foz our faith only, & nothyng foz our wozkes. Foz though he geue it not foz
E our faith if we lacke good woozkes, yet if we haue both, he regardeth not in hys rewarde our wozkes any thyng but only our faith. And he said ý foz this cause thei say ý onli faith causeth our saluacion. To this it was answered ý if thys opinion were true, yet it well appeared ý this is not the thyng that they meane. Foz the wozdes of Luther & Pomerane, & all ý archyheretikes of that sect be very plain. Foz thei say that it is sacrilege to goe aboute to please God by anye good wozkes, but faith only. And than why should good wozkes be ioyned to fayth, oz why should god exact good wozkes of
F vs. Wherof should thei serue, yf they be nothing pleasant to god? And whan Luther sayth that nothyng can damne any chzistē mā but only lack of belief, he sheweth manifestly that we not onely nede no good wozkes with our fayth, but also that so we haue faith, nons euil wozkes can hurt vs. And so he meaneth playnly that faith onely w̄out any good wozkes ioyned therto, and also with all kynde of euil wozkes ioyned therto, is sufficient to saue vs. And therefoze if ye bee of his sect (was it said to the man) ye cannot auoide but ý this is your verye doctrine, how so euer ye colour it. Than was it
G farther asked hi if their meaning should be such as he had said, what shold moue him and other his felowes so to thynke, that in faith and good wozkes ioyned together, the good woozkes were nothyng wozth, but that al ý merite should bee in ý faith, & al the thank & reward should be geuen to the faith, and right nought to the good wozkes. Wherunto he answered that many textes of scripture enduced them therunto, and special textes of saint Poule: *Fides iustificat*, faith iustifieth. Roma.5.
And, *Credidit Abraam deo, & reputatum est ei ad iusticiam*, Abzaam believed god, and it was Roma.4.
accompted in hym foz iustice. *Si ex operibus, habet quidem gloriā, sed non apud deum*, Yf he wer Roma.4.
H iustified by the wozkes, than had he glory but not with God. *Si ex operibus, Christus pro nobis gratis mortuus est*. Yf he wer iustified Gal.2.
by the wozkes, thā did Chzist dye foz vs foz nought. *Gratis redempti estis*, Ye be redemed frely. And thereby may we see that our wozkes were no parte of the cause. And yet specially these woozdes of oure sauiour Chzisse he sayde muche moued them to be of that mynd, where he saith, *Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit saluus erit*, He ý Mark.16.
believeth and is baptised shall be saued. Where Chzisse requireth nothyng but

A onely faith. By all these textes he sayde it playnely appeared that all our saluacion came of faith, as Abraam was iustified by faith, and not by his woorkes. And that if our good woorkes should bee the cause of our saluacion, than as saint Poule saith Christ died for nought. For he neded not to dye for vs, yf our owne woorkes might saue vs. Nor we wer nat redemed frely, yf we should redeme our selfe wō the payment of our own woorkes. To this was it aunswered that those textes and al other alledged for that purpose signifie none other but that after ý faith of Christ brought into the worlde
B by the incarnacion and passion of oure blessed sauiour, men are no lenger bōuden to the obseruance of Moyses lawe. Nor that all the lawe of Moyses, nor all the good woorkes of man, wer not able to saue one man of themselfe, nor without faith, and that Christ frely redemed vs. For neither had he or euer shall haue any rewarde of vs, for the bitter paynes taken in his blessed passion for vs. Nor neuer deserued we vnto him ý he should so much doe for vs. Nor ý fyrst faith, nor the preaching therof, nor the fyrst iustyficacion of man thereby, nor the sacra-
C ment and fruit of our baptisme, was not geuen to the worlde for any good woorkes that euer the worlde had wrought, but onely of goddes mere liberall goodnes. But yet ther is neuer a text of them nor any other in all scripture so ment, that after the baptisme the fayth onelye shal saue vs without good woorkes, if we liue and haue reson to do them. For thoughe it be saide by the mouth of our sauiour, he that beleueth shall be saued, where he nothing speaketh of any good woorkes, yet meaneth he not that he that beleueth shall be saued, without good woorkes yf he liue to doe them. For els why should ye not as well saye that menne shall bee
D saued for keping of the commandemētes without faith, syth Christ saith, yf thou wylt enter into the kyngdome of heauē, kepe the commaundementes. And saith also, dooe that and thou shalte haue lyfe. At which tyme he spake no word of anye fayth. He sayeth also in holye scripture. *Date eleemosinam, & omnia munda sunt vobis*, Geue almoyse, and all is cleane in you. Whiche woordes yf men shoulde as largely consider for the preeminence of almoysedede, as ye that are of Luthers secte consider the textes that speake of fayth, they myght take a false glose and coloure to saye, that without faith or penaunce eyther, or anye other ver-
E tue, almoisedede alone sufficyeth for saluacion, how wretchedly so euer we lead our lyfe besyde. But yf we should so say of almoysedede, we should saye wrong, as ye doo whan ye say so of fayth. For lykewyse as it is vnderstande that faith muste nedes goe with good woorkes, yf they shall be fruitfull, though it bee not spoken of in those textes that speake of good woorkes, so is it vnderstanden that in them which after baptisme haue tyme and reason to woorke well, good woorkes muste walke with fayth and sorow at heart for fault of good woorkes, yf
F ý faith shal ought auail thē. For if both good woorkes & final repētance of ý lack of good woorkes do faile vs, hauig tyme & reason to them, we be lyke to fare much the worse for our fayth. And that thys is thus, we maye wel knowe by ý textes of holye scripture yf we sette them together, and take not one text for our part and sette another at nought. To thys aunswered he that albe it these textes set together, do proue that fayth alone doth not suffise without good woorkes (which thyng he sayde that hymself denyed not) yet he said ý none of those textes pue anything ý cōtrary, but ý whā fayth & good woorkes be ioined together, al ý merit cō-
G meth yet of our faith onely, & nothing of our woorkes. Wherunto he was answered that though it so were in dede, that no textes of scripture proued the contrarye, yet sythe there is none that sayeth so, and the whole Churche sayeth and beleueth the contrarye, what reason haue ye to saye so, and to geue ý whole merye vnto fayth, and no part of the reward to good woorkes. And now haue ye muche lesse reason so to doe, whan the playne woordes of holye wrytte be openlye to the contrarye. For dyd not God saye to Cain, If thou doe wel thou shalt haue well? Sayeth yet Christe of Gene.4.
them that dothe almoyse. A good mea-
H sure shaken together, heaped and run- Luke.6.
nyng ouer shall they geue into your bosome. Dothe not our lorde shewe that in the daye of iudgement he wyll geue the kyngdome of heauen to them that haue Math.25.
done almoyse, in meate, drynke, cloth, and lodgyng, because of theyr charytye vsed in those dedes? Whiche dedes though he wyll not rewarde wyth heauen, excepte fayth wente wyth them, yet if thei wer wrought in faith, he promyseth to rewarde those woorkes, and not theyr fayth onely, and that so farre

Faith without good woorkes cānot saue vs.

Math.19.

Luke. 11.

foorth

A fooꝛth that it appeareth by the wooꝛdes of oure sauiour in the same places, and by hys wooꝛdes whiche he sayd ye would in the daye of iudgement speake to them that hadde by faith wꝛoughte wonders in his name without good wooꝛkes, and charitye, whom he would than bydde, walke wooꝛkers of wickednesse, and tel them that he knoweth them not: by these thinges I saie it well appeareth, that be a mannes fayth neuer so greate, yet yf those good wooꝛkes fayle hym, his fayth shall fayle of heauen. Than sayd he yet agayne that fayth can neuer be without good wooꝛkes. But and if a manne haue
B fayth, his fayth shall not fayle noꝛ cease to bꝛing fooꝛth the fruit of good wooꝛkes, as the tree bꝛingeth fooꝛth his leaues.
Thã was it answered hym that he was dꝛieuen from that poynt befoꝛe, as well by thauthoꝛitie of saint Poule, as of saint James. And also that he wisse well that faith oꝛ beliefe is not contrary to euery sinne, but onely to infidelitie and lacke of belief, so that with other sines it maie stand. Than said he that if mẽ beliueed surely, he thought they wold not sinne. Foꝛ who would sinne said he if he beliueed verely and surely that sinne shoulde bꝛing him to hel? Wherunto it was answered, whoso beliueed after your Lutherane faith, should neuer let to synne,
C sythe Lutheranes beliueue that no synne coulde damne them, but onelye lacke of beliefe, and that no good wooꝛke nedeth them, but that thei shall be saued how so euer thei liue, foꝛ their only faith. Wherby it well appeareth that ye Lutheranes haue but halfe a fayth. Foꝛ ye beliueue God onely in his pꝛomises, and in his thꝛettes, ye beliueue him not at al: Howbeit if one beliueed in dede surelye as ye wold now seme to beliueue, trouth is it ý it would let many a mã from sin, but yet not euery man. Foꝛ al be it that many men there be either the moꝛe bold in sinne, oꝛ the moꝛe negligente in good vertues, because their faith is very fait
D and feble, whiche would if they hadde a sure and an vndoubted fayth be in suche dꝛede of god and loue also, that it would withdꝛawe them from sinne, and set thẽ in the way of vertue: yet many men bee there on the tother syde, that were theyꝛ faith neuer so stronge, yet shoulde it not mayster the fꝛowardnes of theyꝛ malicious appetites. And this woulde happen sometime, and dailye dothe, in men not depely dꝛowned in malice, noꝛ folk out of the fayth neither, whiche yet fall in to the bꝛeche of gods commaundement by the subtyll suggestion of the deuyll, oꝛ by the frailtie of their own flesh. Wherof it semeth that ý holy apostle was himselfe so soꝛe afrayde foꝛ all his faith, that he thꝛise pꝛayed god to take the temptacion away. I cannot see but that Adam beliueed the wooꝛdes of God, and yet he bꝛake his commaundement. And I thik that kyng Dauid fell not from his faith though he fell fyꝛst in aduoutrie & eft in mãslaughter. And some examples haue we sene of them that haue sought the reuengynge of their owne malycyous myndes, by suche wayes as they sawe whan they went about it their own vndoubted death, befoꝛe their eyen. And therfoꝛe it is but a tale to saye that faith dꝛaweth alway good wooꝛkes with it, & that ye Lutheranes in that ye saye that faith is sufficient alone withoute good wooꝛkes should saie so, because it bꝛyngeth alwai good wooꝛks with it. Foꝛ this were a very vayne doctrine, that fayth is alone sufficient to saue thẽ that haue the vse of reason without good wooꝛkes, if in such as haue the vse of reason, faith be neuer without good wooꝛkes. After suche obiecciones, than fell he to another poynt, and said that if our good wooꝛkes and fayth bee ioyned, yet myght it well
G appeare by scripture that all the meryte was in our fayth, and nothing in mans wooꝛkes. Foꝛ al the wooꝛkes of manne he saide be starke noughte, as thynges all spotted with sinne. And foꝛ that he laide diuers textes of scripture. But specialli as the most plaine pꝛoofe, the wooꝛdes of the pꝛophet. *Omnis iustitia nostra velut pannus menstruate.* And sith ý all our wooꝛkes he sayde be spotted and sinneful and nought how good so euer they seme, it must nedes folow that al the merite commeth of oure fayth. To this was answered hym. Loe nowbi this ye haue sõwhat opened your selfe vnware, and declared your oppiniõ in this matter to bee farre other than ye
H said befoꝛe. Foꝛ in ý gloses that ye haue vsed befoꝛe, ye haue alway sayd that ye and all the sect of Luther, as farre as ye knew and thoughte, beliueed that fayth coulde not saue vs if we had reason, wõut good wooꝛkes. But ye said that faith was ynough alone, because it bꝛoughte of necessitie good wooꝛkes with it. And yet all the merite and reward due to the fayth onely, and not to the good wooꝛkes that it bꝛingeth fooꝛth. And now ye say that there be no good wooꝛkes at all, but al our wooꝛkes be starke nought. Howe if ye think that there be no good wooꝛkes, howe canne ye saye as ye sayde befoꝛe,

Coꝛinth. 12.
Gene. 2.
2. Reg. 11.
F Fayth dothe not dꝛawe alway good wooꝛkes with it.

A that ye thinke that fayth alwaye bryngeth forth good workes? Moreouer the wordes of the prophete, though it be generally spoken, may be well vnderstand to be verified, in farre the most parte of mankynd, though not of al, or of the iustice of man, yf it were compared with the souerain iustice of God. Or that iustice of right good mē is yet fore spotted with sinne, for that ỳ frailtie of our nature seldome constantly standeth anye while together in good worke, but that the perseueraunce is interrupted, often spotted, and besprent with sinne. And therof is it saide, *Septies in die cadit iustus, & resurgit.* Seuen times in the daye falleth ỳ

B Proverb. 24. righteous man, and ryseth agayne. It may be also vnderstande of al the righteousnes of a manne alone wrought of hymself, and his pure naturall powers withoute the ayde and helpe of specyall grace. For surely al such iustice of ours as is onely ours, is all spotted and in effect all one foule spotte, for any beautye that it hath in the glorious eye of God. But surely the holy prophete neuer mēt as Luther and his felowes would haue seme, ỳ the grace of god is in al his people so feble of it selfe, and of so litle force and effect, that no manne may with the

All our onely iustice is all spotted.

C helpe therof be able to doo one good vertuous dede. For Luther sayth playnely that no man though he haue the helpe of gods grace thereto, is able to kepe and obserue the commaundementes of god. Whiche blasphemous woordes seme to signifie that both saint John the baptist and our blessed Lady also were sinners, & ouer al this ỳ god were not able by the aide & helpe of his grace to make a man kepe his commaundementes, and kepe him out of sinne though he woulde. All the olde fathers that wrote against Pelagian, which helde oppinion that man is of nature or at the least wyse with the

D general influence of grace, able and sufficient to do good & meritorious workes wout helpe of any special grace toward euerye good dede it self, misliked & cōdēned his doctrine, for that it minished the necessitie of mannes recourse vnto god, for calling helpe of his grace. But ye ỳ holde al mens dedes for vtterly nought though grace wrought with thē, be double and treble more enmies to grace thā they. For where they sayd we myght do good sometyme without it, ye saye we can at no tyme do no good with it. And than wer grace by your tale a very void thing. Was thā al the labour & the payn ỳ the apostles take in preching, al nought and sinnefull? all the tormentes that the martirs suffred in their passion altogether synne? all the dedes of charitie that Christ shall (as himself sayeth) reward with euerlastyng lyfe at the generall iudgemente be they synne all together? Saint Poule rekened it otherwise. For he sayde boldly of himselfe, *Bonum certamen certaui, cursum consummaui, & nunc superest mihi coronа iustitiæ,* I haue labored and strieuen a good strife, I haue ꝓfourmed my course, now lacketh me no more for mē, but the crowne of iustice. Thereunto he answered that saint Poule would not say that our dedes wer sufficient of themself, but that al our sufficiency is of god. Whereunto it was answered that this was lyte to the matter. For no more is oure faith sufficient of it selfe, but the sufficiency therof is also of god, in ỳ our lorde with oure endeuour geueth vs grace to beliene, and in that it lyketh our lord of his goodnes so highly to reward it. For surely as it is very true that sait Poule saith that, *Non sunt cōdigne passiones huius vitæ ad futuram gloriam que reuelabitur in nobis,* all that euer we can suffer in this worlde, is not worthy the glorye to come that shall bee shewed in vs. (For what thyng couldе a sely wretched creature dooe or suffer for god in the brieke time of this shorte lyfe, G that might of right requyre to be rewarded euerlastingly, with suche inestymable ioy, as neither eye hath sene, nor tōg can expresse, nor heart can ymagyne or conceiue) so is it also as true that all the fayth we haue or can haue, can of hys owne nature as litle or muche lesse deserue heuē, as our other good dedes. For what great thyng do we to god, or what great thing could we aske hym of right, because we beliene him, as thoughe he were much beholden vnto vs, in that we doucheſafe to truste him, as though hys worship honge in our handes, and his estimacion lost if he were out of credence H with vs. And therfore among many folishe woordes of Luther, as foolishe as euer heretyke spake, he neuer spake a more frantike, than in that he saith that god hath nede of our faith. For he sayth ỳ god hath no nede of our good workes, but he hath nede of our faith, & hath nede that we shoulde beliene hym. Trouth is it that he nedeth neyther our fayth, nor our woorkes. But sythe that he hath determyned that he wyl not saue vs withoute bothe yf we bee of dyscrecyon to haue bothe, therefore haue we nede of bothe

E

The sufficiency of our faith is of god.

F

Romans. 8.

A both. And yet neyther is there ý one nor ý other nor they bothe together betwene them, that be of their owne nature worthy the rewarde of heauen. But as we see that one ounce of golde whereof ten pounde weight were not of his own nature towarde man worth one ounce of wheate, nor one hundred poūd weyghte therof, of the nature selfe worth one sely shepe. is yet among men by a pryce appoynted and agreed worth many whole shepe, and manye a pounde weighte of bread: so hath it lyked the liberall goodnes of god to set as wel our fayth as our B dedes, whiche were els bothe twayne of theyr owne nature right litle in value, at so high a price, as none is able to bye thē & pay for them but hymself, because we should worke them only to hym, and haue none other pay mayster, nor none other chapman to sel our ware and our worke vnto, but onely hym. Excepte we would be so madde, and towardes hym so vnkynde, that we would sel it to another for lesse, rather thā to him for more. As some do that had leuer trauayle far of, and sell for lesse, than thei woulde for more sell to their neighbours at home. And as do these folishe ypocrites, which rather than they would sell theyr worke C to god for euerlastyng ioy of heauen, sel it al to the world for the pluisshe pleasure of the vayne prayse pulled oute of poore mortall mens mouthes with a blaste of wynde. Anto this he sayd that very true it was that al our workes toke theyr value and price after the acceptaciō of god and as he lyst to alow them. But he said that god reiected, disalowed, and sette at nought al ý works of infidels wrought without faith. For, *sine fide impossibile est placere deo*, without fayth it is impossible to please god. So of his faithful chosen people that beleue and trust in him, he accepteth and alloweth all the dedes. And D that is said, he well proued by ý wordes of saint Poule, *Nihil damnationis est his qui sunt in Christo Iesu*. And albeit that in the rehersyng of the communicacion had w̄ thys man, it may wel be that my remēbrance may partlye myssé the order, partly peradiuenture adde or minishe in some part of the matter, yet in this point I assure you faythfully, there is no maner chāge or varyaunce from his oppinion, but that after manye shyftes he broughte it playnely to thys poynte at lasse, that he & his felowes that were of Luthers sect were kymelye of thys oppinyon, that they beleued that God woorketh all in euery manne good workes and badde. E Howbeit no suche as he foreknoweth to be damned, no maner workes be profytable to them. For god taketh them for nought bee thei neuer so good. But on ý other syde in those he hath chosen fro the begynnyng and predestinate to glorye, all workes be good ynough. For God accepteth and taketh them well a worth be thei neuer so badde. It was asked him than whyther ý the forsakyng of Christ by Peter was alowed and well approued by Christe. And whyther the auoutry and manslaughter was by God wel allowed in Dauid. Whereunto he sayd that because they wer chosen and prede- F stinate, therefore those synnes were not (nor the synnes of any such men bee not) imputed vnto them. But God because he hath from the begynnyng chosen thē to euerlastyng blisse, therfore he arrecteth no blame of theyr dedes vnto them, but all the workes of a iust man that is to say quod he, of a person by God predestinate to glory, turne him to good, how euil so euer they be. And this for conclusion he declared to be theyr verye playn mynde and oppinion, for all the cloakes ý he set vpon the matter before, to make it seme that they meaned in theyr wordes none harme. And there it clerely appeared, ý he and his felowes which in theyr preachyng do couertlye and craftily set out the damnable sect of Luther, hope & gape alway for som other tyme, which they trust openlie and boldly to play the rauenous wolues and deuoure ý shepe and marre the whole flocke. And in the meane season be content to play the wily foxes and wirry simple soules & poore lābes, as they may catche them straggelyng from the fold, or rather like a false shepeheardes dogge that wold but bark in sighte, and seme to fetche in the shepe, and yet kyll a lambe in a corner. Menne speake of some that beare two faces in one hoode. I neuer sawe any that more verely play that pageaunt, than do thys H kind of such preachers. For in preachig to the people, they make a vysage as though they came streight from heauen to teache them a newe better waye, and more true than the churche teacheth, or hath taught this manye hundred yeare. And then to the church in examinacion they shewe themselfe as poore menne of midle erth, & as though thei taught none otherwise than the church doth. But in conclusiō whē they be well examined, & w̄ much worke ý falshede of their cloked

Fayth & good workes of their own nature are litle in value.

Hebrues. xi.

Romans. 8.

The Luthelrane preachers beare two faces in one hoode.

A collusion is pulled of, then appeareth there all the malicious trecherye, and what poison thei put forth vnder ye cloke of hony. As this man that I tell you of, labouryng all that he mighte by manye meanes to make it seme, y in preachyng that fayth alone was sufficient for oure saluacion, and that good workes were nothyng worthe, hadde nothyng entended but well and accordyng to the doctrine of the churche, and that he and his felowes neuer ment otherwyse than the church meaneth: yet in conclusion he plainly shewed himself, that he and his felowes entend therby to bring the people to this pointe at laste, that all thyng
B hangeth onely vpon dessenyng, and that y libertie of mannes wyll should serue of right nought, nor mennes dedes good or badde made no difference afore God, but that in his chosen people nothyng mysliketh hym be it neuer so badde, and in the other sorte nothyng pleaseth him be it neuer so good, the very worske and most mischieuous heresy that euer was thought vpon, and therto the most mad. For as it is saide vnto hym, if this were true, whereto preache thei at all? & counsayle any mã one thyng or other? What fruite could come of their exhortacyon if all should hange vpon dessenyng? There were shewed vnto hym manye thynges
C for the reprooke of that vnresonable and detestable heresye, and that the textes whiche he alledged, nothyng made for his purpose. For as for that he alledged of sainte Poule, that there is no damnacion to them that be in Christe Iesu, was mente of good faithfull folke that liue vertuouslye, and therefore where he sayth, that there is no damnacion to thē that be in Christ Iesu, it foloweth forthwith in the text, those that walke not after the flesh. Meaning plainly that there is no man so planted in Christ Iesu, but and if he folowe the fleshly wayes of his
D sensual appetites, he shal be damned for all his faith in Christ. For els it should folow vpon this false oppinion, yf God accept well all the workes of them y are predestinate, than is sinne no syn. But in the other sort whom god hath not predestinate. And than is it as much to say as no man may lawfully be nought, no man lawfully do theft or adultery, nor lawfully bee a manqueller, nor lawfully forsweare hymselfe, but godds good sonnes & his specyall chose childrē. Now where he alledged the wordes of sainte Poule. *Quod iustis omnia cooperantur in bonum.*

To a iuste manne all thinges worke together to his weale, it was sayde, that it mente that all the euyls that menne did vnto them, tourne them to good and bee to good men occasion of their merit, as was to Iob all the tormentes by whiche the deuil assauted his patience, and al y paynes that Pagan tyrauntes dyd vnto y holy martirs. And somtyme the synne in whiche a good man is by gods suffe- raunce permitted to fall, is an occasion to him of a greater good, or of the auoyding of a greater sinne. As the eschewig of an high spirituall pride, into whiche peraduenture the continuall course of his vertuous lyfe myght by the deuilles subtyll suggestion haue broughte hym, where as one foule acte of lecherye hath shewed hym his frailtie, and in stede of pride brought hym into penaunce and humilitie, and make him runne the faster forwards in vertue, because he hath letted and sitte styl a while in sinne, and therefore wil he runne forth to winne againe in his way that he before cast him selfe behynde. But it was not ment that euer theyr sinnes so tourned thē to good, that they were accepted the more and rewarded the better for their euill dedes. Nor God remitteth not the sinnes of his chosen people, nor forbeareth not to im-
G pute the blame thereof vnto thē, because thei be his chosen people. For he accepteth not folke for their persons, but for their merites, but where as they haue sinned, he punisheth as well them as other, and somettime more, because theyr former good liuing somewhat of cōgruēce deserued that thei should by punishment be called agayne to grace, and not be for their fault so sone cast clene awai, as some other obdurate in malice and euil custom of sinne, deserue to haue the grace of God and his calling on neuer more offred vnto them, and vnto some it
H is offred that wil not receine it. God called on Dauid by the prophete Nathan, 2. Reg. 12. and yet punished his offence. Christ loked on Peter after he had forsaken and Luke. 22. forsworne him, and Peter therw̄ tooke repentance. God loked on Iudas & kyssed hym to, and he turned to none amēdment. Nowe god from the beginnyng before the world was created, foreseyng in his diuine prescience or rather in the ternitie of his godhead presently beholding, that Peter would repent and Iudas wouldde dispayre, and that the one wold take hold of his grace & other wold reiect it, accepted and chose the one, and Mar. 14.

Synne some time is an occasiō of goodnes.

God accepteth men for their merites.

not

A not the other, as he would haue made ý contrary choyse, if he had foresene in the the contrary chaunce.

The.12. Chapiter.

¶ The authour inueyeth against the moste pestylente secte of these Lutheranes, whiche ascribe our saluacyon and damnacion and all our dedes to destiny.

B But nowe for to say as that heretike sayd after al his shiftes at last that al ý shal be saued, shall be saued onely because ý god from the beginnyng hath chosen them, and because of that choyse all their dedes be good, or yf they be euyl yet God for cause of his eternall choyse taketh them wel in worth and imputeth no blame vnto them, and that all other people whō god hath created shall be dāned only because he wold not chose thē, ¶ that all theyr dedes eyther be noughte or not wel accepted, because god list not in the beginning to chose them, and that he worketh both in the one sort and in ý other all their dedes himself alone, and C they do nothing therein themself, and so that god whose goodnes is inestimable, doth damne so houge a noumber of people to intollerable ¶ interminable tormentes onelye for his pleasure, and for his owne dedes wrought in them onely by himselfe, this false oppinion is as the kiges highnes most vertuously writeth in his epistle to Luther, the most abhominable heresy that euer was. And sure ly it is so farre agaynst al holy scripture well vnderstanden, so farre agaynst all naturall reason, so vtterly subuerting all vertue and all good order in the woride, so hyghelye blasphemyng the D goodnesse and maiestye of almyghtye God in heauen, that it is more than wonder howe anye manne earthelye, that hath eyther one sparke of wytte in hys heade, or towarde God or manns one droppe of good wyll in his hearte, shoulde not abhorre to heare it. For thys erecrable heresys maketh God the cause of all euyll, and suche cruell appetyte, as neuer tyrāunte and tormentour hadde, ascrybe they to the benygne nature of almyghtye God. For where as oure Sauioure Chrysse tooke vppon hym selfe all oure synne, and of hys endelesse pytye, bare the payne of them for oure sake, thys E damnable heresye holdeth, that God shoulde bee fyrste so vntrewe that he shoulde lay vnto vs the wite and blame of his own faultes, that is to wyt, the euyll woorkes whiche as they saye, bee not wrought by vs, but in vs by God, and thereunto they make hym so dispytuous and cruell, that for hys owne dedes so done, he shall haue a perpetuall delyte and pleasure to tormente vs. Howe tourne they the tryacle of holye scrypture quite into poyson. For this false errour once taken for trouth, wher of shoulde all scrypture serue: Wherof shoulde serue the exhortacions to good F workes yf menne neyther any dooe, nor any canne dooe, neyther of them selfe, nor with helpe of grace: or yf anye bee done by them which be not chosen, their dedes bee not accepted of God, because he hath not chosen theyr parsons, wher of shal serue the preachinges and exhortacions to the faith, yf the hearers haue no libertie of their owne wyll, by which they maye together with Goddes grace laboure to submytte and subdue the rebellion of theyr reason to the obedyence of faith and credēce of the worde of god: Wherof shall serue al the dehortacions and cōmynacions ¶ threts in scripture, G by whiche God calleth men from synne and euyl workes, yf the world wer once of the mind that they beleued after Luther, that no manne doth any euill dede hym selfe, but God dothe them all himselfe. And that euery man is either chosen or vnchosen. And if we be of the chosen sorte, none euill dede can damne vs. And yf we bee of the vnchosen sorte, no good dede can auail vs. He that thus beleueth, what careth he what he doth, excepte for the feare of temporall lawes of this world. And yet if his false faith be stronge, he forceth lytle of them also. For he shall thynke dying in his bedde, or on the galowes, cometh not after hys deserning but hangeth al vpon destiny. H And therefore all lawes they sette at nought. And thei holde that no man is bounden to obey any, but wolde be at libertie to beleue what they list, and doe what thei list, as thei say that god dothe with vs, not what we deserue, but what himself list. Wherof shal reason serue if man had no power of himself towarde ý direcciō of his own workes, but ý al our workes wer brought forth of vs wout our wil, worse thā ý workes be in dede, out of a brute beasse, by ý appetite of his sensuall

A sensuall mocion? For ours shoulde bee by this oppinion brought forth, as the leaues come out of the tree, or as a stone falleth downewarde, and the smoke vpwarde by the power of nature, so should I say al our dedes good or badde, ascend or descende by the violent hande of God, magre our mindes, and thus the beastes be not ashamed to say, whan they preue howrly bytheir own experience in them selfe, that whan they wil do a thing thei do it. And whan thei list thei leaue it. I say not by themself alone without god. But his assistence is alway at hande, yf we be willing to worke therwith, as the light is present with the sunne, if we list not wilfully to shit our eyen and winke. Wherof should serue all lawes? And where were become al good order amōg men, if euery misordred wretche mygbt alledge that his mischieuous dede was his desteny. If frewil serue for nought, and euery mans dede is his desteny, whi do these men complayn vpon any man? Except they wyll say they do it, because it is their desteny to do so? And why wil thei be angry with them that punish heretikes, except they wyll saye because it is their desteny to be so? For if they wyl holde them to their own sect, and say mē do them wrong to burne them for theyr heresies, because it was their desteny to be heretikes, they may be then wel aunswered with their owne wordes, as one of their sect was serued in a good towne in Almayn, which when he had robbed a man and was brought before ý iudges he could not deny the dede, but he sayde it was his desteny to do it, and therefore thei might not blame hym, thei aunswered him after his owne doctrine, that yf it were his desteny to steale, & that therfore they muste holde hym excused, than it was also their desteny to hange hym, and therfore he must as well hold them excused agayn. And vndoubtedly amōg men these takers away of freewil, may neuer auoyde that aunswere by reason. But than fall the wretches to the desperate waves of deuils and dāned soules. Than fall thei to railing and reprouing the iustice of god and sai that himself he wrought their euil workes, and wrongfully punished them, & cruellye created them to wretchednes. Our mother Eue layd the wit of her sinne to the serpent, & God was offended that she toke not her own part to her self. But these wretches excuse themself and the deuil and al, and lay bothe their owne faultes and the deuils to, to the blame of almightye God. But sythe what so they saye, they lyttle care in dede of hel or heauen, but would in this worlde liue in lewd libertie, and haue all runne to ryot. And sith they see that thei cannot so bee suffred, nor theyr sectes allowed in iudgement, they deuyse by all the wayes thei can to geat so many to fall into their sorte, that they may be able to tourne the world vp so down, and defende theyr foly and false heresye by force. And this thei call the liberty of the ghospell, to be discharged of al order and of all lawes, and do what they lifte, which be it good, be it badde, is as they say nothig but ý works of god wrought in thē. But thei hope that by this meane god shal for the whyle worke in thē many mery passtimes. Wherein if theyr heresy were once receiued, and the worlde chaunged therby thei should finde them self sore deceiued, For the lawes and orders among mē, w̄ feare of punishment once taken away, there were no man so strong that could kepe his pleasure lōg, but that he should finde a stronger take it from him. But after that it were once come to that pointe, and the world once rufled and fallen in a wildenes, how lōg would it be, and what heapes of heaupe mischieues would there fall ere ý waye were founden to set the worlde in order and peace againe?

The assistence of God is alway at hande.

A conuenient aunswere.

What the Lutheranes call the liberte of the ghospell.

The 13. Chapiter.

¶ The authour sheweth his oppinyō concerning the burning of heretikes and that it is lawful, necessarye, and wel done, and sheweth also ý the clergy doth not procure it, but onelye the good and politike prouision of the tēporaltie.

The fere of these outrages and mischieses to folow vpō such sectes and heresies, with the prose that menne haue had in some countreys therof, haue bene the cause that Princes and people haue bene constrayned to punishe heresyes by terrible death, where as elles more easy waies hadde been taken with them. And therefore here wyll I somewhat (sayde I to youre frende) aunswere the poyntes whyche ye moued at youre fyrste metynge, when ye sayde that manye menne thoughte it an harde and an vncharitable waye taken

by

A by the clergy, to put men conuict of heresy sometime to shame, sometyme to death, and that Christ so farre abhorred all such violence, that he would not any of his flocke shoulde fyght in any wyse, neither in the defence of themself or any other, not so muche as in the defence of Christ hiself, for which he blamed saint Peter, but that we should all liue after hym in sufferance and pacience, so farforth that folk thought as ye sayde, that we should not fight in defece of our selfe against the Turkes and infidels. These obiecciones be sone answered. For neyther doth the clergye therein any suche B thyng as is laide and imputed vnto the, nor the temporaltie neither, albeit with good reason thei might yet, had they neuer in dede fallen so sore to force and violence against heretikes, if the vyolente crueltie fyrst vsed by the heretikes them selfe against good catholyke folke drieue good princes therto, for preseruacio not of the fayth only, but also of the peace amog their people. For albeit that forthwith vpon the death of Christ in the beginning of the church many sectes and heresies began (as wel appeareth by the Apocalips of saint John the euangelist. and the epistles of the apostle Poule) & after almosse continuallye diuers heresies sprage in diuers places (as we plainly see by the story of y church by y bokes of saint Hierome, saint Augustine, saint Eusebie, sainte Basile, sainte Ambrose, sait Gregory, Nazianzenus, saint Chrisostome, and many other doctours of y church) yet in al this time by a log space of many yeres was ther neuer other punishment done vpon them in effect, but onely redarguciō and reprouing by dispycions, either in wordes or wryting, or condemnacions of their opinions in sinodes and counsailes, or finally ercōmunicacions & putting out of Christes flocke sauyng that they wer putte some D time to silence vpon paine of forfeiture of certain money. But as I sayd before if the heretikes had neuer begon w vyolence, though they had vsed al the waies thei could to allect y people by preachig. though they had therewith done as Luther doth nowe, and as Machomete dyd before, bryng vp oppinions pleasaunt to the people, geuig them libertie to lewdnes yet yf they had set violece aside, good christen people had peradueture yet vnto this daye, vsed lesse violence towarde the than thei do now. And yet wer heresie wel worthy to be as sore as any other fault sith there is no fault that more offendeth God. Howbeit while they forbare violence, there was litle vyolence done to them. And surely thoughe God be able against al persecucio to preserue and encrease his fayth amonge the people, as he dyd in the begynnyng for all y persecucion of the Paynims and the Iewes, yet is it no reason to loke y christen princes should suffer the catholyke christe people to be oppressed by Turkes or by heretikes worse then Turkes. By my soule quod your frende, I woulde al the worlde were all agreed to take al violence and compulsion awaye vpon all sydes christen and heathen, and that no A manne were constrained to beleue but as he could be by grace, wysedom, & good workes enduced, and the he that would go to god go on a goddes name, and he that wyll go to the deuill, the deuyll goe with him. Forsoth quod I, & if it so wer yet would I litle doubte but that y good sede being sowen among y people, shold as wel come vp and be as strong to saue it selfe as the cocle, and God shoulde alway be stronger then the deuil. But yet be heretikes and heathen men in two diuers cases. For in case the Turkes Sarrasins and Paynims woulde suffer the fayth of Christ to be peaciblye preached C among them, and that we christen men shoulde therefore suffer in lykewyse all their sectes to be preached among vs, & violence taken away by assent on bothe the sides, I nothing mistrust y the fayth of Christ shoulde muche more encrease than decaye. And albeit that we shoulde fynds amog vs, that would for the lewd libertie of these sectes drawe to the deuil yet so should we find I doubt not amog them also many a thousand, that should be content to leue that beastlye pleasure and come to the fayth of Christ, as came in the beginning to christendome out of the Panimes, that liued as voluptuously as the Turkes do now. But syth violence is vsed on that parte, and Christes V faith not there suffred to be preched & taken, he that would now suffer that secte to be preached or taught among christen men and not punish and destroy y doers wer a playn enemy to Christ, as he that wer contet to suffer Christ lese his worship in many soules on this syde, withoute anye one wonne in theyr stede on the other syde. But nowe yf vyolence were withdrawen on that syde, then this waye that ye speake of, were peradueture betwene Christendome

Mat. 26.

No fault offeneth God than heretikes.

and

A and Turkay or Pagane* yt the worlde were assented therunto and could holde it none euil way. For sith we should no thing so mush regarde as the honour of god, and encreasyng of the christē faith, and winnyng of mens soules to heauen we should seme to dishonour god, yf we mistrusted that his faith preched amōg other indifferētly without disturbance should not be able to prosper. And beliewyng that it were, we should hynder the profit if we would refuse the condicion, where there be many moe to be wōne to Christ on ý syde, than to be lost frō hym on this side. But yet as for heretykes risyng among our selfe, and springing of our self, be in no wyse to be suffered, but to be oppressed and ouerwhelmed in the beginning. For by any couenaunt with them, christendom can nothyng winne. For as many as we suffer to fal to them we lese fro Christe. And by all them we cannot winne to Christe one the moe, though we wanne them al home again, for they were our owne before. And yet as I sayde for all that in the beginning, neuer were they by any tēporal punishment of their bodies any thing sharpely handled, til that they beganne to be violēt themself. We read that in the tyme of saint Austine the great doctour of the churche, the heretikes of Affrike called the Donatistes, fel to force and violēce, robbing, beating, tormenting, and kyllyng, such as thei toke of the true chrysten flock, as the Lutheranes haue done in Almayn. For auoyding wherof that holy man saint Austin, which longe had with great pacience borne and suffered their malice, onely writing & preaching in the reprofe of their errours, and had not only done them no temporal harme, but also had letted & resisted other that would haue done it, dyd yet at the laste for the peace of good people bothe suffer and exhort the counte Boniface & other, to represse them with force and feare thē with bodily punishmente. Whiche maner of doyng holye sainte Hierome and other vertuous fathers haue in other places allowed. And synce that tyme hath thereupon necessitie perceyued by greate outrages committed against the peace and quyete of the people in sondry places of Christendom, by heretikes rysyng of a small begynnyng to an hyghe and vnrulye multytude, many sore punyshementes bene deuised for them, and speciallye by fyre, not onelye in Italye and Almayne, but also in Spayne, and in effecte in euerye parte of Chrysten dome. Amonge whiche in Englande as a good catholyke realme, it hath bene long punished by death in the fyre. And specialye for as muche as in the time of that noble Prince of moste famous memorye Kyng Henrye the fifth, while the Lorde Cobham mainteined certayn heresies, and that by the meanes thereof, the noumber so grewe and encreased, that withi a while though hymself was fledde into Wales, yet thei assembled themselte together in a fielde nere vnto London, in suche wise and suche noumber, that the Kyng with his nobles wer faine to putte harnesse on their backes for the repression of them, wherupō thei wer distressed and many putte to execucion, and after that the Lorde Cobham taken in Wales and burned in Londō, the King his nobles and his people therupon consideryng the greate peryll and ieopardie that the realme was lyke to haue fallen in by those heresies, made at a parliamente very good and substanciall prouisions beside all suche as were made before, as wel for the withstādīng as the repressing and grieuous punishement of any suche as should be founden faultie thereof, and by the clergye lefte vnto the seculer hādes. For here ye shall vnderstand that it is not the clergy that laboreth to haue thē punyshed by death. Well may it be that as we bee all men & not angels, some of them may haue som time either ouer feruent mynd or vndiscrete zele, or percas an angrye & a cruell heart, by whiche they may offende God in the self same dede, wherof thei should elles greatly merite. But surelye the order of the spirituall lawe therin is both good, reasonable, piteous, and charitable, and nothing desiring the death of any man therin. For at the first faulte he is abiured, forswereth all heresies, doth such penance for his fault as the Bishop assigneth him. And is in such wyse graciously receiued again into the fauour & suffrages of Christes church. But & if he be taken eftsones with the same crime agayne, than is he put out of the chrysten flock by excommunicaciō. And because that being such, his conuersacion were perilous among christen men, ý church refuseth him, and thereof the clergie geueth knowledge to the temporaltie, not exhorting the prince or any man els eyther to kyll him or punishe hym, but only in the presence of ý temporall officer, the spiritualtie not deliuereth hym, but leaueth

What thinges we ought most to regard

Lord Cobhā.

The order of the ecclesiasticall lawes against heretikes.

A leaueth him to the seculer hand, and forsaketh hym as one excommunicate and remoued out of the christen flocke. And though the churche be not lyght and sodaine in receiuing him again, yet at the time of his death vpon his request with tokens of repentaunce, he is absolued & receiued again.

The. 14. Chapiter.

¶ The authour somewhat sheweth ỳ the clergy doth no wrong in leauyng heretikes to seculer hande, thoughe
B their death folow theron. And he sheweth also that it is lawfull to resyste the Turke, and suche other infydels, and that princes be bounden thereto.

MArye quod your frende, but as me thinketh the bishoppe doth as muche as though he killeth him, whan he leueth him to the seculer hande, in such time and place as he woteth wel he shal sone be burned. I will not here enter into the question quod I, whyther a priest might for any cause, and yf for any, whither thã for heresie wont blame of irregularitie put or commaunde any man to death, either by expresse wordes
C or vnder the generall name of right and iustice. In whiche matter I coulde not lack both reason, authoritie, and exãple of holy men. But in this matter that we haue in hand, it is sufficient ỳ the bishop neither dothe it, nor commaundeth it.

For I thinke there wil no reason beare it, that whan the heretike if he wente abrode woulde with the spreading of hys errour infect other folke, ỳ bishop shold haue such pitie vpon him, that he should rather than other men shoulde punyshe his body, suffer him to kil other mennes soules. In dede quod I, there be some as ye saye that either of highe pretended pitie or of a fained obseruaunce of the cou
D sailes of Christ, would not no mã sholde punishe any heretike or infidell eyther, not though thei inuaded vs and dyd vs all the harme thei possible could. And in this oppinion is Luther & his folowers whiche among their other heresies hold for a plaine conclusion, that it is not lefull to anye christen manne to fighte agaynst the Turke, or to make agaynst him anie resistence, though he come into Christendome with a greate armye and labour to destroye all. For they say that all Christen menne are bounden to C the counsailes of Christ, by whiche they saye that we be forboden to defende oure selfe, and that saint Peter was as ye rehearsed, reproued of our sauiour, whan he strake of Malchus eare, all be it that he did it in the defence of his owne mayster, and the most innocente man that euer was. And vnto this they laye as ye saide in the beginning, that syth ỳ time that christen menne first fel to fighting, it hath neuer encreased, but alway mynished and decaied. So that at this daie the Turke hath estraited vs verye nere, and brought it in within a right narow compace, and narrower shal do say thei F as long as we go about to defend Christendome by the sweord. Which thei say should be as it was in the beginnyng encreased, so bee continued and preserued onely by pacience & martirdome. Thus holily spake these godlye fathers of Luthers secte, laboring to procure ỳ no mã should withstand the Turk, but let him winne all. And whan it should come to that, than would thei as it semed wynne al again by their pacięce, high vertues, and martirdome, by which nowe thei cã not suffer to resist their beastli voluptnousnes, but breake their vowes, & take them harlots vnder the name of wiues. G And where thei maie not fighte against the Turke, arise vp in greate plumpes to fight againste their euen christen. It is I trowe no great maistry to perceiue whome thei laboure to please that haue that oppinion. And if the Turk happen to come in, it is litle doubt whose parte thei will take, and that Christen people be like to finde none so cruel Turkes as them. It is a gentle holinesse to abstain for deuocion from resisting the Turke, & in the meane while to rise vp in routes and fight against christen men, and destroy as that sect hath done many a good religious house, spoyled, meyhemed, & slaine many a good vertuous man, robbed, polluted, and pulled downe manye H a goodly church of Christ. And nowe where thei laie for a proofe, ỳ God were not contented wyth battayle made againste infidels, the losse and mynyshement of Christendome synce that guyse beganne, they fare as dyd once an olde sage father rõle in Kente at suche tyme as diuers men of worshippe assembled olde folke of the countrey to commune and deuyse aboute the amendemente of Sandewyche hauen. At whiche tyme as they beganne fyrste to enserche by

A consultacio about Sandwiche hauen.

reason

A reason and by the reporte of olde menne there about, what thing had bene the occasion that so good an hauen was in so fewe yeares so sore decayed, and suche sandes rysen, and suche shalowe flattes made therwith, that right small vessels had now muche worke to come in at dyuers tydes, where great shippes wer wõ in fewe yeres passed accustomed to ryde without difficultie, and some layng the fault to Goodwyn sandes, some to the sandes Inned by dyuers owners in the Isle of tenate out of ỳ chanell, in which the sea was wont to cõpasse the Isle and bryng the vessels rounde about it, whose
B course at the ebbe was wont to scoure ỳ hauen, whiche nowe the Sea extluded thence, for lack of such course and scouryng is choked vp with sande, as they thus alledged, diuers mẽ, diuers causes. There starte vp one good old father and said, ye maisters say euery man what he wil, cha marked this matter wel as som other. And by god I wote how it waxed nought well ynough. For I knewe it good, and haue marked so chaue, whan it began to waxe worse. And what hath hurt it good father, quod the gentlemẽ? By my fayth maisters quod he, yonder
C same tenterden steple and nothyng els, that by ỳ masse choide twere a faire fish pole. Why hath the steple hurt the hauẽ good father quod they? Nay by Ladye maisters quod he, ychc cannot tell you well why, but chote well it hath. For by God I knew it a good hauen til that steple was bylded, And by the mary masse, cha marked it well, it neuer throue sice. And thus wisely spake these holi Lutheranes, which sowyng scismes and sedycions among christen people, laye the losse thereof to the withstanding of the Turkes inuasion, and the resistyng of his malice, where they should rather yf thei had any reason in theyr heades, lay
D it to the contrary. For whan christen princes did theyr deuoyre against mysreantes and infidels, there be storyes & monumentes ynough that witnesse the manifest ayde and helpe of god in greate victories geuen to good christẽ princes, by his almighty hand. But on the other side since that the ambicion of christẽ rulers desyring eche others dominiõ, haue set thẽ at warre, & deadly discencion among thẽself, wherby while ech hath aspyred to the enhaũcing of his own, they haue litle forced what came of ỳ comen corps of Christendom, god for the reuẽging of theyr inordinate appetites hath withdrawen his helpe and shewed that
E he careth as litle, sufferyng whyle eche of thẽ laboreth to eate vp other, ỳ Turk to prosper and so farre forth to procede, that if theyr blynde affeccions loke not therto the soner, he shall not faile (which our lorde forbede) within shorte processe to swalowe them all. And albeit Christ forbode saint Peter being a prieste, and vnder hymselfe prynce of hys priesses to fight with the temporal sword, toward the empechemente and resistence of hys fruitful passion, whereupon depended the saluacion of mankinde, which affec-
F cion our sauiour had before that time so sore reproued and rebuked in hym, that he called hym therfore Sathan, yet is it nothing to the purpose to alledge, that by that ensãple tẽporall princes shoulde without the let of such spirituall profite and the sufferance of muche spirituall harme suffer theyr people to be inuaded and oppressed by infidels, to theyr vtter vndoyng not onely temporal but also of a great part perpetuall, which wer like of their frailtie for fere of worldly grief and inconmoditie, to fal from the faith and renie their baptisme. In whiche peryl sythe our Lord would not that anye man should wylfully put hymselfe, and
G for that cause aduised his disciples that yf they were pursued in one citie, they shoulde not come forth and sole hardely put themself in perill of renying Christ by impacience of some intollerable tormentes, but rather flee thence into som other place where they might serue him in quiete, tyl he should suffer them to fal in such point that there were no way to escape, and than would he haue them abide by their tackeling like mighty chãpions wherin they shall not in such case fayle of his help. Now albeit so ỳ Christ and his holy apostles, exhort euery man to pacience and sufferance, without requiting of an euil dede or making anye
H defence but vsing further sufferaunce, & doyng also good for euill, yet neyther doth this counsayle bind a man that he shall of necessitie against the comen nature suffer another manne causelesse to kyll hym, nor letteth not any manne frõ the defece of another, whom he seeth innocente and inuaded and oppressed by malice. In whiche case bothe nature, reason, and Goddes behesse byndeth, fyrste the prynce to the safegarde of hys people wyth the peryll of hymselfe, as he taughte Moyses to knowe hym-

selfe

Mat. 16.

Path. 16.

Mat. 16.

Christes exhortacion to euery man.

The cause why the Turk doche prosper against Christendome.

A self bounden to kyll the Egipcians in ý
Exod.2. defence of Hebrewe, and after he bynd-
deth euery man to the helpe and defence
of his good and harmelesse neyghbour,
against ý malice and crueltie of ý wrõg
doer. For as the holy scripture saith, *vnicuique dedit deus curam de proximo suo*, God hath
Eccle.17. geuẽ euery man charge of his neighbor
to kepe him from harme of bodye and
soule, as much as may lie in his power.
And by this reason is not onely excusa-
ble but also commendable, ý cõmõ war
which euerye people taketh in ý defence
of their countrey against enemies that
would inuade it, syth that euery manne
B fightyeth not for ý defece of himself, of a
priuate affecciõ to himself, but of a chris-
ten charitie, for ý safegarde & preserua-
cion of all other. Which reson as it hath
place in all battaile of defence, so hath
it most especially in ý battaile by which
we defende the christen coũtreys agaist
the Turkes, in that we defende eche o-
ther fro farre the more peryll and losse,
bothe of worldly substance, bodily hurt,
and perdiciõ of mens soules. And nowe
if this be lawful and enioyned also to e-
uery priuate parson, howe muche more
belongeth it to princes & rulers, whiche
if thei maye not vpon the peryll of theyr
soules, wittingly suffer among the peo-
C ple whom they haue in gouernaunce a-
ni one to take awai anothers horse, how
maye thei without eternall damnacion
suffer other peple and specially infidels,
to come in, spoyle, & robbe, and captiue
them al? And if they be bounden to ý de-
fence & may not doe it alone, what mad-
nes wer it to say that the people may not
helpe them.

The.15.Chapiter.

¶ That princes be boundẽ to punish
heretykes, and that fayre handelyng
helpeth litle with many of them.

D AND surely as the princes be
bounden that they shall not
suffer theyr people by infy-
dels to be inuaded, so be thei
as depely bounden that thei
shall not suffer theyr people to bee sedu-
ced and corrupted by heretikes, sithe the
peryll shall in shorte whyle growe to as
greate, bothe with mennes soules with-
drawen from god, & their goodes losse, &
their bodyes destroyed by common sedi-
cion, insurreccion, & open warre, with-
in ý bowelles of their owne lande. All
which may in ý begining be right easily
G auoyded, by punishmẽte of thoie fewe ý
be the first. Which few wel repressed, or
ý nede so require vtterly pulled vp, ther
shall farre the fewer haue iust to folow.
For ý they were handled in a contrary
maner, and as ye semed to meane in the
beginning of our matter, in stede of pu-
nyshment, entreated, fauoured, and by
fayre wordes & rewardes brought home
agayn. I feare me then that you should
fynd litle fruit in that fashion. For fyrst
where as they fall into heresye by pryde
that way should make them prouder, &
set the more by themself. And thã would
many moe fall thereto, of purpose to bee
F hyred agayn therfro. So that as Mam-
molukes and Genisaries about ý Turk
and Sowdã, haue vsed to christen their
children of purpose, that by the renayg
of their fayth, after, they might be made
Mammolukes or Genisaries, as theyr
fathers were, and may be had the more
in estimacion & fauour about the greate
Turke, euen likewyse within a whyle
ý we take that way with heretikes we
shall haue yong freshe felowes fyrst be-
come heretikes, that thei may be prayed
and hyred after to com to Christes faith
again. I wouldе not they were ouer ha-
stily handled, but litle rigour and much
G mercy shewed wher simplenes appered,
& not high heart or malice. For of suche
as be proude & malicious, muche proofe
hath bene made all readye. For of some
sort many full fayre hãdled, litle chaũge
themself or come to good amendment. I
tolde you my self and very true it was of
twain that wer detected of heresye vnto
the most honorable plate of this realme
& in what benigne fatherli maner & libe-
ral also he delt w̃ them. And yet what a-
mendement made his gentle & courteyse
entreatie, in their stubburne stomake.
Were they not after worse then they
were before? and so vsed themselfe that
H after muche harme done by them, they
came in shorte space after to theyr open
conuiccion? They be ye wote wel at the
fyrst customably receyued to grace, and
verely for suche merites, forgeuenes is
rewarde ynough. And ý thei cannot by
that warnyng be warned, surely as sait
Poule saith, he is not to be trusted often
but rather of all good christen people to
be eschewed and anoyded frõ the flocke.
For thei bee so far waren crooked, that
seldome canne they bee ryghted again.
Forsooth quod your frend yet as I said
at my fyrste commyng to you, were

A I worthy to be of counsail wt the clergy when there were a man founden faulte therein, whō the people haue in good estimacion for some great opinio of learning & vertue, thei should be secretely & soberly monished, & not the matter published among the people, And finally if thei so should nedes be openly conuicted & corrected in face of ye world, thā wolde I not yet haue them called Lutheranes, lest the people which had good oppinion of thē, or if thei happen to perceiue them for nought, and so take them, than shall thei peraduenture geue the lesse credēce to all good men, & set the lesse by al good preachers after. Surely ye I, a certayne B rule that wer alwaye best were heard to geue in such case. Sometime there may peraduenture such honesty be ioyned wt such repentaunce, that it would not bee much a mislle to preserue the mans estymacion among the people, to whom his perfit chaunge may percase more than recompence his former errour and ouer syght. But where as the contrary shall seme conuenient, there can I not se why we shoulde forbeare to call them Lutheranes, sith it is both an olde vsage to cal heretikes after the name of hym, whom they folow in their heresie, & also as Luthers sect is in effect the whole heape of C all heresies gathered together, it is now all one to cal him a Lutherane or to call hi an heretike, those two wordes beig in maner equiualent. Luther teaching almost nothing but heresies, nor none heresies founden any where almost that ye Lutherans haue not among them. And sith it so is, reason doth in my mynde require that ye name of Lutheranes shoulde be customably brought i mens eares as odious as ye name of heretikes. Nor I se not so great feare ye either folke shal for oppinion of any mans vertue in whom thei se themself deceiued, wdrawe theyr fauor & affecciō frō suche as are good in D dede, or fall into ye fauor of Luthers sect for ye estimacion of ye man whō thei now see preued nought. For this wil no man do but such as either be so folishe ye they would hate all Christes apostles for the falsehed of Judas, or so noughtie ye they would fain haue al the world fall to the same sect and be of their own suit.

In old vsage.

The. 16. Chapiter.

¶ Of simple vnlearned folk ye are deceiued by the great good opinio that thei haue percase in the lernyng and liuing of some that teache the errors.

E For soth quod your frend yet E wouldthere me thinketh be much pitie vsed in those maters amōg. For many a mā vnlearned when he heareth one that he taketh for cunnyng, and seeth such a man as he taketh for vertuous, commende Luthers way he is of simplenes and good mynde, moued to folowe the same. Surely quod I, therein I saye not naye, but that these thynges being suche, great pitie it is to see many good simple soules deceiued, & led out of the right way by the authority of suche as they reckon for good men and cunning, whom they haue either by F open sermons or secrete communicacio perceiued to be fauourers of ye vngracious sect, thinking that men of such cunning and knowledge in scripture, being therwith of such vertuous behauior as thei seme to be, would lene to that way, but if thei knew it for good. And surely where it so happeneth that anye symple soule is by the good oppinion ye he hath in his maister, led out of the ryght belief of the faith, wening that were the verye fayth which he seeth his maister (whom he rekeneth good and cunning) folowe & leane vnto, it is a very piteous thyng. And as that parso is lesse in blame and G more easily cured, so is that maister double damned, as ye cause both of his owne sinne & his that folowetb hym, and very harde is he to mende. Howbeit sotyme we deserue with our sinne that god for ye punishment therof suffereth vs to haue lewde leaders and euill teachers. And God for our sin dothe suffer euill teachers. surely for the more parte suche as be led out of the right way, do rather fal thereto of a lewd lightnes of their own mind, then for any great thing ye moueth them in their maister that teacheth them. For we see them as redy to beleue a purser, a glouer, or a weuer that nothing can do, H but scantly read englisch, as wel as they would beleue the wisest and the best lerned doctour in a realme. Howbeit, be a man neuer so well learned, and seme he neuer so vertuous, yet can we with no reason excuse our selfe, yf we leaue the right belief for the trust that we haue in any manne earthlye. For our belief is taughte vs by God surelye planted in the churche of Christ, and the artycles thereof not newe begonne, but nowe continewed manye an hundred yeare in the greate congregacyon of Christen people, as thynges certayne, sure, and stable, and out of all question.

which

A which none heretike doth, or can denye, and in the heartes of this congregacion be they written by ý holy handworke of god. And therefore accursed is he ý thorow his trust put in any man, believeth the contrary of any poynt ý the churche of Christ is taughte to believe by God. This faith was taught by Christ, preached by his apostles, of this wrote his euangelistes, and many mo thinges wer taught, than are written. And this faith should haue been taught & firmely standen, although nothing had been writte. And the articles of thys faythe hadde in mens heartes, be the tuft & sure rules of B construccion by which we cõstrue & vnderstand the holy scripture ý is writen. For very sure are we, that whoso wold cõstre any tert of holy scripture, in such wise as he would make it seme cõtrarye to ani point of this catholik faith which god hath taught his church, he geueth ý scripture a wrong sentence, and therby teacheth a wrong belefe. And as saynt Poule sayth. Cursed be he, & though he wer an aungel of heauen. And therfore be we not excusable, if we believe anye man to the contrarye of the fayth, howe good or howe cunnynge soeuer he seme, C whils we see that he teacheth vs a wrõg way which we may sone know if we be good christiens & know ý belief already. And we maye haue also a greate geasse therat, if he teache vs secretlye as a priuie misserie, the doctrine that he would not were vttered & shewed openlye. For suche thinges be they commenly ý these heretykes teache in hucker mucker, against the fayth that al the church believeth. Now would I geue this counsayl to euery vnlearned man, whan any mã so teacheth thee whom thou hast in greet estimacion for vertue or cunning, than consider in thy selfe that he neither hath more vertue nor more cunning, thã had D saint Austen, saint Hierome, saint Ambrose, saint Gregorye, sainte Cipriane, saynt Chrisostome, with many olde fathers and holy doctors, which believed al their daies, and died in the belief that thou believest alreadye, whereof he teacheth the contrary, and so say boldely to him. Than if he would begyle thee, and saye ý those holy doctours believed not as thou doest, but as he sayth: bring him to the rekening before some other good & wel learned men. And I dare be bolde to warant that thou shalt find him double false. For neither shalt thou fynde it true ý he tolde thee, and besydes that he shall not lette to beiye thee, saying and E swearing to, that thou sayest wrong on him, and that he neuer told thee so. Mary yf quod your frend, he wil happelye say that he wer peraduenture in ý point to be pardoned, because of the ieopardie that he myghte fall into, by the maynte-nance of his opinion. Pardon him if ye will q I. But yet is he not than so good as wer those good fathers. For either is his way naught, & than doth he naught to teache it, or if it bee good, than is he nought that for anye feare forsaketh it. For he that forsaketh any trouth of christes fayth, forsaketh Christe. And than Luke.12. saith our sauiour: that who so doth, shal F be forsaken of him. And he that so doth, is not to be believed like those holye fathers, whiche haue taughte vs farre the contrary. For they did abyde by ý right fayth that they taught, whiche is, as by theyr bokes appereth, the selfe same faith that thou believest. And so farre furthe abyde they thereby, that dyuers of them suffeyned great persecucion therefore, & some of them death & martyrdome. So that we wer more than madde if we had not leuer sende our soules to the soules of those holye fathers, of whose cũning, vertue, and saluaciõ we be sure, than to G cast them away with these folke, which how holy so euer they seme, yet shew thẽ selfe naught, in that they teache the contrary of such thynges as those vndoubted holye doctours taught. I meruayle then quod your frende why they liue so vertuously, fasting & geuing their good in almes, with other vertuous exercise, both in forbearynge the pleasure of the world, and also taking pain in their bodies. To this mater quod I our sauiour himself aunswereth where he sayth in ý H gospel of Mathewe. *Attendite a falsis prophetis* Mat.7. *qui veniũt ad vos in vestimentis ouium, intrinsecus autẽ sunt lupi rapaces.* Beware of the false prophetes that come to you in the clothinge of sheepe, and yet withinfurth been rauenous wolues. For sith that thei, by false doctrine labour to deuoure and destroy mennes soules, we be sure ynough that wolues they be in dede, howe shepishlye soeuer they looke. And hypocrites must they nedes be, sith they bee so denounced by gods own mouth. And well maye we perceiue that he meaneth not well, whẽ he teacheth euill. And that euill he teacheth we may well wit, whẽ we see him teache the contrary, of the whiche God hath already taught his whole church. In whiche hath been so manye holye fa-

The sure rules wherby holy scripture is vnderstanded.

Gal.1.

Good counsayle.

A fathers, so many cunning doctours, & so many blessed martirs, that so haue bydden by the fayth to the death, that it wer a frenesie, if we would now, agaynst so many such, believe any false heretike & fayning hypocrite, teaching vs the contrary. Of those holy fathers of our faith whome their bokes sheweth to haue believed as we believe: we haue see & knowen their vertuous life well proued by their blessed end, in which our lord hath testifyed by many a miracle, that their fayth & their liues hath lyked hym. But now haue we not yet seen any such thig by anye of these heretykes: For yet so B much as any constancie in their doctrine. But & if they wer once found out & examined, we see them alway first ready to lye and forsweare themselfe, if that will serue. And whan that wil not helpe, but their falshed & periurye proued in their faces, than readye be they to abiure and forsake it, as lōg as that may saue their liues. For neuer yet foūd I ani. j. but he would once abiure, though he neuer intended to kepe his othe. So holy wouldc he be and so wise therwith, that he wold with periurie kille his soule for euer, to saue his body for a whyle. For comenly sone after such as so doe, shew themselfe agayn, god of his righteousnes not suffeyng ỳ their false forswearing should C stand them long in stede.

The. 17. Chapter.

¶ The author sheweth ỳ some whiche be Lutheranes and seme to lyue holily, and therfore be beleued and had in estimacion, intend a farther purpose then they pretēd which they wil well shew if they may once find their time.

AND as for their liuing, the good apparāce whereof is the thyng that moste blyndeth vs, as muche suretie D as we haue of the godlye life of our old holy fathers wherof the world hath written, and god hath borne witnes by many great miracles shewed for their sakes, as vncertain be we of these men, with whom we neyther be alway present, and little also can tell what abhominacions they may doe to some of them secretly. For yet cā know their intēt and purpose that they appoynt vpon, and the cause for whiche they be for the whyle content to take all the payn. Very certayne is it that pryde is one cause wherfore they take ỳ payn. For pryde is, as saynt Austine sayeth, the verye mother of all heresies. For of E an hyghe mind to be in the liking of the people, hath comen into manye men so madde a mind and so frantike, that they haue not rought what payne they toke withoute anye other recompence or reward, but onely the fonde pleasure and delyte that themselfe conceyue in their heart, whan they thinke what worshyp that people talketh of them. And they be the deuilles martirs, taking much payn for his pleasure, and his very apes, whō he maketh to tūble thorowe ỳ hope of ỳ holines that putteth them to payn without fruite. And yet often times maketh them mille of the vayn prayse, whereof onely they be so prowde. For while they delyte to thinke how they be take for holy, they be manye times well perceyued F and taken for ypocrites as they be. But such is this cursed affecciō of pride, and so deepe setteth in the clawes where it catcheth, that harde it is to pull thē out. This pride hath ere thys made some lerned men to deuise new fantasies in our faith, because thei would be singular among ỳ peple, as did Arrius, Faustus, Pelagius, and dyuers other olde heretikes. Whose false opinions haue been long time passed, openly condemned by many holy synodes and generall counsayles, & now god be thanked, not onely G their opiniōs quēched, but also al their bokes cleane gone, and vanished quyte away, ere euer any lawe was made for such bokes burning. So that it well appeareth to haue been the onely worke of God that hath destroyed those workes, whiche wrought in their tymes muche harme in hys church. This affeccion of pride hath not onely made some learned men to bryng furth newe fantasies, but maketh also many menne of much lesse than meane lernyng so fore to longe to H seme farre better learned than they be, that to make the peple haue them in autoritie, they deuise newe sectes and scysmes to the pleasure of new fangle folke sparing no payne for the whyle to sette furth their sect withal, rewarding their labour with onely delite of beholdynge what pleasure the people haue in their preaching. And albeit that thys frātike pleasure with which the deuill inwardly fedeth them, be the only thing that satisfied and contenteth some, yet many are there of those that euil teacheth and appeare holye, whiche are both secretly more lose & voluptuous than they seme. And some also which warely kepe them

Pride, the mother of all heresies.

Heretikes the deuilles martyrs.

selfe

A selfe for the while, intende toward more liberall lewdenesse at lengthe. Will ye see ensaumple therof? Loke on Tyndall that translated the newe testament which was in dede as ye sayde in the beginnyng) before hys goyng over, taken for a man of sober and honest liuing, & lived and preached holilye, sauing that yet sometime it sauoured so shrewdly, ý he was once or twyse examined therof. But yet because he glosed then his wordes with a better sense, & sayde & sware that he meynt none harme, folke were glad to take al to the best. But yet ye see that though he dissemble himselfe to bee a Lutherane, or to beare any fauour to his secte whyle he was here: yet as sone as he gate him hēce, he gate him to Lu-
B ther straygbt. And where as in the trāslacion of the newe testament couered & dissimuled himself as much as he could, yet when he perceyued hys cloked heresies espyed & destroyed, then shewed he shortlye himselfe in hys owne likenes, sendyng furth fyrste hys wicked boke of *Mammona*, and after hys malicyous boke of obedience. In whiche bookes he sheweth himselfe so pusked vp with the poyson of pride, malice, and enuie, that it is more then meruayl that ý skinne cā holde together. For he hath not onelye sowked out the most poysō that he could
C find thorowe all Luthers bokes, or take of him by mouth, and al that hath spette out in these bokes, but hath also in many thinges farre passed his maister, rūning furth so madde for malice, that he fareth as though he heard not his owne voyce. He barketh against the sacramētes much more than Luther. For where
Confession. as Luther left yet some confession, & rekened his secret confession necessarye & profitable, though he set a lewd libertie therin, Tindall taketh it awaye quite, & rayleth thereon, & sayth it was begonne by the deuil. Which thing had vndoubtedly neuer been obteined among ý peo-
D ple, that folke should shewe thēself their secret sinnes to another man, if god had not broughte it vp hymselfe. Nor neuer could it haue continued so many hūdred yeres without great harme growen by disclosing of many mannes offences, if the holye spirite of God had not assisted his holy sacramēt as ý kynges hyghnes moste prudentlye wryteth. Luther also sometyme affirmeth purgatorye, sometime doubteth, and sometyme denyeth. But Tyndall putteth no doubte at all, but denyeth it as vtterlye, as foolishely, without ground, cause, or colour layde
E wherfore. Concerning the holye masse, Luther, as madde as he is, was neuer yet as madde as Tindall is, which like himself so rayleth therupon in his frantike boke of obedience, that any good christen man would abhorre to rede it. And yet writig as he doth, he is not ashamed to say that the church wil not beliene holy saint Hierome, saynt Austine, & such other, as though these holye doctoures were on hys side. Among all, whome he shal scāt reade one leafe wherin he shall not finde one or other of his abhominable heresies reproued. Luther hymselfe was neuer so shameles to say, that these
F holye fathers helde on hys syde. But because they wer agaynst him, he reiected the authoritie of the all. But what conscience hath this Tindall that thus can write to blinde vnlearned people with, whan himselfe well knoweth that they doe all with one voyce proue that shrift and confession is of necessitie requisite to our saluacion, & that they laye for thē the holy scripture plēteously for the further prowfe of this part, whiche Tindall wold wickedly with onely railing & iesing against al theyr holesome doctrine driue away clene & he coulde. He know-
G eth also himselfe, that all they with one voyce teache and proue by scripture to, that there is ý fyre of purgatory, whiche I meruayle why Tindall feareth so litle, but if he bee at a playne poynte with himselfe to goe straygbte to hell. They teache also all with one voyce the great profit of the masse, and honour ý ought to be done therto, which Tindal techeth to dishonour. They teache all the worshipping of ymages and relikes, & praying to sayntes, goyng on pylgrimages, and credence to be geuen to miracles: of all which Tindall teacheth the contrary. Al they teache also chastitie, & preche
H high preeminēce of virginitie and wiedowhead aboue weddyng, & euer haue had in abhominacion the breche of any vowe of chastitie, whereas Tindall agaynst them all teaching the contrary, is therin so shamelesse, & so litle respecte hath of his own conscience, that seming all them to write against him, and himselfe against them all, and that euerye man ý learned is, must nedes perceyue his shameles boldnes therin, letteth not yet both to raile against christes church for saying as these old holy sayntes said before, and also to saye that the churche will not heare them, whereas hymselfe

Confession of necessitie requisite to our saluacion.

A seeth that the church and they say al one thing, and aswel they as the church abhorre and condemne his deadly damnable heresies. Now wene I that we nede litle to doubte howe he liueth, that thus wryteth. He liueth, of likelihod, as euill as he teacheth, and worse he cānot. But as I began to say this Tyndal in the beginning bare furth a fayre face, and semed vnto the peple peraduenture an honest mā, as some other happely do nowe whom ye speake of, which when they see their time, shal, if they may be suffered, cast of their visours of ypocrisie, & shew themself at length in their own likenes
B as he doth now. I pray you loke on Luther himselfe, if he shoulde in the begynning haue said al that he hath said since: who could haue suffred him? If he shold in the beginning haue maried a nunne, would not the people haue burned him? And yet nowe by litle and litle, he hath brought them to be contente therewith. And let vs not thinke the contrary, but that of those heretykes that here seme so good, if there be any such, we see not yet their stomakes, but shal if they be vpholden a while see them folow their author in lewde liuing, doctor Luther with his lemman, and shal by the deuilles helpe, enduce good and simple soules so farre
C into wrong wayes, ý they shall at lēgth well like & commend the thinges which nowe their vncorrupted conscience abhorreth. And therfore let al good christē people knocke and breake as holy scripture counsaileth ý yong childrēs heades of Babylon against the stone, that is to say: let good christen folke suspecte, abhorre, and pursue in the beginnyng, all such euill doctrine, as is contrary to the fayth and teaching of christes catholike church, which God and his holy spirite both by wryting and without wryting,
D hath taught his church, and which hath in his church continued from Christes dayes hetherto, as it well appeareth by the good and godly bokes of al our forefathers, holy doctors of christes churche militant here in earth, and nowe glorious sayntes in his church tryumphant in heauen. From whose firme fayth ioyned with good workes which as. ij. winges caried them vp to heauen, there shal but we be more then madde, no fond heretike lede vs, seme he neuer so saintish with any new construccion of Christes holy gospell or other parte of holy scripture, which no wise man will doute but that those holy cunning men, illumined with the grace of god, muche better vnderstode, than all the rable of these lewd heretikes. Of al which that euer sprang in Christes church, the very worst, & the most beastlye, bee these Lutheranes, as their opinions & their lewde liuyng sheweth. And let vs neuer dout, but al that be of that sede if any seme good as verye fewe do, yet will they in conclusion decline to the like lewde liuinge, as their maister & their felowes do, if thei might once (as by gods grace they neuer shall) frame the people to their owne frantike fantasie. Whiche dissolute liuinge they be drieuē to dissemble, because their audience is not yet brought to the point to
F beare, whiche they surely trust to bryng about, and to frame this realme after ý fashion of Swycherlande or Saxony, & some other partes of Germanye, where their sect hath already fordone the faith pulled down the churches, polluted the temples, put out and spoyled al good religious folke, ioyned freres and nūnes together in lechery, despited al sayntes, blasphemed our blessed lady, cast down Christes crosse, throwne out the blessed sacrament, refused all good lawes, abhorred all good gouernance, rebelled a-
G gaynst all rulers, fall to fighte amonge themselfe, and so many thousand slayn, that the lande lyeth in manye places in maner deserte and desolate, and finallye that most abominable is of all, of all their owne vngracious dedes lay the fault in god, taking away the libertie of mans will, ascribing al our dedes to destenie, with al reward or punishement, pursuing vpon all our dooinges, whereby they take away all diligence & good endeuour to vertue, all withstanding & striuing against vyce, all care of
H heauē, all feare of hell, al cause of prayer, all desire of deuocion, all erhortacio to good, all dehortacion from euill, all prayse of well doing, al rebuke of sinne, al the lawes of the world, al reasō amōg men, set al wretchednes a broche, no mā at libertie, & yet euery man doe what he will, calling it not hys will but hys destenie, laying their sinne to goddes ordenance, & their punishment to Gods crueltie, & finally turning the nature of mā into worse thē a beast, and the goodnes of god into worse then ý deuill. And all this good fruite wouldē a fewe mischieuous persons, some for desyre of a large libertie to an vnbridled lewdnes, & some of an hygh deuelishe pryde cloked vnder preterte of good zeale & symplenes, vn-

The Lutheranes are the worst heretikes that euer sprang in christe.

doutedly

A doutedlye bring into thys realme, if the prince and prelates, and the good faithful peple did not in the beginnyng mete with their malice.

The. 18. Chapter.

¶ The author sheweth, that in the cōdemnacion of heretikes, the cleargie might lawfully do much more sharply than they doe, & that in dede ý cleargie doth now no more agaynst heretikes, then the apostle counselleth, and the old holy doctours did.

Or as for the cleargie whom they labour to bring in hatered vnder the false occasiō of crueltie, doe no more therein than saint Austin, saint Hie-
B rome, and other holy fathers haue been wont to doe before, nor no further than ý apostle aduiseth hiself. For thei doe no more but whan one heretike after warning wil not amend but wareth worse, eschew him thā & auoyd him out of christes flocke, which is ý very thing ý saint Poule counsayleth, where he writeth to Titus. *Hereticum hominē post primam & secundam correptionem deuita.* And this is muche lesse ý the clergie doth to heretikes, than saint Peter did vnto Ananias & Saphyra, for a farre smaller mater, that is to wit, for
C their vntrue saying and keping a lyde a porcion of their own money, whan they made sēblance as though they brought to the apostles altogether. For though thei wer not killed by his own hand, yet appeareth it wel ý god killed them both twayne by sainct Peter hys meanes, as gouernour of his church, to the fearfull exaumple of al such as would after that breake their promise & vowe to god willigly made of thēself for their own good.
D Which thing Luther & Tindall would haue al men do now. Did not. S. Poule write vnto ý Corinthies, ý they shoulde deliuer to the deuil him that had defoyled his fathers wyfe, to the punishment of his body that the spirite myght be saued in the day of iudgement? What say we of Hymyneus & Alexander, of whom he writeth vnto the Corinthies also. *Hymeneum & Alexandrum tradidi Sathane, vt discant nō blasphemare.* I haue quod he, betaken Hymyneus and Alexander to the deuill to teache them to leaue their blasphemye. In which wordes we may well learne, that sant Poule as apostle and spiritual gouernour in that countrey, finding thē twain fallen from the faith of christ into the blasphemy of that they wer boū

Titus. 3.

Actes. 5.

1. Corin. 5.

1. Timo. 1.

den to worship, did cause the deuil to tor E
mēt & punish their bodies, whiche euery man may wel wit was no small payn, & peraduenture not withoute death also. For we finde nothing of their amendement. And this bodily punishment dyd saynt Poule as it appeareth vpon heretykes, so ý if the cleargie syd vnto much more blasphemous heretykes, than I wene thei twain wer, much more sorow thā saynt Poule did to thē, they shoulde neyther doe it withoute good cause, nor without great authoritie, & euident exaumple of Christes blessed apostles. And surely whā our sauiour himselfe calleth such heretikes, wolues cloked in shepes skinnes, & would that his shepheardes ý F
gouernours of his flocke should in such wyse auoide them as very shepeheardes would auoyde very wolues: there is little doute, but as an honorable prelate of thys realme in his moste erudite booke, answereth vnto Luther, the prelates of Christes church rather ought tēporally to destroy those rauenous wolues, than suffer them to wyrry & deuoure euerlastingly ý flocke that Christ hath cōmitted vnto their cure, & the flocke that hym selfe dyed for to saue it from the wolues mouth. But now though it well appere G
(as me thynketh it doeth) that ý cleargie myght in thys case right sore procure agaynst heretikes, yet doe they in dede no further than the olde holy fathers did in their time, and the blessed apostle counsayleth thē to doe. But all ý sore punishment of heretykes wherwith such folke as fauour thē would fayne diffame the clergie, is & hath been for the great outrages & temporal harmes that suche heretykes haue been alway wont to doe, & sedicious commocions that they be wōt to make, beside the farre passyng spiritu all hurtes that they doe to mens soules, deuysed & executed agaynste them of necessitie by good christen princes, & polityke rulers of the temporaltie, for as muche as their wisedomes wel perceyued that the peple should not fayle to fal H
into many sore & intollerable troubles, if such sedicious sectes of heretikes wer not by grieuous punishmēt repressed in the begynning, and the sparcle wel quēched ere it wer suffred to growe to ouer great a fyre. For soth q̄ your frēd, it appeareth well that the cleargie is not in this matter to be blamed as many men rekē. For it semeth that the sore punishment of heretikes, is deuysed not by the cleargie, but by temporall prynces and

Mat. 7.

My lorde of Rochester.

The causes of the punishment of heretikes.

A good ley peple & not without gret cause. Well q I, and to thintent ý ye shal perceiue it muche the better, & ouer that beliene your own eien & not my wordes in many thinges that ye haue heard of my mouth, we wil not parte this night, but I shal deliuer into your hãdes here moe bokes than ye wil reade ouer till to morowe. But for that ye shall neither nede to reade all, nor lese time in seking for ý ye should see, I haue laid you the places ready with rylhes betwene the leaues, & notes marked in the margentes where the matter is touched. So caused I to be borne into his chãber a boke of decrees, B & certain workes of saint Cypriane. S. Austine, and some other holy doctours, & therwithall a worke or twayn of Luther, and as manye of Tyndall. And in this wyse went we to supper, and on the morow forbare I to speake with hym til nere diner time. At whiche our meting, he shewed me that in the decrees where the rylhes lay, namely *in causa. xxii. questione quinta*, & diuers other of the questions cõsequently folowing, he had seen at ful ý the cleargie doth at this day no further for the punishment of heretikes, thã did the olde fathers and holy doctours, and sayntes in time passed, as by their own wordes there alledged doth opẽ & playn C appeare. And that aswel the cleargie in the persecucion of heretikes lawfullye may do, as the tẽporal princes in warre agaynst infideles be depely bounden to doe, much more than thei now doe, or of long time haue done, or yet as it semeth goe about to doe. And ouer this he sayde that he had seen of Luthers owne wordes worse than he had euer herd rehearsed, and in Tyndall worse yet in manye thinges than he saw in Luther himself. And in Tyndalles boke of obedience he sayd ý he had founden what thing Tindal saith against myracles and agaynst D the praying to saintes. Mary q I & these two matters made vs two muche busines before your goyng to the vniuersitie. I wold it had happed you and me to haue read ouer that boke of hys before. Howbeit in good fayth if ye wil, we shal yet peruse ouer his reasõs in those pointes, and consider what weight is in thẽ. Nay by my trouth quod your frend, we shall nede nowe to lose no tyme therein. For as for myracles, he sayeth nothyng in effect but that which I layde agaynst them before, that the myracles were the woorkes of the deuill. Sauing ý where I said that it might peradueture be said so, he sayth that in dede it is so, & preueth C it yet lesse thẽ I did. And therfore as for the word of his without better prose, is of litle weyght. For sorth q I Tindalles word alone ascribing al the miracles to the deuil, ought not to wey much amõg christen mẽ, agaynst the wryting of holy saynt Austine, sayne Hieronme, saynt Ambrose, saint Chrisostome, saint Gregory, and many an other holy doctour, wryting many a great myracle done at F holy pilgrimages & saints relikes, done in open presence of many substaunciall folke, & dyuers done in their own sight. Al which miracles al those blessed saintes do ascribe unto the worke of god, & to the honour of those holy sayntes ý were woorshypped at those pilgrimages. Against al whom when Tindal ascribeth thẽ al to the deuill, he playnlye sheweth himself as faythful as he woulde seme, very nere sibbe to the infidelitie of those Jewes ý ascribed Christes miracles to the deuill, saying that he did cast out deuilles by ý power of Belsabub prince of Luke. ii. deuilles. Surely q your frend & as for ý G he reaseneth against praying to saintes is very bare. It must nedes q I be bare, except he wel auoyd the miracles whereto whẽ he hath nothing to say, but to ascribe gods woorkes to the deuill: he sheweth himself drienẽ to a narow strayte. For he & his felowes as touching myracles, neither haue God willing, nor the deuill able to shewe any for the prose of their part, nor I trust in god neuer they shall. In fayth q your frend as for reasoning the matter of praying to saintes he is not worth the reding now. For al the substãce in effect that ye proue it by, is by hym cleane untouched. That is q H I no meruayle, for he hath not heard it. In fayth quod your frend, & of his owne making, he layeth argumentes for it, suche as he lisse, whiche he layeth furth faintly, & than doth aunswer thẽ so slenderly, & al his hole matter in those poyntes and other so plainly confuted by the olde holy fathers, that if I hadde seen so muche before, it had been likely to haue shorted much part of our long communicacion. For by my trouth q he, whan I consider both the partes well, & reade Luthers wordes and Tyndals in some places where ye laid me the rylhes, I cã not but wonder that either any Almain could like the one, or any english man ý other. I can not much meruayle quod I though manye like them well. For syth ther is no cuntrey wherin there lacketh

plenty

A plentie of such as be naught. What wōder is it ý vicious folke fall to the fauor of their lyke: And then as for such, whā theyr heartes are once fired vpon theyr blynde affeccions, a man maye with as much fruite preache to a post, as reason with them to the contrary. For they nothyng ponder what is reasonably spokē to them, but wherto their fond affeccion inclineth, that thyng they leane to, and that they beleue, or at the least wise that way they walke and say they beleue it. For in good fayth, that they so believe in dede, theyr matters be so mad that I believe it not. And yet make they sēblaūce as though they believed that no mā wer B able to cōfute Luther or Tindal, where me thynketh for these matters of theyr heresies ý they so set furth (if the audiēce were indifferent) there were not in thys world a man more mete to matche them both twain in dispicions, then wer mad Colis alone, if he wer not of ý same sect. For he lasheth out scripture in bedelem as fast as they bothe in Almayn. And in good fayth they both erpowne it as madly as he. And so help me god, as me thinketh ý man is as mad as any of al thyee: whiche when he seeth the right fayth of Christ cōtinued in his catholike church so many hundred yeres, ¶ on that syde so C manye glorious martyrs, so many blessed confessours, so many godly virgins, And in all that tyme vertue had in honour, fasting, prayer, and almes had in pryce, god ¶ his sayntes worshipped, his sacramentes had in reuerence, christen soules tenderly prayed for, holye vowes kept and obserued, vyrginitie preached and praised, pilgrimages deuoutly visited, euery kynd of good workes cōmended. And seeth nowe sodaynly start vp a newe sede settyng furth cleane the contrarye, destroying Christes holy sacramentes, pulling down Christes crosse, blaspheming his blessed saintes, destroy D ing all deuocion, forbidding mē to pray for their fathers soules, contemning fastyng dayes, setting at naught the holye dayes, pulling down the churches, raylling against the masse, vilanously demening the blessed sacrament of the auter, the sacred bodye of our sauiour Christ. And seeth the one syde and the continuance therof so clerely proued by many a thousand myracle, so clerely testified by the vertuous and erudite bokes of al the olde holy doctours frō the apostles time to our dayes, and seeth on ý other syde a fond frere ¶ his felowes without wit or grace beare vs in hand ý al those holy fa E thers neuer vnderstode ý scripture, but onelye these beastes ý teache vs vyce as fast as euer ý other taughte vs vertue, ¶ that seeth on the one syde, saynt Cypryane, saynt Hierome, saint Ambrose, saint Austine, saint Basile, saint Chrisostōe, saynt Gregory, ¶ al the vertuous ¶ cunning doctours by rowe, frō the death of Christ ¶ the time of his apostles til now ¶ seeth amōg al these neither priest, mōk nor frere, that euer did after his professiō made, marry ¶ take a wife, or any suffred to breke their vowed chastitie in all F their time, ¶ seeth on ý other side none other doctours of this newe sede but frere Luther ¶ his wyfe, priesse Pomerane ¶ his wife, frere Huiskin ¶ his wife, priest Carlastadius and his wyfe, Dā Otho monke ¶ his wyfe, frere Lambert ¶ hys wife, frantike Colins, ¶ more frantike Tindall ý saith al priestes, monkes and freres, must nedes haue wyues: that mā wer I say as frantike as they both, that would rather send his soule with such a sort as these be, than with all those holy G saintes ý euer synce christes daies haue testified by their holy hād wryting, that they dyed in ý same fayth ý the churche believeth yet. And all thys .xv. C. yere hath done, ¶ shall doe to ý worldes ende, goe there neuer so many heretikes oute therof, ¶ leaue it neuer so little, yet shall it remayn ¶ be well knowen alway by ý profession of ý fayth, ¶ those holy sacramentes ý haue continued therin from ý beginning therof, ¶ the holy doctoures therof euer had in honour and reuerēce ¶ theyr acceptacion with god incessantlye testifyed by miracles, whiche neuer one sorte of so manye sectes of heretikes could yet allege for any doctor of theirs nor neuer shal I thinke, til the great in- H dignacion of god prouoked by our sinne ¶ wretchednes, shal suffer the head of al heretikes Antechrist (of whō these folke bee the fore walkers) to come into thys wretched world, ¶ therin to worke such wonders, ý the sight therof shalbe hable to put right wyse men and good men in great doute of ý trouth, seeing false Antechrist preuing his preaching by myracles, wheras now nether good man nor wyse mā can haue any colour of excuse, if men wer so mad to beleue these madde maisters of whom they see the principal archeheretikes ¶ first authors of ý secte, neither shew miracle for ý prose of their doctrine, ¶ yet theyr teaching ¶ theyr liuing al set vpō sinne ¶ beastly concupis-

As good it is to preache to a post, as to an heretike.

The deuoute dedes of heretikes.

Antechrist, the head of all heretikes.

A cence, & so cleane contrary to ye doctrine of al ye old holy doctours, for whom god hath & doth shew so manye myracles in hys churche, which as I sayde shall not fayle to be conserued and his right faith therin to be preserued, in despyte of all ye heretikes ye euer shall spring, Antechrist and all, & in sight of the deuill the great maister of the al, who Christ shal at the last restrayn & destroy his ydolle Antechrist with the spirit of his holy mouth, repayring & delating his church again, & gathering therinto aswel the remenãt of the Jewes, as all other sectes abrode about the world, shall make all folk one B flocke vnder hymself the shepehearde, & shal deliuer a glorious kingdome to his father of all the saued peple frõ our former father Adam, to the last daye, from henceforth to raygn in heauen in loye & C blisse incogitable one euerlastyng daye with his father himselfe & the holy goost, which send these sedicious sectes ye grace to cease, & the fauourers of these factiõs to amend, & vs the grace, that stoppyng our eares from the false inchantmẽtes of al these heretikes, we may by the veri faythe of Christes catholike churche, so walke with charitie in the way of good workes in this wretched world, that we may be partners of the heauenly blisse, F whiche the blud of Goddes owne sonne hath boughte vs vnto. And thys prayer quod I seruing vs for grace, let vs now syt downe to diner, whiche we dyd. And after diner departed he home towards you, and I to the courte.

The supplicacion of soules

made, Anno. 1529. by syr Thomas More knight, coũsaylour to our C souerayne Lorde the kynge, and chauncelour of hys duchye of Lancaster.

C

Agaynst the supplicacion of beggars.

To all good christen people.

D MOste pieteous wise continually calleth & cryeth vpon your deuoute charitie & most tẽder pitie, for help, coũforte, & relieke, your late acquaintance, kinred, spouses, cõpanions, play felowes, & frendes, The selye soules in purgatorie call vnto vs for help & now your hũble & vnacquaynted, and half forgotten supplyantes, pore prisoners of god, ye sely soules in purgatory, here abiding & endurynge the grieuous paynes & hote clẽsing fyre, that freteth & burneth oute ye rustie & filthie spottes of our sinne, til the mercy of almighty god ye rather by your good & charitable meanes, vouchsafe to deliuer vs hence. Frõ whence, if ye meruayle why we more now molest & trouble you with our writing then euer we were wont before, it may lyke you to wit and vnderstande, ye hetherto, though we haue been with many folke much forgotten of negligence, yet hath alway good folke remẽbred vs and we haue been recommended vnto God, and eased, holpen, and relieued, both by the priuate prayers of good vertuous people, and specially by the dayly masses, and other ghostlye suffrages of priestes, religious, and folke of holye churche. But now sith that of late there Howe the soules in purgatorie be relieued, E are sprongen vp certayne sedicious persones, which not onely trauayle and labour to destroye them by whome we be much holpen, but also to sowe and sette furth such a pestilẽt opiniõ agaynst our selfe, as once receiued and believed among the people, must nedes take from vs the relieke and coũforte ye euer should come to vs by ye charitable almes, prayer, & good workes of the worlde: ye may take it for no wonder, thoughe we selye soules that haue long lyen and cryed so farre from you, that we seldome brake your slepe, doe nowe in thys our great feare of oure vtter losse for euer, of your louinge remembraunce and relieke, not yet importunatelye bereue you of your rest