

The apology

off Syr Thomas More knight, made
by hym. Anno. 1533. after that he
had geuen ouer thoffice of lord
chauncellour of Englande.

SYR THOMAS MORE
knight, to the chryſten readers.

The fyrſt Chapter.

W



Wel Stand I not
(I thank god) god
reader, in myne
own conceite, and
therby so much in
myne owne light,
but that I can ſu-
what with equall
iudgement and an

euene eye, beholde and conſyder bothe
my ſelfe and myne owne. For I ble not
to ſolowe the condicion of Slopes ape,
that thought her own babes ſo beaute-
ous, and ſo farre paſſyng in all goodlye
feature and fauour, nor the crowe ſac-
counted her own byrdes the fayreſt of
all ſowles that flew. But like as ſome
(I ſee well) ther are, that can ſometohat
leſſe then I, that yet for all that put out
theyr woꝝkes in wytyng: ſo am I not
ſo blynd vpon the tother ſyde, but that I
very well perceiue, verpe many ſo farre
in witte and erudicyon aboue me, that
in ſuch matter as I haue any thing wy-
ten, if other men, as many woulde haue
take it in hand as could haue done it bet-
ter, it might much better haue becomen
me to let the matter alone, then by wy-
tyng to preſume anye thyng to meddle
therwith.

And therfore god reader, ſith I ſo wel
know ſo many mē ſo farre excell & paſſe
me, in all ſuche thynges es are required
in hym that might aduenture to put his
woꝝkes abroad, to ſtande and abyde the
iudgement of all other men: I was ne-
uer ſo farre ouerſene, as eyther to loke
or hope that ſuch fautes as in my wy-
tyng ſhoulde by mine ouerſpyght eſcape
me, could by the eyen of all other menne
paſſe furth vnſpyed, but ſhortly ſhoulde
be both by god & wel learned perceiued,
and among ſo manye badde brethren as
I wiſſ well woulde be woꝝth with them,
ſhould be both ſought out and ſifted to ſ
bittermoſt ſtake of byꝛanne, and largelye

therupon controlled and reponed.

But yet agaynſt all thys feare, this one
thyng recomforſed me, that ſith I was
of one popnt verpe faſt & ſure, that ſuche
thynges as I wypte are conſonant vnto
the comon catholike ſayth and determi-
nations of Chꝛyſtes catholike churche,
and are cleare conſutations of falſe bla-
phemous heresies by Tyndall and War-
nes putte furth vnto the contrary, anye
great fault and intollerable ſhould they
none ſynd, of ſuch maner ſort and kynd
as the readers ſhould in theyr ſoules per-
riſhe and be deſtroyed by, of which pop-
ſoned fautes myne aduerſaries boꝝkes I
be full.

Now then as for other fautes of leſſe
weyght and tollerable, I nothyng doſt-
ted nor do, but that euerye god chꝛyſten
reader will be ſo reaſonable and indiſſe-
rent, as to pardon in me the thyng that
happeth in all other men, and ſo no ſuch
man wil ouer me be ſo ſoze an auditour,
& ouer my boꝝkes ſuch a ſoze controller,
as to charge me with any great loſſe, by
gathering together of many ſuch thyng-
es as are with very few men aught re-
garded, and to loke for ſuche exacte cyꝛ-
cumſpection and ſure ſighte to be by me

bleſed in my wytyng, as excepte the Pro-
phetes of God, and Chꝛiſt and his apo-
ſtles, hath neuer (I wote) be founden in

any mannes elles befoꝝe, that is to wit,
to be perſite in euery popnt cleane from
al maner of fautes, but hath alway ben
holden for a thing excuſable, though the

reader in a long woꝝke perceiue that I
wytyer haue as Doꝝace ſayth of Homer,

hers and there ſometime fallen in a litle
ſlumber, in whiche places, as the reader

ſeeth that the wytyer ſlepte, ſo bleth he of
courteſy if he cannot ſlepe, yet for cum-
pany at the leaſt wyſe to nappe & winke

with him, and leaue his dreame vncher-
ked. Whiche kynd of courteſy, if I ſhold

ſhew how often I haue bleſed with Tynd-
all and Barnes bothe, winking at their

tollerable fautes, and ſuch as I rather
thought negligentye eſcaped them of o-
uerſight or ſoty, then diligently deuyſed

of wylly ſailthead or malice: if I woulde
adde all thoſe fautes to theyr other, thā

ſhould I double in length al my boꝝkes,
in whiche the brethren ſynd for the ſpeci-
all faulte, that they be too long alreadye.

But albeit that Iohan I wote I was
(as I haue tolde you) bolded and encour-
raged by the comon cuſtome of al indiſ-
ferent readers, whiche woulde I wiſſ wel

pardon and hold excuſed ſuch tollerable
over.

The which
is a ſure and
act.

No man is
perfect in all
poyntes.

De arte poetica.

Ouersight in my wytyng, as men maye fynde some in any mannes almosse that euer wrote befoze: yet am I nowe much moze gladd and bolde, whan I see that those folke whiche would saynest fynde my faultes, cannot yet happen on them, but after long seking and searchoyng for them, for all their busynesse taken thereabout, are sayn to put for faultes in my wytyng, suche thynges as well considered shall appears their owne faultes for the fynding.

For they fynd first for a great faulte, that my wytyng is ouerlong, and therfore too tedious to reade. For whiche cause they saye, they wyl neuer once touchsafe to loke theron.

But than say they farther, that suche places of them as are looked on by those that are learned and can skyll, bee some percepued for noughte, and my reasons of little force. For they boast much that they heare sometime diuers partes of my bookes aunswered and confuted fully in sondrye of some mens sermons, though my name be forborne, & than they wishe me there they say, for that it woulde doe their heartes good to see my chekes redden for shame.

And ouer thys they find a great fault that I handle Tyndall and Barnes their two newe ghospellers, with no sayzer woordes nor in no moze courtes maner.

And ouer this I witte they say in such wise, tha I shewe my selfe suspect in the matter & parciall towarde the cleargye.

And tha they say that my woordes wer woorthy much moze credence, if I hadde wrytten moze indifferently, and had declared and made open to the people the faultes of the cleargie.

And in this poynt they lay for a sample the godly and godlye, milde & gentle fashon vsed by him, whosoever he was, that now lately wrote the booke of the diuision betwene the tempozaltie and the spiritaaltie, which charitable mild maner they say that if I had vsed, my woordes would haue been read both of many moe, and with much better will.

And yet they saye besides all this, that I do but pyke out pices at my pleasure, such as I may most easely seme to soyle, and leaue out what me list, and such as would plainly proue the matter against me. And so they say that I vse but crafte and fraude agaynst Tyndall. For as for frere Barnes, I perceue by sundry wayes that the bzetherhod speake much lesse of him, eyther for þ they fynde him in theyr

own mindes wel and fully aunswered, or elles that they take hym in respecte of Tyndall, but for a man of a second sort. And that may peraduenture be, because he leauerth out somewhat that Tyndalle taketh in, that is to witte, the making of mockes and moles agaynst the masse, and the blessed sacramēt of the aultare.

But finally they say farther yet, that I haue not fulfilled my promise. For I promised they saye, in my peface of my confutaciō, þ I would proue the church, and that they say I haue not done.

The .ij. Chapter.



Nowe will I begynne with þ poynte that I mosse esteeme. For of al the remenant make I little counte. But surelye loth woulde I be to myse rehearse anye mannes reason against whom I wryte, or to rehearse hym slenderlys. And in that poynt vndoutedlye they see sal well themselfe, that they saye not trewe. For ther is no reaso that I rehearse of Tyndales, or of frere Barnes eyther, but that I vse the contrary maner therein þ Tyndall vseth with myne. For he rehearseth mine in every place sayntly and falsely tw, and leauerth out the pith & the strenght and the prose that mosse maketh for the purpose. And he fareth therein, as if ther were one that hauing daye of chalenge appoynted, in whiche he shoulde wrestle with hys aduersarye, woulde fynd the meane by craft to geatte his aduersarye befoze the day into his own handes, and there kepe him and dyet him with suche a thynne dyet, that at the day he bringeth hym for the feeble, saynt, and famished, and almost honger frozen, and so lene that he can scaente stande on hys legges, and then is it ethe ye wote well, to geue the selve soule a falle. And yet when Tyndalle hath done all thys, he taketh the falle hymselfe.

But euery man maye well see, that I neuer vse that wape with Tyndalle, nor with anye of these folke, but I rehearse theyr reason to the best þ they can make it themselfe, and I rather enforce it and strenght it of mine owne, then take any part of theirs there from.

And thys vse I, not onely in such places as I doe not rehearse all theyr owne woordes (for that is not requisite in euery place) but I vse it also in suche places belyde, as of all theyr owne woordes I leaue not one syllable oute. For suche darkenelle

A darkenesse bfe they purposely, and **T**indall in especiall, that except I toke some payn to let out theyr argumentes plainely, many that reade them shoulde little witte what they meane.

And to thentent euerye man may see that these god bzyethzen little care howe lowde they lye: lette any man loke who so will, and he shall fynde, that of frere **B**arns I haue lefte out little, excepte a lease a2 two concernynge the generalle counsailes, and I shewe the cause why, and as for **T**indall of diuers whole chapters of his, I haue not wittinglye left out one lyne, and very few I am sure of ouersighte eyther, but haue putte in all his **C**hapters whole, wherupon any weyght of hys matter hangeth, excepte only in the defence of such english wordes as he hath chaunged in hys translation of the new testament. And yet therein they can neuer sape, but that I haue putte in all the strength and pith of hys p^{ro}se.

But all the remenaunt of hys Chapters, as farre as I haue gone, haue I putte in whole, leauing out nought but sayling and preaching withoute p^{ro}se, and that but in one place or twayn, and where I so doe, I geue the reader warninge.

Nowe that his Chapters bee whole rehearsed in my booke, I suppose it may metely well appeare by the matter consequently pursuyng, if the reader leaue my wordes out betwene, and reade but **T**indales alone. And if any one word or some fewe left oute of chaunce put that p^{ro}se in doubte, yet haue the bzyethzen among them I warrant you of **T**indals bookes ynough, by which they may trye this true.

And well ye wotte, if this wer vntrue that I say, some of them could assigne at the least wyse some one suche place for a saumple. But that thing neither dooe they, nor neuer can while they liue.

The .ij. Chapter.

Nowe whereas these god blessed bzyethzen say, that my writing is so long and so tedious that they wil not once bouchsafe to loke thereon, they shewe themself that my wryting is not so long as their wittes bee thozte, and the eyes of theyr soules beyn p^{ro}se blinde, whyle they can not see so farre, as to perceyue that in fynding so manye faultes in that booke,

whiche they confesse themselfe they neither reade, nor can finde in their hearte to loke vpon, they shewe themselfe rather of lyghtnesse readye to geue halfye credence to other folke, or of malice to make many lyes themselfe.

It is lyttle meruayl that it seme long and tedious vnto them to reade it ouer within, whome it irketh to doe so much as loke it ouer without, and euery way semeth long to him that is werye ere he begynne.

But I finde some menne agayne, to whome the reaydng is so farre fro tedious, that they haue readde the whole booke ouer thise, and some that make tables therof for theyr own remembrance and that suche menne as haue as much wit and learning both, as the best of all thys blessed bzyethzhodde that euer I hearde of.

Howbeit, gladdde woulde I haue been if it might haue been much moze thozte, for than shoulde my labour haue been so much the lesse.

But they will, if they bee reasonable menne, consider in themselfe that it is a thozter thyng and sower done to wryte herelies than to aunswer them. For the most folishe heretyke in a towne, maye wryte moze false heresyes in one lease, than the wyfeliest man in the whole world can well and conuenientlye by reason & authozitie soyle and confute in fozt.

Nowe whan that **T**indall not onelye teacheth false heresyes, but furnysheth his erroures also with pretence of reason and scripture, and in stede of reason sometyme with blunt subtilties & rude riddles, to the making open and lyghte some to the reader, the darke wryting of hym that woulde not by his wyll be wel perceiued, hath putte me to moze labour and length in aunswerynge, than some manne woulde peraduenture haue been content to take.

And I sometime take the payne to rehearse some one thyng in dyuers sayings in moe places than one, because I woulde that the reader shoulde in euerye place where he fortuneth to falle in reading, haue at his hande without rempyting ouer elles where, or labour of fether seeking for it, as much as shall seme requisite for hys matter that he there hath in hand. And therein the labour of al that length is mine owne, for ease and thozting of the readers payn.

Now on the other side, as for **T**indal and **B**arns, I wotte nere well whether

A I may call them long or short. For sometime they be short in dede, because they would be darke, and haue their false folies passe and repasse all vnperceiued.

Tindales pendecous quence. Sometime they can vse suche a compendious kynde of eloquence, that they conuey and couche by together, with a wonderfull breuitie, fewe folies and fine lyes in lesse then as many lynes.

But yet for all thys, I see not in effect any men more long then they. For they preache sometyme a long processe to very litle purpose. And sith that of al their whole purpose, they proue in conclusion neuer a piece at all, wer they wrytyng neuer so short, yet wer their hole worke at last to long by all together.

But gretly can I not meruail, though these euangelicall brethren thynke my worke to long. For euery thing thinke they to long that aught is.

Heretikes thynke all thynges to long.

Our ladies psalter think they to long by all the Ave Maries, and some good piece of the Crede too.

Then the masse thinke they to long by the secretes, and the canon, and all the collectes wherein mentyon is made either of sayntes or soules.

CIn stede of a long portuous, a short primer shall serue them. And yet the primer they thinke to long by all our lady matins.

And the di. psalmes thinke they long ynough without the letany.

And as for Dirige or commendacion for their frendes soules, all that seruice they thinke to long by altogether.

But nowe good readers, I haue vnto these delicate dayntie folke that can awaye with no long readinge, prouided with mine owne payne and laboure, as muche ease as my poore witte coulde deuise.

Dyrste, whan they were before false in the catholique faythe, they neuer neded to haue read anye of these heretykes bookes, that haue broughte them into these newe fangled fantasies. But now sith they bee by their owne folye, fallen first into doubting of the trowth, and afterward into the leaning toward a false beliefe, they be verie negligent and vnreasonable, if they will not at the leaste wise for their owne suretie, searche and see somewhat, whereby they maye perceyue whether these newe teachers of theirs be suche as they take them for.

Nowe haue I then considered, that they woulde peraduenture wate werpe to reade ouer a long booke, and therefore

haue I taken the more payne byponne euery Chapter, to shewte that they shall not nedde to reade ouer anye Chapter but one, and that it shall not forre greatlye whiche one throughe oute all booke. For I dare be bold to say, and am ready to make it good with the best euangelyst of ail this euangelicall byether, god that wil set his penne to the contrary, that ther is not one Chapter of Tindales or Barnes either, that I haue touched thowtome mine whole worke, but I haue so cleare and so fullye confuted him, that whoso reade it indifferentlye, may well and clearly see that they handle their matter so falsely, and yet so foolishly therewith, that no man which regardeth either trouthe or witte, shoulde once vouchsafe to reade anye farther of them.

Nowe he that will therfore reade any one Chapter, either at aduenture, or els some chosen piece in whiche himself had went that his euangelicall father Tindall had said wonderfull well, or els frere Barnes either, when he shall in that one Chapter as I am sure he shall, fynd his holy prophete plaineip proued a fole, he may be sone eased of any farther laboure. For than hath he good cause to cast hym quyte of, and neuer meddle more with hym, & than shall he neuer nedde to reade more of my booke neither, and so shall he make it short ynough.

Howbeit if he list for all that to pardon his prophet in that one place, and thinks that he wrote that piece peraduenture whyle the spiryte was not bypon hym, and that he sayth much better in some other place, and so will reade on farther to finde it: than shall hymself make my worke long. For he shall I trust, reade it ouer, and yet shal he neuer come to it. And thus as for the tedious length of my wrytyng, I haue I trust without greates length geuen the good byether head a sufficient aunswere.

¶ The. iiii. Chapter.

But now wil the brethren peraduentue say, that I maye be bolde to saye very largelye of myne owne, because men may not be bolde in these matters to defende Tindales parte.

It were in dede somewhat better then it is, if they sayde true. But neither are suche thynges so diligently controlled, nor such folke so fearde of such heretical fauour,

A fauour, as they shoulde be if euery man did his part, noz they lack no wply dys-tes in such wise also to defende those thinges, as they may saue for themself some colour to say y they meant none harme.

And to proue y they be neyther so soze afearde in such thinges, noz lack such inuencions of vttring their for bodē ware, beside the bolde erronious talkyng that is nowe almofte in euery lewde ladies mouth, the brythē boast that they heare diuers partes of my booke well & plainly in sondry of their sermons cofsted, and than they cannot say ye see wel that they leaue me vnaunswere for feare.

Howbeit, though they be bolde vpon some partes eue now, some partes hapely ther are wherevpon they dare not be so bolde yet, but lytle and lytle will peradventure hereafter.

Howbeit some partes that they be already bolde vpon, be metely well for a begynnyng, wherof for ensample I shal remember you one or twayne.

Cyndalles false translacon of the newe testamente was (as ye wote well, and as hymselfe confesseth,) translated with suche chaunges as he hath made therein purposely, to the entent that by those wordes changed, the people shold be noleled in those opinions which hymselfe calleth trewe catholike saythe, and whiche thinges all trewe catholike people call very false pestilent heresies.

This translacon therefore being by the cleargie condemned, and at Doules crofse openly burned, and by the kyn- ges gracious proclamacion openly for- bode: I wote in a place of my dyalogue in the hundreth lease among other thinges, these wordes.

¶ The fautes be so many in Cyndalles translacon of the newe testamente, and so spread throug h whole booke, that lyke- wise as it wer as sone done to weaue a newe webbe of cloth, as to solwe by euery hole in a net, so wer it almost as litle labour & lesse, to translate the whole booke all new, as to make in his translacon so many chaunges as nedes must be ere it were made good, besides this that there would no wise mā I trowe take h bread which he well wist was of hys enemies hand once poysoned, though he saue his frend after scape it neuer so cleane. ¶

These wordes of mine wer rehearsed in a sermon, and answered in this wise, that though ther were bread y wer poy- soned in dede, yet wer poysoned breadde better then no bread at all.

How was this word taken by, & wal- ked about abrode among the brythren & sistern, so highly well liked among the, that some of them sayd y all mē- cions wer auoyded cleane with p one word. Howbeit in dede one of their owne wy- ues yet told her owne husband at home, when she heard him boast it, howe solily it was preached, better poysoned bread then no bread, by our lakens brother hus- band (y she,) but as properly as y was preached, yet woulde I rather abyde the perill of bryding waimes in my hely by eating of fleshe without breadde, then to eate with my meate the breadde that I wist well wer poysoned.

And of truth god reader, thys word of his was one of the most proude & pre- sumptuous, and therewith the most vn- wyle to, y euer I heard passe the mouth of anye manne, reputed and taken for wyle.

For when the thinge had ben exami- ned, considered, and condemned, by such as the iudgement and the ordering of y thinge did appertain vnto, that false poy- soned translacon was forbode h peo- ple, it was an heynous presumption of one man, vpon the trust of hys owne wit, to geue the people courage & bolde- nesse to resiste their pynce and disobeye their prelates, and geue them no better staffe to stand by, then suche a bald poy- soned reason, that poysoned bread is bet- ter then no bread.

For first I pray you how proueth he y poysoned bread wer better than no bread. I wold wene it wer as god to forbeare meate and starue for hunger, as to eate rattes bane and dye by poyson, but if the preacher proue me that it wer better for a man to kyll himself then dye.

But nowe falleth he in double folye, for first his proper wise word can haue no witte therein, but if he proue that the people must nedes peryshe for lacke of spirituall fode, excepte the scrpyture be translated into their own tongue.

How if he say and affirme that, then euery soke almofte may fele the man- nes folye. For the people may haue euery necessary trneth of scripture, and euery thing necessary for them to know co- cerninge the saluacion of their soules, trewly taught and preached vnto them: though the corps and bodye of the scrip- ture be not translated vnto the in theyr mother tongue. For els had it ben wro- ght with english people from the sayth syt- broughte into thys realme, vnto our owne

It is not now
necessary to let
uacion that
scripture be
in english.

Cyndalles
translacon
condemned
and burned.

A owne dayes, in all whiche tyme befoze, I am sure that euerye englyshe manne and womanne that coulde reade it, had not a booke by theyn of the scripture in englysh. And yet is ther I doute not of those folke many a god saued soule.

And secondely also, if the haupng of the scripture in englyshe, be a thyng so requisite of pzeuple necessitie, that the peoples soules shoulde nedes perpyly but if they haue it translated into their own tongue: then must there the mosse part perishe for all that, excepte the preacher make farther prouision belyde, that all the people shalbe hable to reade it when they haue it, of which people, farre moze then fowze partes of all the whole diuided into tenne, coulde nener reade englyshe yet, and many now too olde to be gyngne to gre to schole, and shall wyth Goddes grace though they nener reade woꝝde of scripture, come aswell to heauen, and as soone too, as himself peradventure that preached that wyse woꝝd. Many haue thought it a thing very good and profytable, that the scripyture well and truely translated, shoulde be in the englyshe tongue. And albeit that manye right wyse and well lefthed bothe, and very vertuous folke also, both haue ben and yet be in a farre other mynde: yet for myne own parte, I both haue ben & yet am also of the same opinion still, as I haue in my dyalogue declared, if the menne wer amended, and the time mete thereto. But that it were a thing of suche pzeuple necessitie, that the peoples soules must nedes perpyly but if that be hadde, and that thereto we shoulde suffer rather suche a paysoned translation then none, and wilfulle kille oure self with payso, rather then we would take holesome meate in at oure mouthe, but if we may first haue it in our own handes: this hearde I neuer any wyse man saye, no noz sole neither, till Tyndalle came: for the with his newe translated scripyture, translatinge the truethe of Chyriste into false Luthers heresies.

And yet whan the brethren haue herd suche a wyse woꝝde in a sermon, that woꝝde use they to take solemnely for a sure authoritie, and saye, that all the longe reasons of syr Thomas More, is here aunswere shorly, with one woꝝd. But nowe haue I with moe woꝝdes then one, made you playn and open the folpe of that wyse woꝝde.

And whansoeuer he that preached it can hereafter agayne with manye moe

woꝝdes than I haue here wrytten, pzeue this woꝝde wisely spoken, lette him kepe one coppe thereof with hymselfe for leysinge, and send another to me, and then that copie that I receiue, I wil be bounden to eate it, though the booke be bounden in boardes.

¶ The. v. Chapter.



A other saumple of suche kynd of aunswering haue I leene made vnto the first Chapter of my thyrde booke of Tyndalles confutacyon, of whiche aunswer the brethren boasse greatlye, and say that I am aunswereuen to the poynt.

For this woꝝde was sayde vnto a frende of myne in greate boasse, by a speciall sure secrete brother of this new broched brotherhodde, wherupon when I hadde hearde it, I longed sore to see that aunswere. For in god saythe I had my selfe thoughte, that I hadde so fully aunswere that Chapter of Tyndalles, whiche is, whether the churche wer befoze the woꝝde, or the woꝝde befoze the churche, that he shoulde neuer without his shame be hable to repley whyle he liued. And therfore longyng sore to see how I was aunswere now therin, I required my frend to find by meanes if he myghte, that I mighte see the booke, wemyng that some new woꝝke of Tyndalles hadde ben of late come ouer. But afterwarde he brought me woꝝd that it was aunswere not beyonde the sea, but here within the realme, not by any booke specially made agaynst it, but in a sermon once or twyes openly preached. Howbeit not of a sodayne brayed, but soe studied and penned, whereof the booke as a spirite in close goeth aboute secretlye, *velut negocium per ambulans in tenebris*, amonge this blessed brotherhodde, but I trust to turne it into *demonium meridianum*, that euerye manne may see him somewhat moze playne appeare, and shewe hymselfe in his owne likenesse.

Now is it so in dede, that in that Chapter of Tyndalles ther be certayne lynnes leste out in mine aunswere. Howbeit they wer of trouthe left out by ouersyght in pryncing which may well appeare by this. For in myne aunswere I so touche those woꝝdes, that the leysinge oute of them maketh myne owne moze dark and lesse perceued. And therfore are they contente to fynd no faulte at the

¶ Psalm. 50.

at the leaning out of them, but make as though all wer in, and also because that myne aunswer is as they boaste by that man, so well & substantially confuted.

But now because I would be loth to be iudged by the only bzethern & spylers of the false fraternitie, and to the entent they shall all wel see that I feare not the iudgemente of indifferent folke, I shall putte abrode that all folke may see those woordes of y^e solemne sermon, by whiche they boast that mine aunswer vnto that Chapter of Tyndalles Chapter, is so goodly confuted.

15 The very forsmall woordes lo good readers, of that sermon, for as farre as pertain to this matter, after the coppe that was deliuered me (which coppy I reserue and kepe for my declaration) therein be these woordes that hereafter folowe.

Jacobi.

Voluntarie enim genui nos verbo veritatis. Chys tert may be expounded after this maner. He made vs by the trouth of hys woerde, he made vs first (ye knowe) of nothyng, and he made vs as the chiefe and principall of all hys creatures. For he gaue vnto vs witte and reason, the whiche he gaue vnto no creature liuing in y^e earth but only to vs. But to come more nere y^e matter, we may say that god willingly begate vs by the woerde of his trouth, and hath put vs here into this woerde, & here to be as the lord and ruler of al hys creatures, the which he made for our comfort and succour. But yet we maye goe more nere you, and say how that he hath begotten vs by the woerde of hys trouth. Marke I pray you here, how that saynt James sayth, that god hath begotten vs through his woerd of trouth. Here it appeareth that we be not true of our selfe, for we are made true by God through his woerde. And where as of our self we wer no nother but lyers, god of hys infinite godnes hath made vs by his woerd the chyldren of trouth and of saluacion, wheras before we wer but lyers, & such as woerketh none other thyng but euen the very displeasure of god. Now god of his mercifull godnes by his holy woerd of trouth, hath made vs hys chyldren, y^e is to say, the chyldren of his trouth, euen as it pleased hym (saith saynt James) he hath begotten vs by y^e woerd of his trouth. Marke how that he saith euen as it pleased hym he begate vs. If we wer begotten and made as it pleased hym, then was it not done as it pleased vs. And agayne, & if we wer begotten by hym, then could

not we geue hym none occasion to loue vs. For why, we came of hym & not we of vs. Here may you perceue also, y^e this text maketh agaynst them that will say, the church was before the gospell.

It is playne ynough that the church was not before the woerde, for saynt James sayth that God begate vs through the woerd of his trouth. If we wer begotten by y^e woerd, then nedes must the woerd be before we were gotten, or elles howe should we be gotten by the woerd, and by the woerd he sayth we wer begotten. If god begate vs through y^e woerd, we must nedes graunt that he that begate vs was before that we were begotten, & he that begate vs, begate vs by the woerd, then nedes must the woerde be before that we wer begotten. Nowe then if this woerde wer before we were begotten, howe can we say that the church was before this woerde.

If we meane by the church, the church of lime & stone, then it is playne ynough y^e the woerd was before any such church was made. For we find that it was many a daye after man was made, or euer ther wer any such churches made. If we meane by y^e church, the vniuersal church of God, the whiche is the congregacion of all chrysten people. If you meane this church, and say howe this church was before the woerd: then saynt James maketh you an aunswere to that, saying: how that by the woerd this church was begotten. Then nedes must we graunte that the woerde of God was before any church was.

Yea but some wil not be content with this aunswer, but they will say that the church was before that this woerd was wrytten of any man, and it was admitted and allowed by the church, & so was the church before his woerd. Yea but yet I will say to you agayn, howe that this woerd was wrytten before the church was, yea and it was not wrytten by men, but it was wrytten by god our sauour afore y^e beginning of the woerd, as witnesse s. **Heb 10** Paule, where he sayth to the Hebrewes. *Dabo leges meas* &c. I will geue my lawes sayth God, into their heartes, & in their myndes shall I wryte it. Beholde howe God gaue it them at the begynnyng in their heartes, and wryt it in thez myndes, and thep exercises his lawe wrytten in their heartes in dede and in effect.

Thus may ye see, that at y^e begynning god wrote hys lawes in their heartes, & therfore must we nedes graunt that the woerde

A word of god was taught to them long
or euer the congregacion taught it. For
you se that by the word we wer begotte,
therfore the word must nedes be before
we wer begotten, or elles how could the
word begette vs.

Some peradventure will say, that the
church was before this word was writ-
ten in bookes of paper and parchment &
such other thinges, and that the church
did admit the to be read of them, whiche
they thought necessary to loke on them.
They will say that the church was be-
fore this was done, yea but what thing
is this to the purpose, or what shall we
neede to stand arguing of this matter.

It is playn enough to all menne that
hath eyes to see, and eares to heare, how
the word of god was before any church
was, and how the word of god was writ-
ten afore it was written in any bookes
or tables, and therefore what shall we
neede to dispute thys matter. But good
lord, if it had not been written by the e-
uangelistes in those dayes, how shoulde
we doe in these dayes, the whiche byng
farth the scripture for them in dede, and
yet they will beare them in hand that it
is no scripture, & if it had not been writ-
ten in bookes then. Notwithstanding ye
may perceiue how the word was or euer
the church was, & the word begate vs,
and uot we the word, and also it was
written or euer the church allowed it to
be written.

Now god readers, to the intent ye may
the better perceiue for what purpose the
bretherhead boasteth these wordes, ye
shal vnderstand & whereas Luther sayeth,
and Tyndall after him, tell vs for a fou-
dacion of al their abominable heresies,
that ther is nothing that ought to be ta-
ken for a sure and vndoubted trouth of
the chrysten belicfe, but if it may be pro-
ued by playn and euident scripture, the
kynge's highnesse in hys moste famous
booke of asserciō of the sacramentes, lay-
ed against Luther, and I out of the same
booke of my sayd soneraygn lord, toke &
layde agaynst Tyndall and al such, that
the word of God is part written in the
scripture, and parte vntwitten that ap-
pearcth not proued therein, as for ensam-
ple the perpetuall virginite of our lady
and other dyuers poyntes whiche were
onely taught by Christ to hys apostles,
and by them furth to the church, and so
by tradicion of the church beside scrip-
ture and without wytyng, taught & de-
liuered vnto chrysten people from age to

age, and so the sayth and belicfe of those
thynges kept and continued fro thapo-
stles days vnto our own time. And that
if the church wer nothyng bounden to
belicue, but onely the thinges playnly
written in scripture, than had all soke
before Moyles dayes been left at libertie
to leaue all Goddes wordes vnbelleued.
And than had Christes church in the be-
ginning been at libertie to leaue a great
part of Christes ewne wordes vnbelleu-
ed. For the church was gathered and
the sayth belicued, before any part of the
new testamēt was put in wytyng. And
whiche wytyng was or is the true scrip-
ture, neiether Luther nor Tyndall know-
eth but by the credence that they geue
to the church.

And therfore, sith the word of god is
as strong vntwitten as written, & which
is hys word written Tyndall cannot tell
but by the church, which hath by the as-
sistence of the spirit of god therein the gyft
of discrecion to know it, & sith that that
gyft is geuen (as saynt Austine sayth, &
Luther hymself confesseth) to thys com-
mon knowe catholik church: why shold
not Luther and Tyndall aswell belicue
the church, in that it telleth them, thys
thing did Christ and his apostles say, as
they must belicue the church (or elles be-
leue nothing) in that it telleth them this
thing dyd Christes euangelistes and a-
postles wyte.

Sowe god readers, Tyndalle seying
how soze this reason of the kinges high-
nesse doeth touch and turne by the verye
foundacion & great part of hys heresies:
he doth in his booke against me, of which
booke he maketh the tytle, & whiche is the
church, & whether it may erre or not, put
thys Chapter, & whether the church wer
before the gospel, or the gospel before
the church. & which Chapter, to thende
ye may the more clerely perceiue the mat-
ter, I shall rehearse you whole, and af-
ter that some part of myne answer ther-
to. And than if ye reade agayn the wordes
of thys sermon that I haue here en-
serted before, enery chylde almost shal be
well hable to iudge, whether thys per-
cher haue in hys sermon auoyded well
myne answer or no. These are Tynd-
alles wordes.

Another doute ther is, whether the
church or congregacion be before the gos-
pell, or the gospell before the church.
Whiche question is as harde to solue,
as whether the father be elder then the
sonne, or the sonne elder then his father.

For

The worde of
god is part
written part
vntwitten.

The trewe
scripture is
known by
the church.

The word of
god is as
strong vntw-
itten as written.

A For the whole scripture, and all belie-
uing heartes testifie, that we are begot-
ten throughte the worde. Wherfore if the
worde begetteth the congregacion, and
he that begetteth is before hym that is
begotten, then is the ghoſpell before the
churche. Paule also Romano. ix. sayth:
Howe shall they call on whom they be-
lieue not? And howe shall they belieue
withoute a preacher? That is, Chryſte
muſt firſt be preached ere men can be-
lieue in him. And then it foloweth, that
the word of the preacher muſt be before
the ſayth of the believer. And therefore,
in as much as the word is before y^e ſayth,
and ſayth maketh the congregacyon,
therefore is the word of ghoſpell before
the congregacion.

And agayn, as the ayre is darke of it
ſelf, & receiveth all her light of y^e ſunne:
even ſo are all mens heartes of themſelf
darke with lies, & receiue al their trueth
of gods worde, in y^e they conſent thereto.

And mozeouer, as the darke ayre ge-
neth the ſunne no lighte, but contrarie-
wiſe the light of the ſunne in reſpecte of
the ayre is of it ſelfe, and lyghtheneth the
ayre, and pourgeth it from darkeneſſe:
even ſo the lyving hearte of manne can
gene the word of god no trueth, but con-
trarywiſe the trueth of gods word is of
her ſelf, and lyghtheneth the heartes of the
believers, and maketh them trewe, and
cleaſeth them from lyes, as thou rea-
deſt. John. xv. ye be cleane by reaſon of
the word. Whiche is to be vnderſtand,
in that the word had purged their hear-
tes from lyes, from falſe opinions, and
from thinkyng euill god, and therefore
from conſenting to ſinne. And Joh. xviij.
Sanctiſye them O father throughte thy
trueth. And thy word is truth. And thus
thou ſeeſt, that goddes trouth deſcendeth
not of man. It is not true becauſe man
ſo ſayeth or admitteth it for true. But
man is true becauſe he beleueth it, testi-
fyeth, and geueth witneſſe in his hearte
that it is true. And Chriſt alſo ſaith him-
ſelf. John. v. I receiue no witnes of mā.
For if the multitude of mannes witnes
might make oughte true, then were the
doctrin of Mahomet truer then Chriſ-
tes.

Los god readers, here haue ye heard
Tindales Chapter, the maſter wherof
the brethren boaiſte that the wordes of
that ſermon doe ſound and ſubſtancial-
ly maintayn, agaynſt mine aunſwere
made vnto this Chapter.

But nowe to the entent ye may pour

ſeſſe iudge, whether that ſermon maye
beare oute theyr boaiſte or not, I ſhal re-
beaſe you ſome part of mine aunſwer.
We thus beſinneth mine aunſwere vnto
Tindales Chapter.

¶ Loc, he that readeth this, and hea-
reth not that it were, except himſelfe be
wel ryped in the matter, may wene that
Tindall in theſe wordes had quit hym-
ſelf like a man, and bozne me ouer quire
he ſolueth the obieccion ſo playnly, and
playeth therewith ſo pleaſantly. But
now when ye ſhall vnderſtande that ne-
uer man was ſo madde to make this ob-
ieccion to Tindal but himſelf, then ſhal
ye laugh to ſee that he wreſteth al alone
and geueth himſelf a fall, and in his me-
rue ſolucion, mocketh alſo no man but
himſelfe.

I ſayd in my dialogue, that y^e church
was before the goſpel was wrytten, and
that the ſayth was taughte; & men were
baptized, & maſſes ſaid, & the other ſacra-
mentes miniſtred among chryſten peo-
ple before any part of the newe teſtament
was put in wrytyng, and that this was
done by the word of god vnto it. And
I ſaid alſo that, and ye ſay here againe,
that the right ſayth which Adam hadde
and ſuche as in the ſame ſayth ſucceeded
him longe etc wrytyng beganne, was
taughte by the word of god vnto it, and ſo
went from man to man from the
father to the ſonne by mouth. And I ſayd. Note
that this word of God vnto it, is of
as greate authoritie as is the word of
god wrytten.

I thewed alſo that y^e church of Chriſt
hath bene, & ſeueralbe, taughte & in-
ſtructed by god and his holy ſpिरितe wth
his holy word of either hynde, that is to
witte, both with his word wrytten & his
word vnto it, & that they which will
not beleue goddes word but if he put it
in wrytyng, be as plain infidels as they
that will not beleue it wrytten, ſith gods
word taketh hys authoritie of god that
ſpeaketh it, and not of man that wryteth
it. And ther is like ſuretie & like certayn
knowledge of the word of god vnto it,
as ther is of the word of God wrytten,
ſith ye knowe neither the tone nor the ro-
ther to be the word of God, but by the
tradicion of the churche. Which church
aſſisteth chryſten menne belieuig; and the
ſcripture ſhoweth, and Saynt Austine
declareth, and Luther hymſelfe confeſ-
ſeth, & the beſt of hymſelf ſaith not maye,
the bleſſed ſpirit of god hath inwardly
taughte, teacheth, & ouer ſhall teache, to
know

A knowe, iudge and discerne the word of god from the word of mā, and shal kepe the church from erreure, leading it in to every trowth, as Chyyst sayth himself in the .xviij. Chapter of saynt. Johns gospel. Whiche he didde not if he suffered the church to bee damnable deceived in taking the word of man for the word of God, whereby it shoulde in steede of seruice to bee done to God, falle in vnfaithfulnesse, and with ydolatrie dooe seruice to the deuyl.

And therfore I shewed in my sayde dyalogue, and yet the kinges hyghnesse muche moze playnly shewed in his most erudite famous booke agaynst Luther, oute of whiche I toke it: that the word of Godde vntowritten is of as greate authority, as certayne, and as sure, as is hys woorde wyttten in the scripture. Whiche poynte is so fast and sure pyched vpon the rocke our sauour Chyrist himselfe, that neither Luther, Tyndall, nor Huskyn, nor all the helle houndes that the deuill hath in his kenell, neuer hether to could, nor while God liueth in heauen, and the deuill lyeth in hell, neuer hereafter shal (barke they; batole they neuer so faste) be hable to wreste it oute.

And that they be all as I tell you, so sieble in thys poynt, wherupon the defect of all theyr whole heresies hangeth (for but if they banquish this one poynt, all their heresies fully be burned vp, and falle as flatte to ashen as it were almes all obstinate heretikes dydde) ye may see a cleare pfofe by these wordes of Tyndall, whiche he hath sette so gloriouly furth in the fore fronte of hys battayle, as though they were hable to wyne the whole fiede. For whereas I sayde that the ghospell and the worde of God vntowritten was before the church, and by it was the church begonne, gathered and taught, and that the church was before that the gospel that now is wyttten was wyttten, that is to witte, before any parte of the ghospell was wyttten, for as for al the whole gospel, that is to witte, all the wordes of God that he would haue knowen, beleued, and kept, was yet neuer wyttten: thys beeyng the thyng that I sayde, Tyndalle with all the helpe he hath hadde of all the heretikes in Almayn this two or thre yere together, is yet in such dyspayre to be able to matche therewith, that he is with shame ynough sayn to forgeatte that I sayde the church was before the ghospell

pell wyttten. Whiche thyng he himselfe can not denye, and is sayne to frame the doubte and make the obieccion, as though I hadde sayde that the church hadde ben before the ghospell, and the worde of God vntowritten, wherof hymselfe knoweth well that I sayde cleane the contrarye. And therfore good readers, haupng thys thyng in youre remembraunce: take now the payne to reade Tyndalles wordes agayne, and ye shal haue a pleasure to see how sondly he iugleth afoze you. For nowe hys craft opened and declared vnto you: ye shal perceiue that he playeth nothyng cleane, but fareth lyke a iuggeler that conuayeth his gailles so craftely, that al the table spyeth them.

Loe good readers, here haue I now rehearsed you but a piece of myne answer vnto that Chapter of Tyndall, and yet by thys one piece alone may ye clearly perceiue, that all those wordes of that sermon goe so farre wide fro the poynte, that they not onely doe nothing helpe Tyndalle (for all the labour that they take aboute it) but also the preacher of them taketh a fowler falle then Tyndalle, in that the preacher stumbleth at the same stocke, and falleth in to the same puddell that Tyndall didde, and that after that he was warned by myne answer made to Tyndall afoze.

For thys here you see, that thys preacher in the fyrst part of his wordes toucheth not the matter, but little and little he descendeth thereto by the expowninge of these wordes of saynt James, *voluntarie enim genuit nos verbo veritatis*, that is in englysh *Jacob. i.* He hath willingly begotten vs by the worde of trouth.

Howe be it the preacher englysheth it thus. *He made vs or begotte vs by the trowth of his woorde.* Whiche wordes after that he hath expowened after dyuers maners, he cometh at laste to that expolicion, by whiche he expoweneth those wordes in this wise, that god hath willingly by hys woorde made vs the chyldren of trouth and of saluacion.

And after a thyng or two noted and marked therein, whiche I shal happily make you to marke wel and see some what moze therein hereafter, then the preacher sheweth you there, he cometh to the poynte with whiche we be now in hande, and therein thus he begynneth.

Here may you perceiue also, that thys ferte maketh agaynst them that will saye, the church was before

Note.

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Note.

foze

Afoze the goſpell. ¶

But now doe you good readers, clerely perceyue and ſee, that thys preacher ſayth wꝛonge. foꝛ while they, agaynſt whome he preacheth, that is to wytte, they that ſaye the church was befoze the ghospell wꝛitten, dooe bothe meane and playnely wꝛite that the church was not befoze that the ghospell was in Goddes mynde, noꝛ befoze it was preached and taught by mouth, but onely befoze it was wꝛitten in booke, and that y^e cause why they ſo ſay and wꝛyte, and put men in minde of that poynte, is becauſe that the heretikes would make menne wene that Goddes woꝛde were of none authority noꝛ woꝛth to be belieued, but if it were wꝛitten in the booke: nowe I ſaye, that ſyth ye knowe good readers, y^e they agaynſt whome this preacher thus preacheth, doe meane, and ſaye, & wꝛite, as ye nowe ſee they dooe, ye cannot but clearly perceyue and ſee, that this preacher doeth in this poynte but labour to blynd his audyence, and meteth nothing with the matter. foꝛ nowe this thyng hadde in mynde and conſidered, all hys reaſon after, which he taketh out of Tyndalles Chapiter, wareth euen deade foꝛ cold. foꝛ what heate, oꝛ what one ſpark of lyfe after thys thyng conſydered, haue all his woꝛdes that ſolowe, wher in he ſayeth.

¶ It is playn ynough that y^e church was not befoze the woꝛde, foꝛ Saynte James ſaythe, that God begate vs thoroꝛwe the woꝛde of hys trouthe. If we were begotten by the woꝛde, then nedes muſt the woꝛde be befoze we were gotten, oꝛ elles howe ſhoulde we be begotten by the woꝛde, and by the woꝛde he ſayth we wer begotten. If God begate vs thoroꝛwe the woꝛde, we muſt nedes graunte that he that begate vs was befoze that we were begotten, and he that begate vs, begate vs by the woꝛde, then nedes muſt the woꝛd be befoze that we wer begotten. Nowe then if this woꝛde wer befoze we wer begotten, howe can we ſay that the church was befoze this woꝛd?

¶ If we meane by the church, y^e church of tyme and ſtone, then it is playne ynough that the woꝛde was befoze anye ſuche church was made. foꝛ we finde that it was many a day after man was made, oꝛ euer there were any ſuch churches made. If ye meane by the church, the vniuerſal church of God, the which is the congregacyon of all chꝛyſten peo-

ple. If you meane thys church, and ſaye howe this church was befoze the woꝛd: then Saynte James maketh you an auſwere ſo that, ſaying: howe that by the woꝛd thys church was begotten. Then nedes muſt we graunt that the woꝛd of god was befoze any church was. ¶

All thys chyldeſhe reaſon ye wot wel, whiche Tyndalle hath begotten hym, and whiche he byngeth oute of Tyndalles Chapiter, and fathereth it vpon Saynte James, be it neuer ſo quicke in another matter, is yet in thys as touchyng them agaynſt whome he preacheth it, cleane quayed in the ſtrauple, and vtterly boꝛne deade, whyle they agaynſt whome he preacheth, ſaye not precyſely that the church was befoze the ghospell, noꝛ befoze Goddes woꝛde, but onely ſaye that the church was befoze the goſpell and Goddes woꝛd was putte in wꝛyting.

And that his reaſon is dead, as I ſaye it is, himſelf that preached it perceineth, and therfoze he goeth farther and dwelleth nerer to the matter and ſayth.

¶ Yea but ſome will not be content with this auſwer, but they wil ſay that the church was befoze y^e this woꝛd was wꝛitten of any man, and it was admytted and allowed by the church, and ſo was y^e church befoze his woꝛd. Yea but yet I will ſay to you agayn, how y^e thys woꝛd was wꝛite befoze the church was, yea and it was not wꝛitten by men, but it was wꝛiten by god our ſauour afoze the beginning of the woꝛld, as witneſſe Saynt Paule, where he ſaith to the Hebrewes. *Dabo leges meas etc.* I will geue my lawes (ſaith god) into their heartes, & in their myndes ſhall I wꝛyte it. Beholde how god gaue it them at the beginning in their hertes, and wꝛit it in their myndes, and they exerciſes his lawe wꝛitten in their heartes in dede and in effecte.

¶ Thus may ye ſee that at the beginning God wꝛote his lawes in their heartes, & therfoze muſt we nedes graunt that the woꝛde of god was taught to them long oꝛ euer the congregacion taught it. foꝛ you ſee that by the woꝛd we wer begote, therfoze the woꝛd muſt nedes be befoze we wer begotten, oꝛ elles howe could the woꝛde beget vs. ¶

By theſe woꝛdes good readers ye ſee, that himſelf perceineth that al his other woꝛdes wer not woꝛth a ryſhe, becauſe they came not nere the purpoſe, noꝛ anye thyng to wcheth them, agaynſt whome he preacheth them. And therfoze,

Howe the church was befoze the goſpell.

Hebꝛeꝝ 10.16

¶

foze,

A foze seynge that Tyndalle is by myne aunswere therin proued a sole, he goeth as ye se, farther then Tyndalle wente. But therin the nerer he cummeth to the poynte, the moze he proueth hymselfe to goe the farther from reason. For what reason hath he that in arguing agaynst other, sayth but thesame that they saye.

Now all that euer he saythe in these woordes, say we agaynst whome he preacheth them.

B And we not only saye the thynges that he saith nowe, that is to wit, that gods woorde was ere euer it was wrytten, and that it was wrytten in heartes ere euer it was wrytten in bookes, but these be also þe thynges that we speciallve lay agaynst hym, whose sayde Chapter, thys preacher woulde with these woordes defend. For sith the gospel of Christ and the woordes of God that are nowe wrytten in bookes, were all wrytten in heartes befoze they wer wrytten in bookes, and yet wer at that time of thesame strengthe and authoritie that they bee nowe, we saye to Luther and Tyndall, and all suche other heretykes, that they saye false in that they preache & teache, that menne are bounden to belieue nothyng but if it be wrytten in bookes, sith God is at hys libertie to geue hys woord into hys churche enen yet at thys daye, by hys owne mouthe, thozow þe inspiration of his holpe spirite sente therunto, and by hymselfe abydinge euer therein, and at the preachynge of the churche, wryte it in the heartes of the hearers, as well and as surely as euer he gaue hys woorde to hys churche by his apostles, and wrote it in the peoples heartes at their preaching, at such tyme as it was yet unwrytten in anye of the Apostles bookes.

D And ouer this, we tell them that the same churche by onelpe whiche churche they nowe knowe which bookes be those that haue the woorde of god in them that the apostles and euangelistes haue wrytten, the same churche I save dweth tell them, that the woordes of God whyche Godde will haue vs belieue, bee not all wrytten in those bookes, but some parte still remayne onely wrytten in heartes, as befoze the bookes wrytten, they bidde altogether. And we tell them that Tyndall must as well belieue the churche in telling him whiche be those woordes of God that yet remayne unwrytten, as he dweth, and must beleue it in telling him whiche bee those bookes, in whiche the

woordes of god are wrytten.

E And therfoze god readers, what thynges in this worlde coulde thys preacher haue deuised worse to byynge wrythe agaynst me for Tyndalles defence, than those with whiche as ye see Tyndalle is most clearely confounded.

But nowe shall ye se, that this preacher perceiuerh it well ynough himself. And therfoze, after that he hath sette wrythe Tyndalles reason, and dissimuled mine aunswere that I haue made to it, and so befoze his audience wrestled a whyle in the darke, where for lacke of sighte of the matter they might se howe he fell: he wared yet halfe werpe therof at laste, and somewhat ashamed to, lest he were peradventure spied, and sayne woulde he therfoze haue shaken of the matter, and ridde hymselfe oute honestlye, and therfoze in conclusyon he cometh downe to this.

F Some peradventure will say, that the churche was befoze this woord was wrytten in bookes of paper and parchement and such other thynges, and that the churche did admytte them to be read of them, whiche they thought necessary to loke on them. They will say that the churche was befoze this was done, yea but what thing is this to the purpose, or what shall we nede to stande arguinge of this matter? It is playne ynough to all menne that hath eyes to se, & eares to heare, howe the woorde of God was befoze anye churche was, and howe the woord of god was wrytten afore it was wrytten in any bookes or tables, & therfoze what shall we nede to dyspute thys matter? But god lord, if it had not been wrytten by þe euangelistes in those daies, how shold we do in these dayes, þe which bring furth the scripture for the in dede, and yet they will beare them in hande that it is no scripture, and if it had not been wrytten in bookes then. Forwithstanding ye may perceiue how the woord was or enen the churche was, and the woord begate vs, and not we the woord, and also it was wrytten or euer þe church allowed it to be wrytten.

G Here haue ye seene god readers, after longe wrestelinge with me, what thyfte thys preacher maketh to shake the matter of. For seynge that he can in no wise defend Tyndales reason, he woulde at last fain shake of the question. And in dede the questyon as Tyndalle frameth it of hys owne fashyon for his owne aduantage, is verpe friuolous and

I berpe false opinion.

And foolish. And therefore this preacher goeth (as I say) somewhat farther and further nether to the poppe, in whicher the matter of the question lieth. But he cannot cause he can not defende Tyndall with a word myne answer, after that time dyuen forth in furnishing of Tyndals reason, whan he commeth to the poppe, he leaue myne answer untouched, and woulde shake of the question for nought.

But that thyng nowe good readers wyl not wel be for him. For the necessity of this question pertaineth to your self. For sythe Luther, and Tyndall, & other such heretikes, do teache that no worde of God is now to be belieued, nor to be taken for Gods worde by the teaching of the catholike church, but if it be written in scripture: thei dōne vs of necessity to tel theyn againe, that the church was before scripture, and before that

The church
was before
the scripture.

any of Gods wordes wer wrytten therein, and that all hys wordes that he wyl haue belieued, were neuer wrytten, and that he is not so tounge tyed, but that he is at libertye to speake yedis wordes whan he wyl, and may bynde vs as wel to beleue them; as euer he bounde vs to belittle anye worde that euer he spake before, be it unwritten or wrytten. And that in al such things Luther and Tyndal both, and frere Barnes to, and al the heretiks of them, must (as I said) of reason belieue the church as well whan it telleth them, these thinges Christ hath by hys owne spirite or by the mouthe of his Apostles taughte vs, as whan it telleth them these thinges hath Christ by penne of hys Apostles wrytten vs. Now is thys knot so sure, that it can neuer be loosed, but if these heretiks or this preacher for theyn, can by playne scripture proue vs that God hath caused all suche thinges to be wrytten in scripture alreadye, and ouer that made a promyse, either that he wyl neuer speake any such word more, or that if he do, he wil at the least wyse take no dyspleasure with vs, though we tel him playnely that sythe it is not in scripture alreadye, he shal wryte it in yf he wyl, or elles wyl we not beleue hym.

The vi. chappter.



And this preacher himself so wel percepueth that thys poppe is true that I tel you, that he wold faine if he could proue it, saye y al such thinges are wrytten alreadye in scripture. And therfore though because

he seeth that I haue in the last chappter of my fyfth part of Tyndals confutation, suerthowen Tyndal therein, he forbare to affirme it forth out in plain and open wordes: yet he giueth hys audyence a proper insinuacion therof, & maketh a pretty glauce thereat, in those wordes where he sayth in the last ende. But good Lord, if it had not bene wrytten by the euangelistes in those daies, how should we do in these daies, the whyche byrge forth the scripture for them in dede, and yet they wyl beare them in hand, that it is no scripture, & if it had not bene wrytten in bookes then. Forworthstandynge ye may perceiue how the worde was or euer the church was, and the worde be gat vs, and not we the worde, and also it was wrytten or euer the church allowed it to be wrytten.

By these wordes would he lo (though he say it not plaine out) that folk shoulde wene that of any thing which we be bounden to beleue, the euangelistes and apostles left in thei daies nought vntwrytten. Which point if it coulde be proued, would helpe some heresydes well forth, but yet not so many as heretikes would make men wene. For many things that they saye bee not in scripture, are yet in scripture in dede. As is for the sacrament of confirmation, and aneling, and holy orders, and matrimonye, and the verbe blessed body and bloud of Christ in the holy sacrament of the aulter. And for good workes agaynst faythe alone, and for holy bowes of chastitie agaynst thabominable bycherpe of freres that wed nunnnes, and many such other thynges. And in al suche matters the question is not of the worde wrytten or unwritten, but vpon the interpretacion & the righte vnderstanding of Gods word alreadye wrytten. And therein is in effect the question also no more, but whether that in the construction and exposition of holy scripture, we shoulde of reason better beleue holy saynt Austine, holy saint Ambrose, holy sainte Hierom, holpe saynte Cipriane, holy saint Chrysostome, holy saint Basyle, holpe saynte Cyrill, and the thre Gregories of Greke holy sayntes al thre, and holy saint Gregorie the Pope, with all the other olde holpe doctors and fathers of the faythefull doctrine on the one side, or els on the tother syde leude Luther, and Labert, Barnes, Huskin, & Swinglius, Swartherth, Tyndal, George Joy, & Denckhus, Bainā, Baifield, Hitton, and Tenberpe, wyth I. i. brother

A worthy number of holie doctors.

A tablement of heretikes.

A brother Wyt, and yong father Friche.
There would be nowe betwene these
two sortes no great doute in the choyce
(as me thinketh) if he that shoulde chose
haue wytte.

And in such matters this is the great
question in dede, which thing is anye of
they? fauourers dare denye, and wyl as-
firme, that in the construcion of the
scripture they haue y olde holy doctours
on they? syde, let al these heretikes, and
al that beare them fauour, synde oute a-
mong them al so muche as one of all the
old holy saintes, that so did construe the
scripture, as now these newe heretikes
do for wedding of Monkes, Freres, and
Bunnies, whyche the whoie catholyke
churche all thys systene hundred yere,
before these late lewde heresies beganne
haue euer moze abhored and holden for
abominable, let these newe brythren (I
say) nowe synde out among them all, a-
ny one of the olde holy saintes, that sayd
the breache of they? bowes was no syn,
& then am I content they say that al the
remanaunt be whole vpon they? part in
all the remanaunt of all they? poplond
heresyes.

But on the tother side, if thei can not
among them al finde out so much as one
old holi man for their part in this point
in which we can bring manye agaynst
them: then must thei nedes confesse, that
in the construcion of the scrpyture (for
as muche at the leaste wile as appertay-
neth to this point) sauing for the vndo-
ted faith of the whole catholyke churche
full systene hundred yere together a-
gaynst these bowebreakynge brythren
(whyche thynge alone sufficeth for their
ful condemnacion) els standeth all the
question but in this, whether of y twain
shoulde in therposicion of holy scripture
be by reason amonge the vnlearned peo-
ple better believed, the olde holpe graci-
Dous doctours and saintes, or these newe
wedded Monkes and freres gracelesse
apostatas and heretikes.

And then sithe no good Christen man
can doute whither parte is the better of
these twaine, no good man canne there
dout (ye see wel) but that these newe doc-
tours, Luther, Lambert, Tindal, Hus-
kin, and Swinglius, with al their adhe-
rentes, be plaine abominable heretikes
in this one pointe at the leaste. Whyche
pointe while it is so shameful and ful of
filthy beastylnes, I dare be bolde to say
that neither hath that man nor that wo-
man any respect or regard of any elene-

nesse or honestie, that can with fauoure
bouchesafe to reade their bookes or here
them, til they first forswear and abiure
the defence and maintenaunce of that in-
cestuous sacrilege and verpe blasfemy
bycherpe.

The. vii. chapter.

But now to retourne to the point
which this preacher would co-
uertly colour in his said wordes,
and would make it seme that thapostles
and euangelistes had wrytten al things
that God bindeth vs to belue, where he
saith: But good Lord if it hadde not
bene wrytten by the euangelistes in those
daies, how shoulde we do in these dayes
the which bring forth the scripture for
them in dede, and yet they wyl beare the
in hand it is no scripture and if it hadde
not bene wrytten in bookes then?

These wordes seme to be miswrytten,
either in the principall booke, or in the
copp. For I thinke it would be, if it had
not bene wrytten by the euangelistes in
those daies, how shoulde we doe in these
daies, in which we bring forth the scrip-
ture for vs in dede, & yet they beare vs in
hande y it is no scripture. Howbeit howe
so euer his wordes were in dede, he mea-
neth by them (as ye see) to shew that ther
was a necessitie wherefore God caused
al necessary thinges to be putte in wry-
ting. But vnto that point as I haue all
ready made answer vnto Tindal in the
confutacion, al the things that y church
teacheth for necessary, and say they wer
Gods wordes, al those I meane whyche
these heretikes say bee not specified in
scripture, and that therefore they bee
not Gods wordes nor anye necessarye
truthes, but false inuencions of Sathan
(as Tindal saith) & dampnable dreames
of menne (as Barnes saith) this preacher
yet can not denye, but kepte haue suche
things bene in remembraunce and ob-
serued this thousand yere, ye twelue or
thirtene hundred among Christen peo-
ple, yea and as longe as the gospels of
Christe hath bene wrytten, and happelye
somewhat before to, as may be gathered
of olde auncient wrytinges.

How be it thughe it were somewhat
lesse shall litle force for the matter. For
if they may abyde by anye meane in re-
membraunce a thousande yere, by the
selfe same meanes may they abide in re-
membraunce another thousand to. The
sithe these folkes say that these thynges
being so longe preserved and kept in re-
mem-

A membzaunce, be oute of the scrpyture: nolwe woulde I wytte of thys preacher, whyther they haue bene so longe kepte & pserued by God, oꝛ by mā, oꝛ by the diuel. If he say by God, than be they of likelyhoode good thinges, and not false heades but truches. And if he saye that they be false, and that yet God hath kept them, than foloweth it at the leaste that he coulde haue kept them as wel al thys long while though they had bene true, and y without the scrpyture, as he hath kepte them hitherto. And thereof foloweth it also that he had no necessite to cause euerye necessarye trouthe that he woulde haue kepte in remembzaunce to bee putte in the scrpyture, as this preacher woulde haue it seeme.

But nolwe if this preacher will saye on the tother side, that these things haue not bene pserued by God amonge Chyristen people, but be false thynge, and haue all this longe while bene kept either by manne oꝛ dyuell: yet syth God is as stronge and as myghtye as manne and dyuell bothe, it foloweth ye see well that the thinge whiche they haue done, in keepinge of false thinges, God coulde as well doe in the keepinge of true thynge, and needed to the keepinge no moze scripture then they.

And thus good readers euerye waye ye see that thys reason of thys preacher whiche Tyndall layed agaynst me before him, that God didde cause all necessary thinges to be wyrtten in scripture, because that elles they coulde not haue continued in remembzaunce, this reason I say ye see can not holde. For those thinges haue continued as longe in remembzaunce, which thinges themselves say be not in the scripture.

For where this preacher protesteth the necessitie of the putting of all thynge in scripture, with a fygure of apostrophe and turning his tale to God cryng out: O good Lord, if it hadde not bene wyrtten by the angeliffes in those daies, howe shoulde we doe in these daies, the whiche byngge foorth the scripture for them in dede, and yet they wyl beate them in hand, that it is no scripture.

These wordes do proue plainly for my part, yther is as great surety in y word of God unwyrtten and taught vnto the church by the spirit wout the scripture as in his wordes wyrtten in the scrpyture. For who so beleue the church, wil graunt both, and who so beleue not the church, will denie bothe, as thys preacher

here saith himselfe. For he knoweth not whiche is the scripture, but by the church. And therefore wher he sayeth that men now a daies if we lay them foorth the scripture in dede, they wyl beate them in hande it is no scripture, verelye if it happed (as it happeth often) that the preachers of these newe sectes, do lay foorth for them very scripture in dede, whiche scripture maketh not for them in dede, but some false glosces that they giue the scripture in dede, there wil the true catholyke preachers saye, that they abuse the scripture in dede. But they will neuer saye that the scripture which they brought forth is no scripture in dede. For that way doth none vsc but these heretikes onelye, noz they can not al say that there is any lease oꝛ line, that euer themselves haue taken for scripture hitherto, but the catholyke church of whom they learned it dothe affirme the same. But on the tother side there are some partes of scripture, which y whole catholyke church affirmeth for scripture, whiche partes yet these heretikes affirme for none. As for ensample the selfe same pistle of sainte James, which this preacher made that sermon vppon, whiche pistle frere Luther, and frere Werns both, lette not boldlye to denye for scripture, because in many places it destroyeth their heresies. And yet is there neuer an heretike of them for all that, but whete it may serue to seme to proue his purpose, there wyl he bring it forth for sainte James owne, and fynde no fault therewith.

And thus good chrysten readers here haue I somewhat shewed you howe litle cause the brethzen haue to boaste that peece of that sermo, and say that it hath well defended Tyndals saide chapter, and clerely confounded me in that part of my confutacion. And thys haue I shewed you somewhat the moze at length, because it toucheth a poynte that is eyther for the maintening oꝛ confoundinge of manye great heresies a verpe speciall hape.

The viii. chapter.



As for the preachers other peces in the beginning of those wordes, I haue lette passe vntouchted, where he saith: He hath begotten vs by the wordes of hys trouthe, euen as it pleased him. Marke that sainte James saith euen as it pleased him. If we were begotten and made

J. ii. euen

A euen as it pleased hym, then was it not done as it pleased vs. And againe yf we were begotten by him, then could we geue hym none occasion to loue vs. For why we came of him, and not we of vs.

These woordes good readers haue no great harme in thein at the firste face. But they allude vnto certaine woordes of Tyndall, wyth whyche he argueth agaynst me, because I saue in my dialogue that manne maye wyth hys free

A very notable saying.

Wyll by good endeouore of hymselfe, be a woorker with God towarde the attaining of faith. Againste whyche sayinge of myne, Tyndall (as I haue shewed in my seconde parte of Tyndalles confutation, in mockage of mannes endeouore towarde the beliefe, and in scoorninge that manne shoulde captiue hys vnderstandinge, and subdewe his reason into the seruyce of faith) aunswyareth me wyth an hedious exclamacion, and crieng oute vppon my fleshelynesse and foly, someth out his high spirituall sentence after this fashion.

God howe betteblynde is fleshelye reason, the wyll hath none operacion at al in the woorking of faith in my soule, no moze then the chylde hath in the begetting of his owne father. For saythe Paule it is the gyfte of God, and not of vs. My wit must shewe me a true cause or an apparant cause why, ere my will haue any woorking at al.

To this peece of Tyndalles tale it seemeth, that thys preacher dothe allude. And he couertye layeth as ye see, the reason that Tyndall layeth for it, of the begetter and him that is begotten. But he laieth not the authorite of Saynte Paule as Tyndall dothe. But he laieth the woordes of Saynte James, whiche he hath here in hand. **G**od hath wyllynglye begotten vs with the woorde of hys trouthe. And stycketh for thys purpose vppon thys woorde (wyllynglye) and argueth thus: God begatte vs wyllynglye saithe here Saynte James, that is to wytte, after hys owne wyll, and as it pleased hym, ergo he dydde not begette vs after oure owne wyll, nor as it pleased vs.

This argument hath this preacher vnderpropped and enforced, with interpreting of the woorde (wyllynglye) for that is the woorde of Saynte James, which woorde the preacher strengtheth here with, after hys owne will, and as it pleased himselfe.

And yet neither that woord (wyllyng-

lye) of it selfe, nor strengthed wyth all these other, can make but a bare fourme of arguinge if it were in a nother matter. For if I desired a manne to geue me a thyng, and laboured muche to hym therfore, and muche endeouored my selfe in many thynges to please hym, to content that he shoulde geue it me, and that he thereuppon so bidde, thys were then but a pooze argument to say thus: this manne wyllynglye gaue me thys thyng, and after his owne wyll, and as it pleased him, ergo he gaue it me not after myne owne wyll and as it pleased me. For as ye see, it bothe pleased hym to geue it me, and also it pleased me that he so shoulde, or elles I woulde neuer haue desyred it, nor neuer haue laboured therfore.

And thus ye see that this authorite of Saynte James norhinge helpeth thys preacher in his purpose againste all occasion and all endeouore of manne towarde the getting of faith, by which we be begotten.

But Tyndall layeth that terte of Saynte James againste the sacrament of Baptisme, to proue that the woorde of y promise doth al the woork in the regendring of the soule by faith, and that the water toward the infusion of grace, or washing of the soule, is none instrument of God, nor nothyng elles but a bare gracelesse token, because Saynte James saithe that God hath clenfed vs by the woorde of trouth, which Tyndall there expoundeth by the woorde of hys promise, as though neuer a woorde of God were true, but onely his promise. Howe of trouthe the woorde of God that a preacher preacheth, by which the pointes of the faith be learned, be signes and tokens that signifie the thynges in the minde, which are by those woordes brought vnto the hearers eare, and fro the eare to the harte, as the water signifieth and betokeneth the inward washing of the soule in that sacrament. And as God bleseth the tone token of the word to the washing and clennesinge of the soule thowhe the meane of obedyence of the wyl, in captiuinge of hys reason, and vnderstanding in to the seruyce of faith, by credence and assent geuing vnto the woorde of faith, in whiche what so euer Tyndall saue and thys preacher to, manne hauynge age and ble of reason, maye be a wyllyng woorker wyth God, or elles whereto shoulde any man aduylse and bydde a nother come vnto the

Man maye
woorde wyth
God.

A the true faith, so maye God vse the tother token of the water as an instrument also to the same purpose, by the lyke meane of obedience on the mannes part in submytting hymselfe to that ablucion, for the falsyllinge of Goddes commaundement and ordinaunce.

Howebeit what I farther aunswere Tyndall to these woordes of Saynte James, who so lyst to see, let hym rede in my pytche parte of Tyndalles confutation in the aunswere vnto Tyndalles pface, the number. liii. and than sette thys to it, and he shall see, that neyther Tyndall there, nor hys preacher here, hath by theyr manner of expoundynge these woordes of Saynt James, wonne themselves muche woorth. **H**ow be it of trouthe the thinge that goeth nearer to theyr purpose against all the woorde of free wyll, and all endeouore of man towarde the attaining of faith, is the authoritie of Saynte Paul that Tyndall bringeth forth, whyche yet proueth it not. And the reason that he layeth by sample of the father and the sonne, whiche reason thys preacher thoughte somewhat sayntelye lythe he seeth it will not serue, yet somewhat repeateth here by these woordes, where he sayth.

And againe if we were begotten by hym, then coude not we giue him none occasyon to lone vs, for why wee came of hym, and not wee of vs: **B**y these woordes he meaneth the thyng that Tyndall alledgeth where he saith. **T**he wyll hath none operacion at all in the woorking of faith in my soule, no moze then the chylde hath in the begettynge of his father. **A**nd of trouthe Tyndall and hys preacher sayde somewhat, if in the spirituall generacion the man that is regendred, were euer moze as farre from all woorde of wyll at suche time as God goeth about to beget hym by faith, as is the childe at such tyme as his graundefather goeth aboute by nature to beget his father.

But now on the tother syde, if in the generacion at the begettynge of hys father, the sonne be not yet so muche as a chylde, nor hath no wyll at all, and at the tyme of the spirituall regeneracion of hymselfe, he that is regendred hath to bee moze than a chylde, and haue the freedom of hys owne wyll, and hath the choyce thereby putte in hys owne hande, whyther he wyll at Goddes calling to saythe by reading, preachynge, myracle, and suche other occasiōs, with

good inwarde mocions added also thereto, folowe the spirite, and walke and woorde wyth God by captiuyng of hys owne vnderstandinge, and subdewinge of hys owne reason, into the assent and beliefe of the thinges that he shall be moued vnto, and by calling vpon the continuance of Goddes gracious helpe thereunto, and thereby come into the serupce of saythe, or whyther he wyll elles reiecte Goddes good and gracious mocion, and resyst it, and so flye from the gettynge of the giste of saythe: yf the manne (I saye) bee at the tyme of hys spirituall begettynge in thys case, as euerye manne that hath at the tyme age and vse of reason is, than is thys sample that Tyndall dothe there putte, and that thys preacher dothe here repeat, of the chylde at the carnall byrthe of his father, muche lesse lyke the manne at the spiritual birth of himself, then is an apple like vnto an oyster.

Howe be it good readers, because the byrth blame my bookes for the length, I wil make no longer argument of this matter here, for in these fewe woordes it appeareth meetely well.

But yf anye manne thynke hymselfe wyth this not yet fullye satisfied, then hath he neede for hys contentacion to see the matter handeled somewhat moze at length, And who so therfore listeth so to doe, lette him rede in my fourth booke of Tyndalles confutation, whyche is in the firste booke of the seconde parte, in the chapter of the maner and order of our eleccion beginnyng. If he lyst in the lease that is marked with the number of. c. xii. and then wyll his owne reason serue hym to see howe farre the matter goeth: whiche if he rede oute, I dare boldlye promyse that he shall there fynde suche thynges, as agaynste Tyndall and thys preacher bothe, shall as for thys poynte in all reason be sufficient to satisfie him.

But nowe yf thys preacher wyl peradventure saye, that of hys woordes in bothe these matters I haue my selfe reherced him, I am readye to bypunge forth my coppe, and the manne of whome I hadde it to. **O** elles I shall make hym a muche fayrer offer, because he may peradventure saye that hee neuer wrote that sermon hymselfe, but that some of hys audience whyche of deuocion wrote as muche as they bare awaye vpon the hearyng, dydde wyrite it byminute, and mangled for lacke of good remembraunce, **I. iiii.** let

¶ Let hym vpon this aunswere of myne sene (yf it happen to come into his handes) wryte his owne woordes hymselfe, not onely as well as he then sodaynely spake them, but as wel also as he canne with longe laisoure make them. And when he hath done in them the best that euer he can, & take whose help he wil to, if he make it so as he maye therewith a- uoide and refell my confuting of Tyndall in those twoo poyntes, that those woordes of his sermon touch, then dare I be bounden to forswear thys lande, and lyue in Antwarpe and be Tyndals manne.

¶ How be it if in the matter of mannes endenoure toward the attayning of faith, by walkynge on wyth God willingly after that God hath preuented hym wyth hys grace, by calling on him and gyuynge hym occasyon to come forwarde, if anye brother thyncke to scape and auoide my prooffe in the place afoze remembred, by the distinccon that Tyndall hath learned of Philippe Swarterthe, and bringeth forth againste me of hyssozicall faith and feelinge saythe (whiche distinccon dyuers of the brethren and systerne haue in their mouthes nowe, and therewith sodaynely cast a myst befoze vnlearned mens eyen, and make them adased for the tyme that neuer hearde of it befoze) he that would wynde alwaye wyth thys dyffynccion, shall nothing auoide my confutynge of Tyndall in that place. For if hys dyffynccion bee true, yet vpon Goddes gracious preuencion and first callynge vpon, I saye and thereproue that the

¶ distinccon of faith.

¶ The willing endenoure of man.

willinge endenoure of manne in following, helpeth to the attaining of euery manner kinde of faith, and procureth the progresse and increace of grace to the persitinge of that vertue in manne, and with manne, whiche God firste beganne in manne by Goddes owne preuencion withoute manne, but in them that haue age and discrecion, vseth not to finishe and fulfil it without manne, but whan manne refuseth (excepte hee mende and courne) elles God leaueth finallye his owne good begonne worke vnfinisshed. And therefore saythe sainte Austine to euery manne that hath vns of reason: He that hath created thee withoute thee, dothe not iustifye thee withoute thee.

And yet for farther conclusyon, because I here saye that the same distinccon of hyssozicall saythe and feelinge

saythe, glytterieth nowe so gaylye in the brethrens eyen, lette theym read my confutacion thozowe.

¶ Because they call that to longe, let them reade but the seuenthe booke, whiche is entiteled the defence of the second reason againste Tyndall. ¶ Yf they thincke that booke alone to longe, lette them leaue a greates parte of the booke, and beginne in that leafe and that spede of the leafe that is marked wyth the number of. cccxl. And then if they canne for hart burning abide and endure to read it vnto the ende, I dare bee bolde to warraunt, that they shal finde the same gaye golden distinccon of hyssozicall faith, and feelinge faith, founden first by Philippe Swarterthe (whiche like as frere Huskyn hath named himselfe Colampadius, hath made hys name nowe Melancthon). This distinccon I saye so made by Melancthon, shall they see so brought in there by Tyndal, and so sette forth and furnisshed by the learninge and laboure of theym bothe, that it cometh to suche passe in conclusion, that no parte of all Tyndalles tale is brought to moze shamefull confusion.

¶ But nowe the brethren wyll (when anye good catholyque manne prouoketh them to reade the place in my booke) aunswere as diuers of them haue done ere this, to suche good catholyque folke as prouoked them thereto, and offered to reade it with them, and thereuppon to trye betwene them whither Tyndal or I hadde better reason on oure parte: the brethren haue vpon thys offer shonken at laste thereto, after greates crakes made of Tyndalles parte, wyth greates contempte of myne aunswer befoze, and haue aunswered that they wyl not myssepende theyr tyme in readynge of myne aunswere, they see Tyndalles tale so sure.

¶ Howe of tronthe thys hadde bene a good aunswere and a reasonable, yf when they were faste in the true catholyque saythe, they woulde thus haue aunswered anye suche as woulde haue aduysed them to reade in Tyndall, and searche whither the saythe of all the holye sayntes and of all the whole corpa of Christendome thys systene hundred yere together, were true or false. For that were a thing whereof it were a verye fransey to doubt.

¶ But nowe they that are fledde from the saythe of all them, of whose saythe there

A there was no cause to doubt, and are fallen to the faith of a few faithless folk, false apostates wylde wedded monkes and freres and their sonde disciples: yf they make them selfe so sure of their diuinelike doctrine, that they refuse to rede the thinges that are wrytten for the confutation of their errors, euery good catholike manne that so seeth them doe, maye with good reason tell them that they doe not cleaue to these foolish heretikes for any thing that they thynke them to save trouthe, but because they woulde faine it were trouthe, whither it be or no, and that they shewe they forwardnes therein verie plainly, while their heartes abhorre and canne not abide to reade any booke, by which their owne conscience giueth them that they shall finde their opinions plainly proued false, and their arche heretiques plainely proued fooles. For if they hoped the contrarie, they woulde (I warraunt you) be theymselfe the firste that woulde call other thereto.

And thus muche for this tyme suffyseth for this poynte.

The .ix. chapter.

Whe come I to them that say I handle Tyndall and Frythe and Barnes vngoodly and with vncomely woozdes, callenge them by the name of heretiques and fooles, and so vse them in woozdes, as though the menne hadde neyther witte nor learninge, where as it canne not be denyed (they say) but that they be suche as euery manne knoweth well, haue bothe.

As for witte and learninge I no wher saye that anye of them haue none, nor I meane no farther but for the matters of theyr heresies. And in the treatinge of those, they shewe so litle wytte or learninge either, that the more they haue, the more appeareth the feableness of their parte, and the falsehood of theyr heresies, if they haue anye greate witte, or anye greate learninge in deede, and than for all that, in the defendynge of those matters wrythliche foolyshe handlinge so shamefully confounde them selfe.

Howe be it of verie trouthe, God bypon suche folke as haunge wytte and learninge fall wylfully from faith, to false heresye, sheweth bys wraathe and

indignacion wryth a more benegaunce in some parte, than (as some doctours saye) hee dothe vppon the dyuell hymselfe.

For (as dyuerse doctours holde opinion) the fiendes be fallen from grace, and therefore haue losse theyr gloze, yet God hathe suffered them to keepe theyr gyftes of nature & yll, as wyttie, betwixte, strengthe, agyltie, and suche other lyke.

And father Alphonse the Spaynish frere tolde me, that the dyuelles be no suche defourmed euill fauoured creatures as menne imagyne them, but they be in mynde proude, enuouse, and cruell. And he bode me, that yf I woulde see a verie ryght image of a fiende, I shoulde no more but euen looke vppon a verie fayre woman that hathe a verie shrewde fell cursed mynde. And whan I shewed hym that I neuer sawe none suche, nor wist not where I might anye suche fynde, hee sayde hee coulde fynde foure or fyue, but I canne not beliene hym. For verily no more canne I beliene that the fiendes be lyke fayre shrewde women yf there were anye suche. For as the worlde is, it were not good that yonge men shoulde wene so. For they be so full of courage, that were the fiendes neuer so cursed, if they thoughte them lyke fayre women, they woulde neuer feare to aduenture vppon them ones. For to say the truthe, no more canne I beleue neither, that the dampned spytes haue all theyr naturall gyftes as whole and as partytte, as they hadde before they fall.

But surely yf they haue, than (as I sayde before) God hathe on Tyndall, Barnes, and Fryth, and those other heretiques, more shewed his benegaunce in some parte, then he dydde vppon the dyuell. For in good faith God hath as it seemeth fro these folke taken awaie the best part of their wyttes.

For lyke wyse as they that woulde haue buylded vpe the Towre of Babilon for theymselfe agaynst God, hadde suche a stoppe thowen vppon them, that todaynely none vnderstoode what another sayde, surely, so God bypon these heretiques of oure tyme that go buylde aboute to heape vpe to the skye theyr foule fylthy dunghyll of all olde and newe false synckynge heresyes, gathered vpe together againste the trowe

I. iiii. catho.

The right ymage of a fiend

Note

Gene. 11

Actes. 2.

A catholike faith of Chyſte, that himſelf
 haſte euer hitherto taughte his true ca-
 catholike thurche: God I ſaye, whiche
 when the Apoſtles wente aboute to
 preache the trewe faythe, ſente downe
 his owne holpe ſpिरित of vnyte, con-
 corde, and trueth vnto theſe, wpyth the
 giſte of ſpeeche and vnderſtandynge, ſo
 that they vnderſtoode euerye manne,
 and euerye manne vnderſtoode theym,
 haſte reared vpye and ſent among theſe
 heretiques the ſpिरित of errour and ly-
 nge, of dyſcorde and of opulſion, the
 dampned diuel of hell, which ſo entang-
 leth their tounge, and ſo diſcumbereth
 their bzaines, that they neither vnder-
 ſtand well one of them another, nor a-
 ny of them wel himſelfe.

And this that I here ſaye, who ſo liſt
 to reade my bookes, ſhall ſynde it ſo
 trewe and ſo playnelye proued in ma-
 ny places, that he ſhall well ſee and ſay
 that this is the thing which in my wy-
 ring greueth this bleſſed bzetherheade a
 little moze then the lengthe.

And therefore where they ſynde the
 faute that I handle theſe folke ſo ſoule,
 howe coulde I other doe? For whyle
 I declare and ſhewe theyr wyrrynge to
 be ſuche (as I needes muſte, or leaue
 the moſte neceſſarye pointes of all the
 matter vntouched) it were verrye harde
 for me to handle it in ſuche wyſe, as
 when I plainelye proue them abhomi-
 nable heretiques and againſt God and
 his ſacramentes and Saintes veri blaſ-
 phemous fooles, they ſhoulde wene that
 I ſpeake them faire.

But then they ſaye that the pactſper
 whiche wyrteth of the deuſion betwene
 the ſpiritualtye & the tempoꝛaltye, cal-
 leth no manne by no ſuche names, but
 ſpeake he neuer ſo euyl of anye, he can
 yet vſe his wooꝝdes in faire maner, and
 ſpeake to eche man gentlye.

I canne not ſaye naye, but that is ve-
 rrye trouthe. Howe be it euerye manne
 haſte not lyke wytte, nor lyke inuenci-
 on in wytinge. For he ſindeth manye
 proper wates of vttering euyl matter
 in good wooꝝdes, whiche I neuer thou-
 ghte vppon, but am a ſimple playne ho-
 dye, muche lyke the Pacedonys, for
 whome Plutarke wyrteth that kynge
 Philippe theyr maſter made a reaſo-
 nable excuſe.

Pacedonies

A proper Noz

For when they were in the warre,
 ſome of their enemies fledde from theyr
 owne kynge, and came in to king Phi-

lippes ſeruiſe againſt their owne coun-
 trey. Wpyth whome when the Pacedo-
 nys ſell ſome tyme at wooꝝdes (as it
 often happeneth amonge ſouldyours)
 the Pacedonys in ſpyghte woulde call
 them traytours. Wherevppon they
 complayned to kynge Philippe, and
 made the matter ſoze and greuouſe, that
 where as they hadde not onely left thier
 owne native countrey, but dydde alſo
 fighte againſte it, and helpe to deſtroye
 it, for the loue and ſeruiſe that they bare
 toward hym, his owne people letted
 not in anger and in deſpight to cal them
 falſe traitours. Wherevppon kynge
 Philippe aunſwered them. Good te-
 ſolues I praye you bee not angrye wpyth
 my people, but haue patience. I am ſoꝝy
 that their maner is no better. But I
 wyſſe ye knowe them wel inough, thier
 nature is ſo plain, and thier vtterance
 ſo rude, that they canne not cal an hoſe
 but an hoſe.

And in good faith, lyke thoſe good
 folke am I. For though Emdall and
 Frithe in their wytinge, cal me a Poet
 it is but of their owne courteſye, vnder-
 ſerued on my part. For I canne neither
 ſo muche poctrye, nor ſo muche retho-
 rique neither, as to ſynde good names
 for euyl thinges, but euen as the Pa-
 cedonies coulde not call a traitour, but
 a traitoure, ſo canne I not call a ſoule,
 but a ſoule, nor an heretique, but an he-
 retique.

Some of the bzetene ſayde, that I
 ſhoulde at the leaſte wyſe call frere Ba-
 rens by the name of Doctoure, becauſe
 he was authoꝛiſed and made a Doctour
 of diuinitie by the Uniuerſitie. But one
 aunſwered for me to that, and ſayde:
 that name was giuen, to ſerue for that
 tyme in whiche he was meete to teache,
 and not now when he is not meete to
 teache, but is by the churche for falſe
 teaching ſo boden to teache. But then
 vnto that one of theym aunſwered a-
 gayne and asked, why ſhoulde I then
 call him frere Syll? whyle he is now
 no longer a frere, no moze then a Doc-
 tour.

But vnto this I coulde betwene them
 tell ſome reaſon of difference. Howe be
 it rather then to make thys booke ouer
 longe, by holdynge a probleme vppon
 euerye triſte, I ſhalbe content like as in
 ſcedde of Doctour, menne call him he-
 retique, ſo in ſcedde of frere to call him
 the ſother name that euerye manne cal-
 leth

Alth all those that be runne out of religi-
on. Lo there haue I fallen on a sayze re-
gure vnware, that is I trowe called pe-
riphralis, to boyde the soule name of A-
postata.

But nowe these good bethene that
fonde the faute wyth me, that I speake
no fairer vnto these holyc prophetes of
theirs, be so egall and indyfferent, that
in theim they fynde no faute at all for
theyr abhominable raylinge agaynste
so manye other honest honourable good
and hertuous folke, nor for condemp-
ninge for dampned heretykes the whole
catholyque churche of all Chyristen peo-
ple excepte heretiques, bothe spyrituall
and tempoꝛall, seculare and relygyous
to.

But then the good bethene excuse
theim and saye, that they wyte agaynst
none but onelye theim that are nought,
and wyte but agaynst their vices.

But thys wyll euyl defende theym,
when Barnes wyterth agaynst the whole
clergye, and Tyndall saythe expresse-
lye, that of theym all there is neuer
one good.

And also they wyte not so muche a-
gaynste pompe, and pryde, and glotto-
nye, as agaynste watchynge and pray-
enge, fastynge, and wyllfull pouertye,
and all these thinges in good relygyous
people the heretikes abhoꝛre, and call it
but hypocritie.

Then saye they not so soze in wooꝝ-
des agaynste the lay people, but as faire
as they flatter theym, to make theym
enemys to the clergye, yet they dampne
theym all to the dyuell, bothe theym sel-
ues and theyr fathers, and theyr graūds-
fathers, and theyr graundfathers great
graundefathers to.

For they saye that thys eyghte hun-
dred yere all the corps of Chyristendom
hathe bene ledde oute of the ryght waye
from God, and haue lyued all in idola-
trye, and dyed in serupce of the dyuell,
because they haue done honour to Chy-
stes crosse, and prayed vnto Sayntes,
and reuerenced theyr relyques, and ho-
noured theyr ymages, and bene bapty-
sed in latyne, and taken Matrymonye
for a sacrament, and vsed confesson,
and done penauce for synnes, and pray-
ed for all Chyristen soules, and bene a-
nepled in theyr deathe bedde, and haue
taken theyr house after the rpte and vi-
sage of the churche, and haue sette moze
by the masse then they shoulde doe, and

belieued that it was a sacrifice, an host,
and an oblacion, and that it shoulde doe
theym good, and haue beleued that ther
was neyther bꝛeade nor wyne in the
blessed sacrament of the aulter, but in
steede of bꝛeade and wyne, the verye bo-
dye and bloude of Chyriste.

All these thynges saye Tyndall and
Barnes bothe, be verye false beliefe, and
greate dampnable synne in the doyng,
and so dampne they to the dyuell, the
whole catholyque churche, bothe tem-
poꝛall and spyrituall, and (excepte he-
retiques) leaue not one man for Goddes
parte thys eyghte hundred yere past
by theyr owne lymitacion, and of trath
yf theyr false heresydes were trewe, not
in the tother seven hundred befoze that
neyther.

Howe whan that agaynste all the
whole catholyque churche, bothe that
nowe is, and that euer befoze hath bene
from the Apostles dayes hitherto, bothe
tempoꝛall and spirituall, laye menne
and relygyous, and agaynste all that
good is, Saintes, ceremonies, serupce
of God, the verye sacramentes and all,
and molte agaynste the beste, that is to
wytte the precious bodye and bloude of
our Sauour hym selfe in the holyc sa-
crament of the aulter, these blasphemous
heretiques in theyr vnglacypoule
bookes so bilanoussye ieste and rayle:
were not a manne wene you very farre
ouerseene and woꝛthy to bee compted
vncourteple, that woulde in wytyng
agaynste their heresydes, presume wyth-
oute greate reuerence to rehearse theyr
woꝛthyfull names.

If anye of theym vse theyr wooꝝdes
at theyr pleasure, as euyl and as vylla-
nous as they lyfte agaynste my selfe, I
am contente to forbeare anye requy-
tyng thereof, and gyue them no worthe
wooꝝdes agayne, then yf they speake
me saye, nor vsynge theym selfe to
warde all other folke as they doe, say-
er wooꝝdes will I not gyue them then
yf they speake me foule. For all shall be
one to me, or rather the worste the bet-
ter. For the pleasaut oyle of heretikes
caste bypon myne heade, canne doe my
mynde no pleasure, but contrary wyse
the worste that suche folke wyte of me,
for hateded that they beare to the catho-
lyque churche and saythe, the greater
pleasure (as for myne owne parte) they
doe me.

But

Note why all
Chyristendom
hath bene led
from God as he
remaketh saye.

A But surely their railing agaynste al other, I purpose not to beare so patiently, as to forbear to let them heare some parte of lyke language as they speake. Howe be it better to matche them therein, I neyther canne thoghe I woulde, nor wyll neyther thoghe I conlde, but am contente (as I needes muste) to gyue them therein the maysterpe, wherin to matche them, were more rebuke then honesty.

B Howe if they excuse themselfe, and say they speake euyl but of euyl thyngs (for so call they good woorkes of penance, and so call they the ceremonies and sacramentes of Chyistes churche) I aunswere them playnely that they lye, wherein euerye trew Chyisten man wyll testyfy that I saye trouthe, for those thynges be good and holy whyche they rebuke and call noughte. And I saye farther also, that by the excuse of theirs, they make myne excuse to, in the thinge wherewith they bee worste content, that is to wytte, where I some what sharpe rebuke weddyng of freeres and Nunnes, whyche thinge is as all the wo:ld wotteth, beasty and abominable in dede.

And also yf they wyll excuse themselfe, and saye that as touching menne, they rayle agaynste none but suche as be lewde and noughte: to thys I aunswere firste that in this thinge they lye. For they rayle agaynste all. And some they call nought by name, whose specc, all goodnesse, shall haue recozde and wytnesse of all good folke that knowe them.

Secondly I say farther, that by this excuse of theirs, they muste needes excuse me to, whan I rebuke themselfe. For they be well and openly knowen, and conuicted for heretiques, whiche is yf wotte well the worste cryme that canne be, and that for heretikes of suche a maner sorte, as is the worst kynde of that cryme that euer came out of Chy:sendome.

Howe be it I am yet content for all this, to fall at some reasonable composition with them. Lette vs take thys waye betwene vs from hence forth yf they lye. Lyke as I doe not allowe, but obhore incontinence in sacred professed persones that haue botwed chastite, so lette them confesse, that them selfe obhore also the beasty bycherlye marriages of Donkes, freeres, and Nun-

nes, and of all suche as haue vnto God promysed and banded the contrarie. And than sicke all oure matter is onely of the faith, lette them forbear in stede of reasoning to fall to raylunge vppon other menne liuinge. For thereby flyenge fro the matter of faith, they furnishe oute they: processe wyth lyenge, while the fautes of some, they lewdelye laye to all.

If they wyll not (whyche were the beste) reuoke they: false hereses, nor wyll not (whyche were the nerste) be heretiques alone them selfe, and holde their tounge, and be still, but wyll needes be babilinge, and corrupte whome they canne: Lette them yet at the leaste wyl be reasonable heretiques, and honeste, and wyte reason and leaue raylunge, and than lette the bretherne finde the faute with me, if I vse them not after that in woordes, as saye and as mylde as the matter maye suffer and beare.

But this way will they neuer take I wene. For than they see well that they: disciples will neuer haue halfe the luste to looke vppon their bookes, wherein they should than finde but a pooze feast and an euyl dressed dinner. For in their onely railing standeth all their reuell, with onely raylunge is all their roste meate basted, and all their pottc seasoned, and all their pye meate spiced, and all their maunchetes, and all their wafers, and al their pyocrace made.

At the reuel of heretikes doth stande in all their roste meate.

The .x. chapter.



Nowe passinge ouer this point, I come to this that these good bretheren saye, that they lyst not to reade my bookes, for I am suspect in these matters, and parcial towards the spiritualtye.

As for suspecte, if I be nowe suspecte the wo:ld wareth all of a newe kynde. For menne were wont to call those folk suspecte, that were suspecte of heresy. And thys is nowe a newe kynde of suspectes, if menne bee nowe suspected of the catholique faith. Howe bee it in that suspicion am I gladde to be fallen, and purpose neuer to purge it.

Howe as touching parcialtye vppon my parte towards the spiritualtye, I manuaile wherof they gather it. My selfe am perde a tempo: all manne, and

Good things among heretikes are euyl woorkes.

Heresy of all crimes is the worst.

And by thys weddyng am come in the case that I canne neuer be prieste. And as for al the landes and fees that I haue in all Englande, besyde suche landes and fees as I haue of the gyfte of the kynges moste noble grace is not at this tyme, nor shall bee whyle my mother in lawe lyueth (whose lyfe and good helth I praye God longe keepe and continue) woozthe yeaerlye to my lyuynge, the summe of full fyfthe pounce. And therof haue I some by my wyfe, and some by my father (whose soule our Lord alleuie) and som haue I also purchaced my selfe, and some fees haue I of some tempozall menne. And then maye euery manne well gesse, that I haue no verpe greate parte of my liuing by the clergie, to make me verpe parcyall to them.

And ouer that, this shal I truly say, that of all the yeaerlye lyuynge that I haue of the kynges gracypus gyfte, I haue not one grote by the meanes of anye spirituall manne, but farre aboue my deseryng haue hadde it, onelye by hys owne spynulare boountye and goodnesse, and specyal fauour towarde me.

And verplye of anye suche yeaerlye fees as I haue to my lyuynge at thys tyme of any other, I haue not hadde one grote granted me sythe I fyrste wrote, or went aboute to wytte my dyalogue, and that was ye wot wel the first wyke that I wrote in these matters.

But then saye the bryethrene as they holp father wytteth, and telleth also dyuers whom he talketh with, that I haue taken greate rewardes in readye money of diuers of the clergie for making of my bookes.

In good faith I wyll not saye naye, but that some good and honozable men of theym, woulde in rewardes of my good wyll and my labour agaynst these heretikes, haue gyuen me muche more then euer I dydde, or coulde deserue. But I dare take God and theym also to recozde, that all they coulde neuer seeffe me wyth one peny thereof, but (as I plainely tolde them) I woulde rather haue casted they money into the Temy then take it. For al be it they were as in deede there were, bothe good menne and honozable, yet looke I for my thanke of God that is they better, and for whose sake I take the labour and not for theirs.

And if anye of the bryethren beleuing

their holpe fathers, thyncke as some of theym saye, that I haue moze auantage of these matters then I make for, and that I sette not so little by money, as to refuse it when it were offered: I will not muche dispute with theym longer vppon the matter. But lette theym belieue as they lyffe, yet thys wyll I be bolde to saye for my selfe, all though they shoulde call me Pharyse, for the boaste and Pelagiane for my labour to, that howe badde so euer they reken me, I am not yet fullye so vertuelesse, but that of myne owne naturall dysposicyon without anye speciall peculiar helpe of grace thereto, I am both ouer proude and ouer slouthfull also, to bee hyzed for money to take halfe the labour and busynesse in wyting, that I haue taken in this geare since I began.

And therfore cause of partial fauour to the priestes persones haue I none, moze then hathe euery good Chryffen manne and woman, whiche is of dewe tyte bounden to giue honoure and reverence vnto that holpe sacrament of order, with whiche the clergie is specially consecrate and dedicate vnto God.

But where as the bryethren saye that I am not indifferent in the matter, they in doe they the thynge that they seldome doe, that is to wytte saye the truth. For if they call the matter either the vyce or vertue of the persons, whych I take not for the matter: yet therein am I not indifferent in deede betwene a tempozall manne and a spiritual. For as for vice, I holde it muche moze dampnable in a spirituall persone, then in a tempozall manne. And as for vertue, egall vertue I holde it yet muche moze yf it happen in the tempozall manne, then in the spirituall, because though the thinge be egall, they be not bothe egallye bounde thereto. And therefore if they take thys for the matter, in this wise I am not indifferent.

Howe if they take for the matter the thing that I take for the matter, that is to wytte, the true faith and false heresies, then am I muche lesse indifferent. For God keepe me from being indyfferent betwene those twoo soztes. For euerye good manne is bounden betwene truche and falschod, the catholik church and heretikes, betwene God and the diuel, to be parcial, and plainly to declare hymselfe to be full and whole vppon the one syde, and clere agaynst the tother.

But

Honour is to be giue to the sacrament of order.

The vice of a spiritual man

The vertu of a temporal man

In some it may be a manne ought to be parcial.

A But elles as for any partfall fauour that I beare to the clergie, where by doe these brethrene proue it? I neuer sayde that they were all fautes, nor I neuer excused thei fautes. And yf euer I dydde, lette theym rehearke of my wpytynge some one place at the leaste, lette theym tell where I commende pompe and pryde, where I praysle auarice, where lechery, or suche other thing.

Those that bee spirituall persones by profession, and are therewith carnal and wretched in their condicion, haue neuer bene fauoured by me.

B When I was firste of the kynges counsaile, and after hys vnder treasurer, and in the tyme whyle I was chauncellour of hys Duchye, of Lancaster, and when I was hys Chauncellour of thys realme, it was meetely well known what manner of fauour I bare towarde the clergie, and that as I loued and honoured the good, so was not my selfe nor slacke in prouydynge for the correccion of those that were noughte, noyous to good people, and sclaunderous to thei owne order. Whych sorte of priestes and religyous rannynge oute of religyon and fallynge to theste and murder, hadde at my hande so lyttle fauoure, that there was no manne that a nyne meddeling hadde wyth theym, into whose handes they were moze lothe to come.

And in thys poynte founde I thei ordynaryes so well mynded to thei adement and correccion, that they gaue me great thanks therfore.

And I founde those priestes rather content to remaine in the kynges prison a moneth, then in the byshoppes a weeke, sayng for hope of deliuerance by the common course of thei purgacion.

D And yet as farre as my pooze wytte coulde giue me, sauynge that the danger of escapes is to the Ordynarye so chargeable, that the feare thereof maketh them sayne of thei deliuerance, elles were they lykelye to be wahren better ere they gat thence, or elles to tarye there as long as euer they lyued.

But I perceiue well that these good brethren looke that I shoulde rebuke the clergie, and seeke oute thei fautes, and laye theym to thei faces, and wypte some wooske to thei shame, or elles they canne not call me but partfall to the priestes.

How best by this reason they may cal me partfall to the laye menne to. For I neuer bled that waye neyther toward the tene nor the tother. I finde not yet suche plentye and flore of vertue in my selfe, as to thyncke it a meetely parte and conuenient for me to playe, to rebuke as abhominable vicious folke, as nyne one honest compayne eyther spyrituall or tempozall, and much lesse mete to rebuke and reproche either the whole spiritualltye or tempozaltye, because of suche as are verye starke noughte in bothe.

I dare be bolde to saye, that proude folke be noughte, that conetous folke bee noughte, that lecherous folke bee noughte, and to speake agaynst open known theenes, open known murders, open known periured persones, open known apostataes, open known professed or conuicted heretikes.

But surely my guise is not to laye the fautes of the noughte, to the charge of any whole compayne, and rayle bypon marchauntes and cal them blersers, nor to rayle bypon frankelens and cal them false iurours, nor to rayle bypon thyrfes and call them rauensours, nor to rayle bypon eschetours and call theym extorcionours, nor bypon all offycers and call them bribours, nor bypon gentlemenne and call theym oppresours, nor so foorth by higher to call euery degree by such odious names as me might finde some of that sorte.

And of all degrees speciallye for my parte, I haue euer accompted my deuty to forbear all suche maner of vnmanerlye behauioure towarde those two moste eminent orders, that God hath here ordayned in earthe, the two greates. I meane of speciall consecrate persones, the sacred prynces and priestes. Agaynst anye of whiche two reuerent orders, who so be so lewde vnreuerentlye to speake, and malapertlye to tesse and rayle, shall playe that parte alone for me. And rather wyll I that these brethrene call me parcial, than for suche yll fashion indyfferent.

And ouer thys I canne not see what neede there were that I shoulde rayle bypon the clergie, and rechen bype all thei fautes. For that parte hath the Synnall played, and frere Barns bothe all readye, and lesse nothyng for me to saye therein, not thoughte my mynde were soze set thereon.

They

The rommes
and dignities
that sir Thomas
More
was in.

Two the most
eminent orders.

A They haue with trath and lyes together, laied the liuing of badde, to badde and good both, in suche a vyle vilanous falshion, that it would make a good stomake to vompytte to heare theyr ribauldous raylyng. And yet not againste the sacred persons onelye, but againste the blessed sacramentes also.

And nowe woulde theyr dyscyples that I shoulde not speake against theyr execrable heresies, and theyr dyspyghtfull dealing, but if I shoulde by the way doe as they doe, and helpe them forth in the same.

And herein fare they muche lyke, as if there were a sorte of vylayne wretched heretykes, that meeting the priestes and clerkes relygyous, and other goynge wyth banners, copes, crosses, and sencers, and the sacrament: bothe aboute wyth them vppon a Cozpus christi daye, would picke quarels to them, and fyrst call them all that could come in theyr vylayne mouthes, and happely saye true by some, and than catche them all by the heades, and thowse them in the myze, surplices, copes, sencers, crosses, reliques, sacrament and al. And than if any manne rebuked theyr vylainous dealinge, and woulde steppe vnto the priestes, and woulde pull them by the cope, and helpe to wypp the copes, and reuerentlye take by the crosses, the reliques, and the blessed sacrament: were it not nowe well and wyselye spoken of one woulde reprove hym that thus did, and saye he shoulde not medle hymselfe in the matter hotte nor colde, but yf hee woulde bee indyfferent and doe somewhat on bothe the sides, and therefore he shoulde to shewe hymselfe indyfferent, either reuile and rebuke the priestes, or at the leaste wyse some of them, and to wise them somewhat in the myze for the pleasure of them that so serued them or els go by aboute his other busynesse, and lette the matter alone, and neyther take by good man oute of the myze, nor surplice, cope, nor sencer, nor reliq, but let them lay the sacrament in the dirt againe. Were not this a goodlye wape? Surely for my parte I am not so ambycious of such folkes payse, as to be called indyfferent, wil in wryting againste their heresies helpe them forth in theyr raylyng.



The .xl. chapter.

At now where as the brethren laye a blame in me, that I had

not vsed suche a goodlye milde maner, and suche an indyfferent fasthyon, as they synde vsed by hym that made the booke of the dyuision betwene the spiritualte and the tempozalte: I am not greatlye blame woorthye therein. For hys booke was putte oute synce, and therefore coude I when I wrote, take none ensample thereof, and euerye man is not lyke inuentur of hys owne wyl. For surelye he hathe founden some certayne proper inuented fygures in that booke, in whyche I am so farre from syndynge the lyke of my selfe, that being as they nowe bee founden to myne hande all ready, harde were it for me in the like matter to folowe them.

And yet though my booke be verpe farre vnder hys, they maye bee for all that (ye wotte well) meetelye good, yf hys be so farre excellent as the brethren boaste it.

In whyche booke yet, as muche as they boaste it, he declareth, and expresselye testyfieth lyke a trewe Christen manne, howe so ever the matters go betwene the tempozalte and the spiritualte, that yet theyr oppynyons are heresies.

But they take as it seemeth all those woordes of hys well in woorth, because they rechen them selfe recompensed in a nother parte, in that they falselye persuade vnto them selfe, eyther that hee dyssembleth for the whyle, and beleueth as they doe, or elles that belene he neuer so well hymselfe, yet eyther of pytye or some other affeccion, he could be content to helpe, that they shoulde themselfe wyth theyr euill beliefe be lette alone, and lyue in rest, and be suffred to beleue as they lyfse.

But I truste in God, that in that poynte they leane to muche to the letter of hys woordes, and of theyr owne fauoure to them selfe, mylde construe the good mannes mynde. For God forbode that any Christen manne shoulde meane so.

Howe be it, as touchynge the matter wherewyth we be nowe in hande, that is to wytte the maner of mylde and indyfferent wrytyng by me, or by hym, concernynge the spiritualte and the tempozalte, therein am I verpe sure that hys mylde indyfferent booke of the dyuysyon, neyther is moze mylde, nor moze indyfferent then anye booke of myne.

For

A For first as for mine owne part, loke my dyalogue, my supplicacyon of soules, and both the parts of the confutaciō and ye shall clerely see that I neyther haue used toward the clergie noz toward the tempoꝛaltie, any warme dyspleasaunt wooꝛde, but haue foꝛboꝛne to touche in speciall, eyther the fautes of the one oꝛ of the tother. But yet haue I confessed the thing that trouthe is, neyther parte to be faultlesse. But then whiche is the thing that offendeth these blessed bꝛethꝛen, I haue not letted further moze to saye the thyng whych I take also foꝛ very trewe, that as this realme of Englande hath hadde hitherto God be thanked as good, and as laudable a tempoꝛaltie, number foꝛ number, as hath hadde anye other Christen regyon of the quantitie, so hath it hadde also number foꝛ number compared wyth a nyne realme Chꝛystened of no greater quantitie, as good and as commendable a clergie, though there haue neuer lacked in any of bothe the partes, plentye of suche as haue alwaye bee noughte, whose fautes haue euer bene their own, and not to bee imputed to the whole bodye, neyther of spiritualltye noz tempoꝛaltie, sauing that there haue bene peraduenture on either parte, in some such as by their offices ought to looke there to, some lacke of the labour and diligence that in the reforming of it should haue belonged vnto theym, whych I declare allwaye that I woulde wythe amended, and euery manne speciall labour to amende hymselfe, and rather accustom hymselfe to looke hypon his owne fautes then hypon other mennies, and againste suche as are in either sorte founden open, euill, and noughte, and noyous vnto the common weale, as theues, murderers, and heretikes, and such other wretches, the whole cozps of the spiritualltye and tempoꝛaltie bothe, eche with other louinglye to accoꝛd and agree, and according to the good auncient lawes and commendable vsages, longe continued in this noble realme, eyther parte endeuour theymselfe diligently to repressse and keepe vnder those euill and vngacious folke, that lyke sores, scabbes, and cankers trouble and bere the bodye, and of all theym to cure suche as maye be cured, and foꝛ heale the of the whole bodye, cutte and cast of the incurable cancred partes thereto, observed in the doyng euer moze suche order and fasthyon as maye stande and a-

grace with reason and iustyce, the kinges lawes of the realme, the scripture of God, and the lawes of Christes church, euer keepinge lone and concoꝛd betwene the twoo principall partes the spyꝛitualltye and tempoꝛaltie, least the bꝛegges of bothe sortes conspiring together and encreasing, maye litle and lyttle growe to stronge foꝛ both, whereto they might haue a faire gappe and a broad gate to enter, yf they myghte fynde the meane by craft to seuer and sette a funder the tempoꝛaltie against the clergie to strue and so lette as it were the soule and the bodye bꝛable and stryue together, and while they studey nothinge elles but the one to greue the tother, the noughtye then conspire and agree together, and set vpon the good people of both.

This hath bene hitherto the whole summe of my wytyng, withoute anye dyspleasaunt wooꝛde bled either toward tempoꝛaltie oꝛ spiritualltye. And moze mylde manner then this toward all good folke, hath not this other booke of diuision, noz yet a moze indifferent, as farre as I can see, but yf he be reckoned moze mylde, because he setteth his wooꝛdes muche moze mylde and colde, when he speaketh aughte of heretikes, and sheweth hymselfe therin moze temperate and thereby moze dyscrete then I, and but yf he be reckoned foꝛ moze indifferent, because his wooꝛdes in rehearsing the fautes of the spiritualltye, be not in the worst things parcellye pointed towarde suche as bee noughte, but indifferently directed and poynted toward the whole bodye.

The. xii. chapter.



How best as touching the manner of his handelyng, to tell you the very trouthe, it semeth to me somewhat straunge, foꝛ one that woulde go about the purpose that he pretendeth, that is to wytte to pacifye and appeale two parties, beinge at so soze a dysension and bypysion, as he saythe that the tempoꝛaltie is in grudge against the spyꝛitualltye, not here and there, but euerye where noted, as he saythe in a maner vniuersally thoroꝛe this whole realme. How best I trust in God very farre fro so. And yet not fully so farre, but that it may by my fortune foꝛ aboundaunce of synne, and lacke of grace, in tyme grow and come to it.

A For truth it is that murmur and dissension (God knoweth how it begonne) agaynste the clergie is a greete waue gone onward in hys vnhappy iourney, and maye by such maner and meane of paciffeng. within thozte processe be conuayed rounde aboute the realme, and leaue no place in peace. For if I would thinke the manne that made that booke to be of suche malicious mynde, as wilinglye to solwe dysfension, but that as me seemeth he taketh at the leasse wyle vnware a wzonge way toward the contraye, and that the maner of his handlinge is farre from such indyfferencye as he shoulde vse, that woulde make a loue daye and appeale anye murmur and grudge of the laye people agaynste the priestes.

For he sheweth in the progresse of all his processe, that the grudge is bozne by the tempozaltie, and the causes and occasions thereof growen and gyuen in effectre all by the spiritualtye. Whiche handelynge is not as me thynketh very muche indifferent.

I lette passe that he whiche verplye woulde entende to pacifie, swage, and appeale a grudge, woulde (as muche as he conuenientlye mighte) extenuate the causes and occasions of the grudge. But and yf hee woulde needes walke plainelye footthe and take no suche by-waves, he woulde not yet at the leasse

C wyle not accumulate and exaggrate the grefes, and by all the meanes hee myghte, make the grefes appeare manye, greete, and mooste odious. And finallye, if for hatred of theyr fautes, no fauoure of theyr personnes coulde cause hym to forbear that, yet woulde he forbear at the leasse wyle to seeke vyppre and rehearse causes of grudge before vnkownen vnto the partye, whose displeasure he woulde asswage and pacifye. But nowe thys appeasoure contrarpye wyle, not onelye dothe in all these thynges the contrarpye, but byngeth footthe also helyde all thys, some suche fautes no, as yf they were trewe were of the greatest weyght, and telleth them as though they were trewe, wher they be verye platine false in deede.

But nowe if good byethzen that boast it, laye footthe for a great token of temperaunce and good mynde toward the spiritualtye, that he forbear to speake anye thyng of the greete open fautes, that manye priestes be openlye taken in, as theste, robberye, sacrilege, and

murder, wherof in sundrye thynges of the realme there are at euerye sessions openlye founden some.

And yet the moste parte of suche fautes as he speaketh of, he saith them not as of hymselfe, nor attyrmeth them not for trewe, nor as thynges neyther spoken by the mouthes of verye manye, but to myrgate the matter wyth, he sayth no moze, but that thus by the clergie some saye, and some synde thys faute wyth theym, and some synde that, and though they maye make some summes make a greete, what canne he doe thereto: Canne he lette menne to speake: or is hee bounde to stoppe hys eares and heare them not: or may he not tell what he heareth some other saye.

And yet saye they farther, that he telleth indifferentlye the fautes as well of the tempozaltie as of the spiritualtye, and woulde there shoulde not be betwene the tempozaltie and the spiritualtye, so muche as any one angrey woode. And therefore they saye that it canne not be possible that he wote of anye euill entente, sythe no man canne vse hymselfe neyther moze mydelve, nor wyth moze indifferencye, nor finallye wyth moze tender charitye.

But nowe to these excuses, some other menne aunswere agayne, that the leauing oute of felonye, sacrilege, and murder, is rather a token of wylpynesse, then anye forbearing or fauoure. For sythe he sawe well that euery wyse man woulde aunswer in hymselfe, that those greete horrible open euils of suche desperate noughtye wretches, were not to be layed agaynst the clergie, as the lyke in tempozal wretches are not to be layed agaynst the tempozaltie: he woulde therefore rather seeke oute and heape vyppre a sozte of those thynges that might by his maner of handelyng, sounde in the readers eares to be suche as the tempozaltie myghte ascrybe and impute vnto (and therefore beare a grudge vnto) the maine multitude of the whole clergie, and extende in substantys vnto euerye parte.

And as touchynge that he sayth not the thynges as of hymselfe, but byngeth them in with a fygure of some saye: to that point some other saye, that for that curtest no mā hath any cause to can him and thank. For vnder his faire fygure of some say, he may ye wote wel, and some say that he so doth, deuise to byng in all the myschytse that anye man canne say.

And

A And yet ouer thys wythout hys maker of some saye, he sayth open faced some of the wurke himselfe, and that in some thynges that are as some true men saye not true.

Then as touchyng hys indifferency, in tellyng the fautes of the tempoꝛalye to, of frouthe amonge a greate heape of shewe fautes rehearsed agaynst the clergie, for whyche the tempoꝛalye myghte yf the thynges were all trewe, seeme to haue greate cause of grudge, he rehearseth also some fautes of the tempoꝛalye to, as that they be to blame because they vse the priestes ouerfamilyarlye, and gyue them ouer gay gownes, or lyghte coloured lyuerpes, and one or twoo suche thyngs mo, as though they myghte be mended, yet were of no suche kynde as the priestes that so bee deahte wythall, haue bene wont to fynde anye cause of great grudge.

Howebeit yet in one place to shewe hys farther indyfferencye, he layeth agaynst theym bothe that the priestes agaynst laye people, and laye people agaynst priestes, haue bled to haue euyl language, and eyther agaynst other speake vnpytting woordes. And thereupon he sheweth hys tender charytye, and saith: **I**f all these woordes were prohybited on both sydes vpon greate paynes, I thynke it woulde doe greate good in thys behalfe.

The. xlii. chapter.



But now good readers, if that it so were, that one found two men standyng together, and woulde come step in betwene them, and beare them in hand they were about to fyghte, and woulde wyth that worde put the tone preatellye backe wyth his hande, and all to buffet the tother aboute the face, and than go forth and saye that he hadde parted a fraye, and pacyfyed the parties: some men woulde saye agayne (as I suppose) that he had as lyue his enemye were let alone wyth hym, and thereof abyde the adventure, as haue suche a friende step in betwene to parte them.

Howebeit yf thys pacyfyer of thys dyuision wyll saye that thys is nothyng lyke the present matter, because he cryeth neyther parte, but onely telleth the tone the tothers fautes, or elles (as he wil saye) telleth them they fautes both: yf it so happeth good readers he founde a man that were angrye wyth his wyfe

(and happely not all wythout cause) yf thys maker of the booke of diuision wold take vpon hym to go and reconcille the agayne together, and help to make them at one, and therein woulde vse this way, that when he had the them bothe before hym, and before al they neighbours to, then saynge for seime chaunge to make it meete for they persons, els he woulde begynne holpy wyth the same woordes in effect, wyth whiche he begynneth hys indifferent milde booke of diuision, and for an enter into his matter, first wolde saye thus vnto them: **W**ho may remember the state that ye stande in, withoute great heauynesse and sorow of hart: for where as in tymes passed hath reygned betwene you charitie, meekenesse, concord, and peace, there raygneth now anger, & malycie, debate, diuision & strife. **W**hyche thing to see so myffortune betwene any two Chrysten folk is a thing muche to be lamented, and then muche moze to be lamented, when it myshapeth to fal betwene a ma & his wife. And many good neyghbours greatlye meruel I wisse, vpon what causes this great grudge is growen. And therefore to the intent that ye maye remoue the causes, and amende these matters, and thereby then by the grace of God agree, I wyll tell you what I heare men saye that the causes be. And now after holy prologue made, go forth and tell them that some folke saye, the wyfe hath thys euyl condicion, and some other say that she hath that euyl condicion, and yet other some saye that she hath a nother euyl condicion, and so wyth twentye dyuers some sayes of other menne, saye there hymself by the pooze woman, all the myscheyse that anye manne coulde deuise to saye, and amonge those, some thynges peradventure true, whyche yet her husbande hadde neuer hearde of before. And some thynges false also, whereof because the pacifier woulde be putte vnto no prooffe, he woulde not saye them as of hymselfe, but bynge them forth vnder the faire figure of some saye. And when he hadde all sayde, then yet at the lasse saye thus muche of hymselfe: As for these thynges here and there, I haue hearde some other saye, whether they say trewe or no, the charge be theirs for me. But yet in good faith good syfter, sythe ye knowe that y displeasure and grudge that your husbande hathe to you, is growen vpon these causes, I maruaile much my selfe that you do vse the same condicions stil.

I wyll

A I wisse tyll you meeke your selfe and amende them, thys anger of your husband will neuer be well appeased.

Age wyth such wooordes he wyrdeth the colour of hys fayre figure of Some say, eyther by forgetfulnesse, or els by playne fygure of follye. For whan he sayth of hymselfe, that he kepeth those euill condicions still and amenderth the not, he sheweth that all his Some saies be of hys own sayeng, though he might happely in some of them heare some other say so to beside.

But than if among all these sawtes so mildely rehearsed agaynst her, hee would to theiſe ſo what of hys indifferencie, tell her husband hys pars verſe to, & ſaye, But yet ſo lothe your wyſe hath not gyuen you ſo manye cauſes of displeaſure ſo naught. For I will be plain with you and indifferent betweene you both, you haue in ſome thinges toward her not deſte very well nor lyke a good

C husbande your ſelfe. For thys I knowe my ſelfe, that ye haue vſed to make her to homely with you, and haue ſuffred her to bee to much pble, & ſuffred her to bee to muche conuerſaunt amonge her ghoſteppes, & you haue gyuen her ouer gay gere and to muche money in in her purſe, and ſurely til you amende al this gere ſo your part, I cannot much meruayle though he doe you displeaſure. And ſometime euill wooordes betweene you cauſeth debate on both ſides. For you call her (as I here ſay) curſed quene and ſhrew, & ſome ſay that ſhe behinde your backe calleth you knaue and kuckolde. And I wisse ſuch wooordes were wel done to be ſet on both ſides, ſo ſure

Iſe they doe no good. And therfore if all thoſe wooordes were prohibited on both ſides vppon great paynes, I thinke it would doe great good in this behalfe.

Powe geate you henſe as wiſe as a calfe would I wene the good wyſe ſape to this good ghoſtly pacifier. For ſpake he neuer ſo mildely, and would ſeeme neuer ſo indifferent, though he looked therwith right ſimply, and held vp alſo both his bandes holily, and would therwith ſwere to the woman full depely, & hys entent wer good, and y he nothyng ment but to bying her husband and her at one, would ſhe thinke you ſo al that beſeue him? I ſuppoſe verily naye, nor her husbande neyther if he were wyſe, although he ſawe ſome parte of his tale true, as none is ſo foliſhe to ſay al falſe,

that would winne hym credence.

But beſeue the husbande as he lyſe, I durſt be bold to ſwere ſo the wyſe, that he ſhould neuer make her ſuche a fool, as to beſeue that he ment to mend the matter, wyth rehearſing her fautes mo then euer her husbande had hearde of, & ſome of them falſe to, and than colour all hys tale wyth hys proper inuencio of Some ſay. But ſhe would ſo his ſome ſay thoſtly ſay to him, I pray you good man Some ſay gete you thoſtly henſe. For my husbande and I ſhall agree much the ſoner if no ſuche brother Some ſay come within our doze.

Now of very trouth this pacifier, as ſome ſay, goeth yet worſe to worke in his booke of deuſion, then thys Some ſay, that we put ſo a ſample betweene the man and his wiſe. For he gathereth firſt all the cauſes of dyſpleaſures that he can finde oute or deuſe, and diuerſe of them ſuch as ſewe lay people vnlearned, yea and ſewe of the learned to, had any thing hard of befoze, as are diuerſe of thoſe which he gathereth out of John Gerſon.

If he ſaye that he ment as Gerſon did, that he maketh mencio of them becauſe he would haue the clergie mende them, ſurely who ſo ſo ſuch good will telleth a man his fautes, bleth to tel hit him ſecretly, and ſo did John Gerſon himſelf when he wrote them in latyne, and not in the bulger tongue.

But this pacifier contrary wyſe becauſe he would haue the lay people both menne and women looke on them, both tranſlate them into engliſhe, whereas John Gerſon would not that a man ſhoulde reproche and rebuke the prelates befoze the people.

Alſo thys pacifier aggreueth (as much as in him lyeth) the clergie of Englands, ſo ble of the lawes not made by themſelf, but be the comon lawes of al chriſtendome.

If he wyll ſaye that hee blameth but their abuſes therof the trouth appereth in ſome place otherwiſe in his booke.

And yet ſich he proueth that pointe but by a Some ſay, he might with the ſame figure lay lyke ſawtes in y tempoꝝalty concerning the lawes of thys realme and proue it in lykelwyſe wyth a great Some ſay to. And therein hee ſheweth himſelfe not indyfferent when he byingeth in the tone and leaueth the tother oute.

And on the tother ſide, if he bying in the
B. j. tother

Note thys of
husbandes.

tother to, than shall he make two fau-
res for one. For if he handle the as tru-
lye as he handleth these, than shall hee
make two lyes for one.

And yet belyde all the fautes that he
bringeth in vnder soe say and thei saye,
some that himselfe saith withoute any
some say, be such as some say that he ca-
neuer proue, and some thei say be plain
and open false.

By all which maner of handeling it
appereth, that if the mā meane wel him-
selfe (as by Goddes grace he doth) than
hath some other suttile shewe that is of
his counsaile deceiued him, not only in
the misse framing of hys matter moze
towarde deuision then vnitie, but also
by causing him to plant in here & there,
some suche woozde as might make hys
best frendes to fere, that he greatly for-
ced not for the furtheraunce of the ca-
tholike sayth.

The. xiiij. chapter.

But for as muche as I touching
of that boke is here not my pri-
cipall purpose, I wyl therfore
not peruse it ouer and touch e-
uery point therof. Whiche if I would,
I coulde I think wel make men se, that
very fewe partes therof had either such
charitie or such indifferencie therein, as
not onely the new naughty betherhed
boosterh, but some good folke also take it
at a superficiall reading.

And yet because the betherhens boaste
hath made it an incident vnto my mat-
ter, and that some thinges therein are
such, as it is moze then necessary for men
be well aduised of theim, and well fore-
see what they dooe in them, and lesse a
better opinion of the booke then the
matter may bere (if it be pōdered right)
may be occasyon to moue men in some
great thinges to doe no little wronge, &
to thentent also that ye maye see that in
all that I haue sayd, I belie hym not: I
shall for a sample of handling, touche
by the way one or two places of hys.

And lesse folke shoulde thinke that I
pke out here and ther two or thre lines
of y woꝛd I will take his first chapter
whole. In which though al be not nou-
ght, nor all false (For a very foole were
he that would put forth a booke & make
al nought & al false, euen in y very fore
front y shall come first to hand) yet if it
be cōsidered & aduised wel, there wyl I
weene euē in y very first capiter appere,
lesse good and lesse truerth to, then men

at a sodaine shift in y first reding ouer, &
dooe thozowly percepue. So thus it be-
ginneeth.

Who may remēbre the state of this
realme now in these dayes, wout great
heauines and sorow of heart. For there
as in times passe hath reigned charity,
meekenes, concord, and peace, reigned
now enuy, pride, deuision, & strife: and
that not only betwene lay men and lay
men, but also betwene religious and re-
ligious, and also betwene priestes & re-
ligious, & that is yet moze to be lamented
also betwene priestes and priestes. Some
say that a mā might here a little
lament thys mānes wit, that wenerh it
lesse to be lamented, that debate & strife
shoulde be betwene priestes & religious
persons, or betwene those that are both
the partes religious folke, the betwene
those that are both the partes priestes.
For some say that many religious folke
be priestes. And they that so say, doe say
also that as many priestes be religious
folke. And some say therfore, that except
this man meane here by religious folke
eyther women or children, wyth whose
bariaunce the tempozalty is not verpe
greatly combzed, or els the lay betherhens
that are in some places of religio, whi-
che are neither so many nor so much el-
temed, that ener the tempozaltie was
much troubled with their strife: els be-
side these, ther falleth no bariaunce light-
ly betwene religious and religious,
wherwith the tempozalty haue be offe-
ded, but it falleth of necessitie betwene
priestess and priestes, and then the ba-
riaunce, namely suche a bariaunce as
thys booke speaketh of, that is so nota-
ble that the tempozalty so much marketh
it, and hath so great cause to lament it,
when it falleth betwene religious and
religious, is a thing no lesse lamentable
then if it fell betwene as many priestess
when themself be both priestess.
And then if hee meane here by priestess
those that are seculer priestess, as by his
other woꝛdes he semeth to do, and so ta-
keth it for a thynge moze to be lamen-
ted, if bariaunce fall betwene seculer
priestess then betwene those priestess
that are in religyon: then saye some
men that he saith somewhat woꝛse. And
the they y so say, seme to me to say true.
For albeit great pity it is to see stryfe &
bariaunce betwene any seculer priestess:
yet is it moze pity to see it fall betwene
those priestess y haue also bowed & pfect-
ed farther soer at - moze straght re-
nouncing

Announcing of all suche maner thyng, as matter of debate and strife dooe commonly spring vpon. And therefore this maner of encrease and growing of this mannes oration, is but a counterfeted figure of rethorike as some men say.

And in good fayth as for my selfe I see not the reason that moued hym. For it were a very colde skule to a man lerned that will wey the whole periculus together, if he would hereafter say that hee is ment by these wordes betwene priestes and priestes, & priestes that are in religion. For beside that a man may by diuers thinges wel perceiue the contrary he had if he so had ment, lest than no lamentacion for any strife that happeth betwene secular priestes among themselves. I can not therefore in good faith deride, what he shoulde meane by that increase ending in priestes after all the religionse, but if he ment to signifie the state of priestes professing religion, for a state of lesse perfectiō by reaso of his professiō, the is the state of those secular priestes that haue tēporal landes of theyre own purchase or inheritaunce, or yet els serue some chaunterie or liue vpon tētalles abroad. And surely if the mā thus ment in dede, belydes that he shoulde haue set our this sentence more plainly: his meaning wyll but if he declare it yet better, misse the better men and better learned to, than I and he be bothe. And sauing for that point which is no smal matter, elles as for his rules of rethorike or gramaticall congruētie either, or oversight in resoning, as thinges of no great weight I would not much boushase to touche, for they be suche offences as a man may fall in, & yet be a sauēd soule, as well as though he neuer wrote anye worke at all.

The .xv. chapter.

Wich deuiliō hath be so vniuersall, & it hath be a great inquietnes & a great breach of charity through al the realme: & parte of it hath rise by reaso of a great singularity, & religious persons & priestes haue had to their state of liuing, wherby many of the haue thought their state most perfite befoze all other. And soe of the haue thereby exalted themselves in their own sight so high, that they haue risen into suche a ghostly pride, that they haue in maner disdainēd and dispised other, & haue not liued in such perfeccion, as they thinke they doe,

And of this hath folowed, & some of the haue had vnfitting wordes of the other, calling the flatterers, dissimulers, & hypocrites: And they haue called the other again proude persons couetous, vayne glorious, and louers of worldly delites, and such other.

Of some perticuler variaunce among diuers persons of the clergy haue I diuerse times hearde, as sometime one person against an other for his tithes, or a person against a religious place for meddling within his parish, or one place of religion with another vpon soe suche like occasion, or sometime some one religion haue had some question and disputed as it were a probleme, vpon chaniquitie or sensuētie of their instituciō as by whiche the carmelites claime to fetch the originall from Helias and Helizeus. And some questiō hath arise in the order of saint Francis, betwene the obseruautes and the conuēntualles. For as for the thirde company that is to wote the coletanes, there are in this realme none. But yet of all these matters was there neuer as farre as I rede or remembre, in this realme eyther so very great or so many such thinges all in hand at ones, that euer it was at any time noted through the realme and spoken of for a great notable faute of the whole clergy. And as for the fautes of some particuler partes eyther persons or places, is nothing that ought of reason be rekened for the cause of this deuiliō, & of this displeasure, and grudge of the tempoꝝalty against the clergy, no more than many moe variaunces growyng daily in diuerse times and places, with vnlawfull assembles and great riottes also, cause the clergy to grudge against the tempoꝝalty. And as it is not reason that it so were, so that it is not in dede may well be perceined by this. For if it were, then must this grudge of ours against them haue ben a very old thing, whereas it is in dede neyther so great as this manne maketh it, and growen to so great as it is, but euē of late since Lindals booke and Frithes and frere Barnes beganne to goe abroad. And yet although that it appereth well in his wordes afterward, that those variaunces can be no parte or cause of this deuylpon whereof he maketh his booke: yet hath it delpted eyther hymselfe or some litle thewes that so haue sette hym a worke to bring them in to, of a good mynde and a fauorable, to laye these

These fautes to the clergies face, besyde the matter of thys deuision that hee taketh in hand to treate of.

Now the remanaunt (wherby some what appereth also, that by the encrease of hys ozacion, with putting in hys ende, ¶ And that is yet moze to bee lamented also betwene priestes and priestes, ¶ he ment to put for hys moze lamentable strife that variance which falleth betwene secular priestes, then that that falleth betwene those that beside their order of priestehood, haue by their holy bowes entred into religion) he handleth here in such wise y he first reprocheth bothe the partes of great singularitie, which both religious persons & also priestes haue hadde to their states of liuing, by which wordes hee sheweth that eche of them contende with other vpon the prefection of theyre twoo states whyther should haue preeminence, these priestes that are secular or those that are religious, and which of the both himselfe taketh for the chief appereth, by the ppterouse encrease and growyng of hys lamentable ozacion.

Then rebuketh he of hys religious, soe that haue apparance to the moste perfite and best, & saith, ¶ that through the great singularitie that they haue to their state of liuing, they haue exalted themselves in their owne sight so hygh, that they haue rpsen into such a ghostly pride, that they haue in maner disdaind and dispised other, y haue not lyued in such pfectiō, as they think they do.

This is a great thing spokē by gelle, because among many good vertuouse folke, there may fall some by the devils meanes into some great ghostly pryde, as Lucifer dyd in the good company of angelles. But this chaunce of suche chaunge is so olde, that these wordes will nothing serue hys lamentable beginning, which standeth y wote well in lamenting the chaunge from the old vertues of times passed, into the newe vices of thys tyme pset. And this vice is very olde, and reigned most when religious folke liued best. And verely the clergy is not all thinge so euill as hee maketh it, if that religious folke lyue now so hololy, as the temporalte may note that through perfitenes of liuing, the deuil bying so many to such an high spice of pride. But the goeth he forth and setteth them to chide togither. Now be it hys wordes be so confounded with they and them and other, and in hys twoo

verses of these chiding his wordes be so vnclutely sozted, that I can not perceiue which of the twoo partes calleth which nor who calleth whom, by those names that he sayeth the one sozter calleth the tother, nor hymself I suppose neyther, as hys thing that he neuer knew for true, but thinketh he may boldely tell euery thyng for true, that anpe man percey ueth possible.

The. xvi. chapter.



And an other part of this deuisiō hath risen by diuers titles of opinions, y haue bene vpon the aucthorities, powers, and iurisdiction of spiritual me among themselves. And vpon these deuisiōs some lay men haue in time past fauored the one part, and some the other: wherby the people haue greatly be inquieted.

Diuers opinions vpon powers, aucthorities, and iurisdictiones of spiritual men among themselves, there hap peneth I thinke now and then to rple, while in such cases eyther part hath his opinion vpon hys own side. But of any great inquietacion that the people hath had by any suche deuision risen wpythin thys realme, or of any lay men bearing theyr fauour some to the one parte and some to the tother, I wene the people of thys realme that felte it haue sozotten it, if any such were, it is so long agoe. And surely my self remembre none, nor I trow no man els for the time of this. xx. yere, within which time or tennie fewer, all thys gers is begon wheerof he maketh hys deuision. And therfore this piece of hys is to my feling very colde.

The. xvii. chapter.



But I wote not fulli bi what occasion it is, y now of late the great multitude of al hys lay people haue soude defaulte, as wel at priestes as religious, so farre forth y it is now in maner noted through all hys realme, y ther is a gret deuisiō betwene the spiritualte & the temporalte. And verely it is great pity, that such a noyse should spring and go abrode.

In the beginning he sayed that deuision reygnerh now betwene spirituall men and spiritual men. And then sayth he here: But it reignerh now betwene spryptuall men and tempo:all men.

I am content to let hys (but) alone, and wyl not shote therat for this ones.

Now

A How best surely hys (hys) being a p[ro]p[er]t[ion] aduersari[us], standeth more p[ro]p[er]t[ion] to thote at betwene hys twoo (nowes) then it would if it were turned into some continuacion copulatiue.

But where as he cannot fully tell by what occasiō the great multitude haue founde defaulte, as well at p[re]stres as religious, a man nedeth neuer to study for occasiōs therēof, but if he be so curious as to seke for fautes, he may soone finde ynough, not onely in p[re]stres and in religious, but in euery sort & kinde of tempozall people to, and euer might yet in euery age sythe ch[ri]stendome began & may peraduenture if he search well, finde some in hymselfe to. So that if there be no nother cause of variaunce then that, they may both spiritualy and tempozallie take eche other by the hand like good felowes, and agree togither well ynough.

But yet happeth it wel that this good pacifier hath so great pitye, that h[is] noise of this deuision should spring and goe ab[ro]de. For he to remedy that matter with al, and to pul backe the noise therēof, and to stoppe by clerely the springe, because all should be hushie and neuer moe woordes made therof, hath as ye see put it out ab[ro]de in p[re]sent.

The. xviij. chapter.



Howe s[ome] allege diuers causes why it should be so noised.

A very few folke may soone beginne anoyse of euil wil and malice. And a nople may soone be bozne ab[ro]de whatsoeuer the matter be, wyth some of simplicitie, s[ome] of light giuing credence, and s[ome] of a lust vnto talking.

First they say, that neither p[re]stres nor the religious kepe the perfeccion of theire order to the honaure of Godde and good example of the people, as they should doe.

Merely they that so say, peraduenture say not much vntreue. For I thinke h[is] euery mānes dvery toward god is so great that very few folke serue hym as they should doe. And therefore whoso p[re]p[are] upon euery mannes dede so narrowlye, as to spee h[is] faute and fall at variaunce of great zeale with euery man h[is] dothe not to the very pointe and perfeccion, euen all that he should doe, shall ware within a while at variaunce wyth euery man & euery man with him. But I suppose thei kepe it now at thys day, much what after such a good metely meane maner, as they did many of those yeres

before in which this deuision was neuer dreamed on. And therefore they that say this is the cause, haue nede to goe seeke some other.

But that some of them p[re]sente ther owne honours, & cal it h[is] honour of god, and rather conest to haue rule ouer the people then to p[ro]fite the people.

Where there neuer none of these til now so late as aboute the beginning of thys deuision, or be they at such now. Among Ch[ri]stes own apostles was some desire of p[re]lacye, and that wyth some cōtention to. There are of our p[re]lates some suche at thys day now, as I p[re]saye God that when there shall any newe come, they may p[ro]oue no worse. For of these whan they dye if they were not worse before, whoso shall liue after them, may in my mind be bold to say, that Englad had not theyre better any daye thys. xl. yere, and I durst goe a good waye aboue to. But this is moze by twenty yere & ten set thereto, then this deuision hath any thing be spoken of.

And that s[ome] couet thei bodily ease and worldly welth, in meate & d[ri]nke, and such other, moze then commonly any tempozall man doth.

This is a very colde cause of thys now deuision, to say h[is] there be not now comenly so bad men in the tēp[or]alty as there be s[ome] in h[is] spirituality. For whan was it otherwyle & noreuch in Ch[ri]stes own dayes. For Judas h[is] was one of hys owne apostles, was not onely worse then the comen sorte of all those h[is] loued their bellies & theire ease amonge Ch[ri]stes disciples wer they mē or womē, but worse also then h[is] very worst in al h[is] world beside. But what cause wer this h[is] the tēp[or]alty should (nor thoughte this man say thus, I thinke not them so vntreasonable that they would) be at debate & deuision wyth h[is] hole body of the clergy, because h[is] some of thei wer worse then those are h[is] are in a meane comon sort of noughtines among themselves.

And h[is] some serue God for a worldly laude & to be magnified therefore, moze then for the pure loue of god.

That same some that so doe, be s[ome] of h[is] most folishe apes h[is] the deuill hath so tūble afoze him & to make him laughe, whē he seeth thei take so much labour & paine for the reward of h[is] blasse of a few mens monthes. How best there may be s[ome] such for all that, and yet nothing to the purpose of this matter. For as for the speache of foolles is not to bee

A compted for a pzoofe of diuifion. And among wife menne the gelle and conec-
ture that in the clergy there be secretly
some verpe nought befoze god, whome
yet in the fight of the woꝛlde men take
for very good, can by no reason bee the
cause of any grudge towarde the spiri-
tualty, wher in may be beside them that
are such and so there are in dede, many
very vertuose holy men in dede, whose
holinesse and prayer haue bene I be-
rely thinke one great special cause, that
god hath so longe holden hys hande frō
gpying of some sozer stroke vpon y nec-
kes of them that are nought & care not
in the spiritualtye and the tempoꝛaltie
both. And yet this faute that this pa-
cifier assigneth of seruing god for laude
is I suppose somewhat amended of late,
and wil within a while if some gere go
forwarde, were away quite, by the help
and meanes of an other faute.

If for if these heresies that rayle vpon
religions, and call all their prayer
patering, and all theyze fasting follye
and all their holpe bowes of chasty-
tie woꝛse then frere Luthers lecherp: if
these heresies I say may grow and goe
forward, as they begynne to grow now
and prosper ful pzetely in some places,
and then if those that be of y same secte,
and of polecy dyspmaile it for a season,
may in the meane timespreade abroad
an oppinion in the mindes of men that
of themself meane none harme, that the
religious people doe fast and praye but
for laude: they shal well perceiue with-
in a while, that they shal haue so lyttle
laude thereof, y if there would remaine
none other cause of thys deuysion but
because they serue god for laude, ye shal
haue it sone chaunged of likelihod, and
then shal we shortly agree togyther
very well.

But nowe good readers consider I
beseeche you, that if these causes whiche
this pacifier allegeth vnder the colour
of some say, be causes y might moue
the tempoꝛaltie to bee in deuysion and
grudge againste the clergy, that is to
wit because they serue not god as they
should do, but some of them loue autho-
ritie and some loue their ease, and some
serue God obtayne glory for laude and
praise of men: than should this deuysio
not haue so late begon, but muste haue
bene euer befoze, and can neuer bee re-
medied hereafter, but as longe as the
woꝛld lasteth muste this deuysion euer
continue still,

For howe could this pacifier fynde y
meanes, that in the whole clergi so ma-
ny as are therin, none should be nought
when of Chyristes apostles there was
yet one nought in the small number of
twelue. And verely in this declinacion
of the woꝛlde, and by this great fall of
faith, the olde seruour of charity so be-
gynning to cole: it is to be feared at
length, that if it thus go forth and con-
tinue, both the spiritualtye from the a-
postles, and the tempoꝛaltie from the o-
ther disciples, may fall so farre downe
downe downe downe, that as there was
thā one naught among twelue, so may
there in time comming if these heresies
go forwarde, among twelue spirituall
or peaduenture twentye tempoꝛall ey-
ther, be founden at laste in some whole
countrey scant anye one god. But that
woꝛlde is not I thanke god in Englaunde
yet, nor neuer shal I trust come.

Howbeit that all may be made good
that wyl bee harde for thys pacifier to
deuise the meanes. So that if the being
of some nought may be a good cause of
deuysion, deuysion may be by sōme fe-
wer nought, made sometyme sōewhat
lesse, but ende can it neuer haue whyle
the woꝛld standeth.

But if this pacifier to cease & quēche
thys deuysion, coulde finde the meanes
to make all the whole clargy good: yet
for all y, sith he laph for causes of thys
deuysion, that some men say thys by the
clergy, and some men say by them that,
were al y clergy neuer so good in dede,
& serued god neuer so wel, this diuision
by hys owne tale yet could not for all y
cease, except he could prouide farther, y
no piteouse pacifier shoulde in lamen-
ting of deuysion, put forth a booke and
say, that some lay men say that some of
the clergie be nought, and lone theyze
ease and their welth, and that some say
that those that seme best and take mosse
labour and payne, be but ypocrites for
al that, and serue Godde but for vayne
glorye to geate themself laude & praise
among the people.

The xix. chapter.

And some lay men say far-
ther, that though religious
men haue varied with relig-
gious, and that sōe plettes
haue varied also with religi-
ous in sōe pointes cōcerning y pūnēce
of their perfection, as is sayed befoze
that yet in suche thynges as pertaine
to

The vertue
of good men
prayer.

Ato the mayntenaunce of the woꝛldely honour of the church and of spyꝛituall men, which they call the honour of god, and in such thynges as pertain to the encrease of the riches of spyꝛitual men, religiouse or secular, they say thei agree all in one.

As for calling the woꝛldely honout of the church and of spyꝛituall men, the honour of God: I wote nere whither I perceiue well what this man meaneth therby. But by the spyꝛite of those twoo thynges, that is to wit by the woꝛldely honour done to the churche, and taken as honoure done to God, he seemeth to meane the honour that chꝛisten people here in the woꝛld vse to doe to y church, as in building of the churches saye & godly, and in apparelling the churches for the vse of Gods seruice honozably.

And then in the second point, that is to wit the honour of spyꝛitual persons, he meaneth I suppose suche honour as good chꝛisten people doe and are bounde to do to their pꝛelates and their curates and to pꝛiestes and religious persons, for the respecte and regarde that they beare both of deuocion and very bounden duety, to the holy sacramēt of their sacred orders, & holy profession of their godly state of liuing.

Then as for the thirde point, that is the thynges that he sayeth pertain to the encrease of richesse in spyꝛitual mē, hymselfe declareth sone after y he meaneth trentalles, chaunteries, obites, pꝛidons, and pilgrimages.

Now sayth he that some lay men lay thys for a farther thyng, that all the clergye dooe vse to agree together in all these thynges, how so euer they happen to vary among themself for some other thynges. And verely therein I thinke he sayth true, for so must thei doe or displease God, and so doth every good lay mā agree with them therein to. And I haue seene it pꝛoued by experience, that in some of these thynges whē the lay mē haue moued some thynges sometyme, wherby should be restrained some such thynges as the clergye might winne by, yea and also no little somewhat taken from them, to y that lawfully was their owne before: the clergye haue not striven with the tempoꝛal tye therfore, but rather then to sticke in contencion, haue suffred and lette it passe, albeit the canelletes that haue bene cut of, haue bene somewhat broader then a byꝛdecake, and greater then a chꝛistmasse lose in a

ryght god husbandes house.

And yet where thys pacifier sayeth, that some lay men say that in all suche thynges all the clergye both secular and religiouse agree and holds together: himself can if he will tell that same sōe lay men that so tolde him so, that some other lay men say nay. For they saye y they see very well, that in all those thynges there are now some such of y clergye such as it is pitye that euer they were therof, eyther secular pꝛiestes or religious persons. And yet are there sōe such of both, which now cast of their fauour from both twayne, and from the chꝛist sayth also, & therfore agree not to these thynges, as those some menne tolde this man that the whole clergye doth, but do both speake and wyꝛte agaynst al these thynges every whit, both honour to pꝛelates, building of churches, byeng of belles and oznamentes, and agaynst pilgrimages, trentalles, chaunteries, obites, and pꝛidones, and finallpe putgatoꝛ to.

The. xx. chapter.

And therfore thei say, that al spyꝛitual mē, as to y multitude, be moꝛe diligent to enduce the people to such thynges, as shall byꝛing riches to y church, as to giue money to trentals, & to found chaunteries & obytes, and to obtayne pardons, & to go upon pilgrimages, and such other: then thei be to enduce them to the paiement of their dettes, to make restitutiones for such wꝛonges they haue done, or to doe the woꝛkes of mercy to their neighbors that be poꝛe and neddy, and that soetime be also in right extreme necessity.

Now in god sayth for ought that I see, such as so murmer agaynst chaunteries, trentals, obytes pardons, & pilgrimages, as woulde haue them al for done, haue an inward hated vnto the pꝛofit of mens soules, beside the enuy y that pꝛolite mēes soules. For some of these thynges be such that they make not the pꝛiestes so very rich, that all the clergye should for y gret lucre so soze bend vnto y tetting forth therof. For as for chaunteries, though ther be many, no one mā can haue any great liuing therby, and that a pꝛist should haue some liuing of such a meane thing as comonly y chaunteries be, there will I wene no good mā finde great faute that all the clergye would haue it so, for so would I suppose every god lay man to.

A And as for pilgrimages, though the thynges be wel garnished, and þe chapel well hanged with wer: few men I feare me nede much at thys day to grudge & complayne of very chargeable offerynges, but those men make most a do that offre nothinge at all.

And pardons haue bene purchased not onely by the spiritualty, but in diuerse places by the good faythful deuotion of vertuose temporal pynces, as was to Westminster and vnto the Sauiour, great perdon purchased by þe most noble pynce of famousse memoꝝ kyng Henry the seuenth father to our moste dere soueraine lord the king that now is. And in god faith I neuer yet perceiued the people make so great offeringes at a perdon, that we should epyther pity greatly their cosse, or enuy the priestes that profyte.

But than the trentalles loe, they bee the thynges ye wote well whereby the multitude of the clergy and specially þe prelates, geate euery man among them an infynite treasure in a pere, so that it is no meruayl though the whole clergy seculare and religious, what barbaunce so euer they haue among theselle beside, concerning the preeminence of their perfeccion as this pacifier saith, agre together for all that in thys point, to kepe and holde fast the trentalles, because of þe great encrease of the rycheesse that they brynge in by heapes vnto euery man among them. I that nothing can geate by them, beseeche God to kepe in mennes deuocions toward trentalles and obytes to. For as much as he sayth that seculer and religious both, wicke to these profite, yet if religious Lutherans may procede and prosper, that cast of their abites and walke oute and wed nunnys and preach agaynst purgatory and make mockes of the masse: many men shall care little for obites within a whyle and sette no more by a trentall then a ruffiane at rome setteth by a tretone. Howebeit where thys pacifier sayth, that some saye that all spirituall men as to the multitude, doe rather induce the peple to pilgrimages, pardons, chauntries, obites, and trentalles, then to the paymet of their dettes, or to restitution of theyꝝ wronges, or to the dedes of almyse & mercy to their neighbours that are poore and nedye, & sometime to in ryght extreme necessitie: for my part I thanke God I neuer herde yet of any one that euer would gyue that counsaile,

nor no more hath I see wel this pacifier himselfe, for he sayeth it but vnder his comon figure of some say. But therfore thys would I say, yepther he belyueed those some that so sayd vnto hym, or els he belyueed them not. If he belyueed the not, it had bene well done to haue leste theyꝝ tale vntolde, tyll he had belyueed them better. And on the tother side if he belyueed them well, he might as well to conscience haue be lesse light of beliefe, or boldly might haue belyueed that they lyed rather then lightly beliene þe lewde wordes of some, and vpon the malycious moowthes of some, blow abrode in bookes so false a tale hymselfe againste not a smal somme, but as hymselfe saith as to the multytude agaynst all spirituall men.

The. xxi. chapter.



And for as much as it is most comenly lerne, that amonge a greate multitude there be many, that worke rather vpon wyl than vpon reaſon, and that though they haue good zeale, yet many times they lacke good order and discrecion, which is the mother of all vertue: therfore ſee perſons thinking that worldly honour and ryches letteth greatly deuotion, ſo much that as they thynke, they can not ſtande togyther, haue holden oppinion, that it is not lawefull to the church to haue any poſſeſſyons. And ſome taking a more meane way therein, haue ſayd, that (as they thynke) it is lawefull and alſo expedient, that the church haue poſſeſſions: but they thynke, that the great haboudaunce, that is in þe church, doth great hurt, and induceth in many of them, a loue to worldly thynges, and letteth in maner ſtraungleth the loue of god. And therfore they thinke, that it were good to take alway that is to much, and to leaue that is ſufficient. And ſoe alſo, as of a policie to pull ryches fro þe church, haue inueyed agaynſt all ſuch thynges as brynge riches to the church. And becauſe great riches haue come to the church for praying for ſoules in purgatory, haue by wordes affirmed that there is no purgatory: and that graunting of pardons ryſeth of conetiſe of þe church, & profiteth not the people, & that pilgrimages be of no effecte, and that þe church may make no lawes, and ſuche other thynges, as ſounding of chauntries, making of brotherhedes, & manye more.

A moe. Whether in they shewe outwardly to rise against al the thynges before reher- sed, and to dispyle theim, and yet they know and belieue in theire hartes, that al these thynges be of the self right good and profitable, as they be in dede if they were ordered as they should be. And soe persons there bee, that throughe grace fynde defeaute onely at the abusyon and myssorder of such thynges, & speake no- thinge againste the thynges selfe, ney- ther of purgatoz, pilgrimages, setting
 15 by of ymages, or such other. For they know wel, they be ordeined of god, and that the misorder ysleth onely of man for couetise, singularitie, or soe other suche lyke defeaute, throughe perswasion & dys- ceite of the ghosly enemy.

Here is good readers a special frute- ful pyece of thzee maner of Some saies or thzee maner of thinkinges. The first is of those that thinke and say, that it is not lawfull that the church should haue any possessions, but that all theyr lue- lode and all suche thynges as any ry- ches cometh into the church by, should
 20 be taken away euery whitt.

And these men in the iudgement of thys piteous pacifier bee not discrete, but yet they haue he sayth a good zeale though. And thys god zeale had ye wote well Symon fische whan he made the supplicacio of beggers. But God gaue hym suche grace afterwarde, & he was
 25 soz for that god zeale, & repented hym- selfe and came into the church agayne, and forsoke and forswore all the whole hill of those herelses, out of which the fountain of that same god zeale sprage.

And of trouthe some such are there yet, that haue the same good zeale wyl that
 30 Symon fische had whan he was at the woiz. And God sendeth some of them such good speede as they haue god zeale. For some such haue I knowe that haue engroced into their handes much other mennes goodes, and for a while flow- red, and were accompted chystye, and helde theyr owne and other mennes so, but in conclusion wasted awaye bothe
 35 twayne, and sayne to finde a place to hie their heades, or to kepe them from prison finde some other shift.

Of thys sozt was there one not very long agoe which went aboute to make a good bargayne, and was not than
 40 knowen but for hys owne man, and yet is now god be thanked his own manne agayn, for any other man that he hath wayte bypon hym. But so happed it

than that as he sat in a tauerne in Lu- berdes strete with an honest merchaunt with whom he should haue bargained, the tother had heard an incling whiche yet he believed not, that this man was not much afore hande. And as they fell in talking of the woizde, they talked at last of the clergy: wherin whan he was fallen, he wared so warme in the wine and so full of good zeale, that he swore by the masse he trusted shortly to see the leese all, and that the king should put the al for euer out of his protectio. And with that woizde he clapped his fist by on the boizde, with such a fermen zeale & hys own protectio fel out of hys sleue. Which whan the tother perceiued, bro- ther (qu he) you be not a thiefe I thinke, and therfore I trust it is no perdo that ye haue purchased there. You trust you
 45 say to see the clergy put out of the kyn- ges protectio, and I purpose to se you out of the kinges protectio, ere you & I bargayne anye moze together. And such banke romptes be these men of that good zeale, that gape after the spoyle of the spiritualty, which whan they haue wasted & missepent their own, woulde than very faine saue for hanging robbs spiritual and tempo:all to.

The. xxi. chapter.

The seconde sozt that thys paci- fier speaketh of, be they & think and say that it wer good to take away fro the clergy all that is to muche, and leaue that is sufficient, because that great habundaunce letterth they saye, and in maner strangleth the loue of God. And these that thus saye, thys pacifier alloweth for folke wyse and discrete. But by what right menne
 50 may take away from any man spiritu- all or tempo:all againste hys wyl, the lande that is alredy lawfully his own, that thinge thys pacifier telleth vs not yet. But he wyl peradventure at an o- ther tyme tell vs of some men that laye this reason and that reason for it. But I haue heard some good and wyse and well learned men say, that al the world can neuer bring the reason that euer ca-
 55 proue it right. And as for mine owne parte, lyke as I haue somewhat moze largely sated in my booke of the suppli- cacion of the soules, if any man woulde gyue the counsayl to take any mannes lande or good from him, pretending that he hath to muche, or that he bleth it not well, or that it myght bee better used yf
 60 some

And truly spoken.

Simon fische

Note thys tale to the ende.

A some other had it: he giueth such a counsaile as he may when he list, and wyl peradventure after, stretche a great deale farther then the goodes or possessions of onely spirituall men.

And wher he sayth that some say that great habundaunce dothe let, & in maner strangle y^e loue of god: that is many times very true, that many mē in plēty for geate God, whych in penury runne vnto him. But this reason runneth out against euery kinde of men spirituall & temporall to, and yet are there in bothe twaine some, in whome the loue of god is neither letted nor strangled therewith, but it is made by the good vse thereof the matter and occasion of merite.

The good vse
of goodes is
meritorius.

Whiche if yt might not be, but muste needes let and strangle the loue of god, then wer that reason so strong against all men, that no man might withoute deadly sinne kepe any habundaunce in hys handes. And than if to withdraue that ineuitable necessity of dampnable deadly sinne, it were lawfull to take as much away from any one man, as the remanant that were left him should be but enū sufficient: the same reason would as I saye serue with one little wretche farther, to take in likewise away from euery other man were he spiritual or temporall, in whome there might be layed appaunce of so much habundaunce, y^e it letted him to loue God. For that is ye wote well euery man bounde to doe spirituall and temporall both.

And on the tother side if there be takē from no man any thinge, but fro him y^e hath so much, as no man that hath so much, may so loue God as he mai come to heauen, then shall there bee from no man taken any thing. For I doute not but that there are at thys day holy saintes in heauen, of such as were spiritual and of such as were temporall to, that had while they liued here, as great possessions as hath eyther spirituall or temporall within the realme of Englande now.

However sith thys pacifier accompteth them for discrete, that leauing the the clergy sufficient, would that al the remanant were taken away from the, because the great habundaunce letted them they say to loue God: it had bene well done that he had somewhat declared his mind how little he calleth sufficient, lesse y^e some of hys discrete folke would vndiscretely misconstrue that word, and for lacke of such fauour and

pitie as himselfe se well beareth to the clergy, would leaue them to little and call it ynoughe. For if this pacifier would moder and measure hys sufficiency by the wordes of S. Paule, where he saith: *1. Timo. 6.* Hauing meate and drinke and where wyth to bee couered, let vs bee content: excepte hymselfe that loueth them goe farther therein and appoint them their fare and their apparel so, some other happely that loue the not so well, wil deuise the a diete as thynne as Caliene deuise for hym that hath an obstrucciō in his liuer, and because S. Paule speaketh but of keuering, wil deuise them clothes that shal only keuer them and not kepe them warme.

Beside thys it seemeth that yet hys discrete folke should not vnder y^e name of habundaunce, take al from the churche that they would take from euery man to whome they would leaue bare sufficient, but that they rather shoulde such as they would take from one that hath moze then sufficient, deuise it amonge such other of the churche y^e haue lesse then sufficient. Now if they should yet besydes thys (which I weene they shoulde not) finde yet a great some remanining after al the spiritual folke sufficiently prouided for, then had it bene good that he hadde yet farther deuyfed, how it would please him that his discrettes should order the remanant. For though they be as he taketh the discrete persons of themselves, because they would take away but the great habundaunce, and leaue but y^e bare sufficient: yet their discretion shall doe a great deale y^e better, if it like him to gyue them his discrete counsaile to.

When it should come to thys point, here myght peradventure himselfe and his discrettes make vs many deuices, & ener the moze the moze vndiscrete.

I haue bene wythin these foure or fyue yerres (for before I heard little talking of such maner of deuices) but within this foure or fyue yerres, I haue bene at such deuices in diuers good mirrre compaignes, neuer earnestlye talking therof (for as yet I thanke God that of thys matter I neuer herbe any such) but for passe tyme by way of familiare talking, haue I hearde diuerse, both in hand with prelates and secular priestes and religious persons, and talked of their liuing, and of their learning, and of their lyuclode to, and whither themselves were suche as it were better

hane

A haue them oꝛ lacke theſe, & then touching their liuelode whither it might be lawfully taken fro the oꝛ not, & if it myght, whither it were expedient ſo to bee, and if it ſo were, then to what vſe. And in many ſuche mery ſayings. I haue alway remembred, & becauſe our communicacio came ſoetime to a much like point, ſometime haue I ſold and rehearſed the ſtoꝛy that Titus Auius telleth of one Pacuſius Calauſ^{us} & Capuane,

Calauſus.

in the third booke of his thirde decade & treateth of the Romains warre wth Hanniball and the citey of Chartage.

Capua.

This Capua was of all Italy the chief citey, & of the greateſt power ſaue onely the citey of Rome. In which citey ſo happened it, that the conſulſhip were fallen in grudge and murmur, and at diuicion wth the ſenate, as this pacifier ſayeth that & tempoꝛality is here at theſe daies againſt the clergy. Whereupon this Calauſus being a ſenatoꝛ, and natheles leaning al vnto the people (becauſe he ſaw them by ſufferance and ouerſight of the ſenate, growen into an vnbideled liberty, and as thei muſt be whā thei conſpire whole together, wāren & moze mighty parte) ſtudied and beſought himſelfe what meane he myght inuent firſt to bring the ſenate in his daunger, and than by ſome benefite win all their good willes, & yetther wth all encrease his fauour wth the people beſide. Upō this being as it happed the chief gouernour of the citey foꝛ the time, he brake vppō a day ſodaynly to the ſenate, & tolde them & theſelfe wth wel ynough what grudge the people had to them, but the peryll and daunger that they then preſently ſtoode in, that he ſayed wiſſe they not. But he knewe well that the people

Detended now after & great ouerthrow which the Romaynes had late hadde at Cannas, to kyll by all the ſenatoꝛs, & brake their lege wth the Romaynes & fall into the part of Hanniball. Howebeit (quod he) if ye dare put your ſelfe in my hand, I haue deuised a way wherby ye ſhall ſee me ſhortly, not onely ſaue al your liues but alſo preſerue your ſtate. And whā the ſenatoꝛs in that ſodayn feare agreed to put him whole in truſt to oꝛder all the mater as he woulde: he commaunded them all ſodaynly to be locked fall in their counſaile chamber, and ſetting armed menne, at the gate to ſee that neyther anye other manne ſhould enter in vnto them, noꝛ anye of them come out: he called ſodaynly to an

assemble the whole people of the citey, & there ſayed in this wyſe vnto theſe. The thinge that ye haue bere frendes theſe many dayes much deſyred, & ye myght ones be reuenged vpon thys vnhappye ſenate, and amone theim fro the rōme that by their couetouſe & cruell dealing haue well ſhewed theymſelfe full vnmeterly to bere the name of fathers vnto the people: this thinge haue I nowe by policy foꝛ your ſakes peaſibly brought vnto your handes, & that in ſuche wyſe as ye ſhall not nede to fyght therefoꝛe, oꝛ aſſaute perticulerly their houſes. In expugnacion wherof, being as they woulde be ſenſed wth their ſeruauntes and their frendes, your ſelf might ſtāde in pārel. But I haue ſette them by yōder togyther alone by themſelfe, cleane oute of armour wthoute ayde oꝛ anye maner defence, where you ſhall haue them all wthoute any mannes death oꝛ ſtroke.

At this woꝛde gladd he was all & people, and giuing him high thākes, woulde ſorthwth ſayne haue ben vpon theym. But there neberth in thys poynthe none haſt (quod he) but one thing is ther that if ye thought thereon, ye woulde I dare ſay doe firſt. Foꝛ they be the while ſaue ynough, there as thei ſcape not fro you. But I haue euer known you ſo wyſe, that ye wthll not I wote well ſette your ſhorte preſent pleaſure before your perpetual welthe, whiche ye ſee well ye ſhould doe if ye ſhould lye lawles and wthout a rule, noꝛ no lawe can ſerue except there be ſome gouernours. And therfoꝛe two thinges muſt ye do at ones, & is to take, both remoue theſe, and alſo ſet of your ſelues ſoe better mē in their places. Wherefoꝛe I haue brought here their names in a pōt. Let them bee drawen oūt, & as they come vnto hand, determine your pleaſure of their peccolours, and ſubſtitute therwth their ſucceſſours. This moꝛis of Calauſus was ſuch, that either of reaſon thei coulde not miſlike it, oꝛ els foꝛ ſhame they woulde not reſuſe it. And theretipon oute was there drawen a name, at & hering wherof thei cried out al the company, & euill and a noughty mā, and bade awaye to him. Clerp wel (quod Calauſus) whom wthpon now name to put in his place. At that they pauſed a litle and began to beſynke them. But ſhortly ſome named one and ſome named a nother. But wthth peruſing after thys ſayſon of a few, there was none that one man named

A named and anounced for good, but sine for that one reiected him as eyther very nought, or at the least moze vnnmeete to take in then he whome they woulde put out. So that longe ere they had perused halfe, as much as they misliked many of their olde, yet founde they it so harde a thing to finde out the better new, that thei wared wery of the seking. So that Calanius perceiuing them begin in h matter somewhat to shaker and stape, perswaded them easely to conoord with those that they had befoze, and therupō they left of their election, and let h new chosen passe, and kepte theire olde sennate still.

W And surely somewhat like but not al after this fashon, hath it fared in such good company as it hath happed mee to be at communicacion vpon these matters of the clergy. For in conclusio after many fautes layed agaynst the spiritualty that is now, and manye newe deuises for their landes, when we came at laste vnto Calanius pageaunt, and those that founde the fautes in the body at large, in suche a large fashon layed forth by them, as though ther were not one good man amonge them: when they had the names of this prelate and that prelate recited and reherled vnto them by rowe, and were asked what say you by him, and what by him, albeit y they did by some of the say they were noughty, and that if like as the Capuanes should haue chaunged a senatour for a comuner so if they should for every one of the spiritualty take into his place by choyce and election some good sēporall man, they might for this prelate or that concerning some of the, shortly make a good change. For some of the thought thei such, as for one point or other thei could not lightly finde a worfe. Yet on the tother side agayne, at some of them they staped and shakered, and so muche worke brought forth some at last, with whō they might as thei thought match them and yet by theyr owne confession no moze then match theim, and in my minde not so much neither, but like as in some they and I somewhat varied, so in diuerse other we were agreed both, that for to make the chaunge, neyther coulde they finde their better nor their match neither.

Now whereas we went thus no farther the prelates, if we shoulde haue perused ouer the whole clargy both religious and seculars, though we

E mought haue found out some that both mought and gladiye woulde haue bene chaunged for the prelates (for I haue harde many laye men that woulde bee bishoppes with a good will) & though we mought haue also founden prongh of those that woulde matche theym that are euill and naughty secular priestes, and them that are runne out of religio to, and that woulde & were able to match theim in theire owne wales were they neuer so badde: yet of those that woulde matche the good as fewe as some folke woulde haue theym seeme, it woulde not I wene as the world goeth now, be very easy to fynde oute so manye.

But as welthy, and as easy, and as glorious as some say to this pacifier that religion is, yet if some other shoulde say to them, loe spys these folke that are in religion shall oute, come you into religion in theyr stedes, lye there better then they doe, and you shal haue heauē, they woulde aunswere I feare me, y thei be not yet wery of this world.

Then if they were inuited into religion on the tother fashon, & were saied vnto them thus: Sirs we wyll not byd you lye so straye in religion as these me should haue done, cōe on and enter, and doe but euen as they did, and then shall you there haue a good easy life and a welthi and much worldly praise therewith: I weene a man shoulde not yet for all that gete theim to goe to it. But as easy as we cal it, and as welthy to, and now peraduenture whē our wines are angry, wythe our selfe therein: yet if it wer thus offred, we woulde play as I say a fable: telleth a fable of a poze olde man, which bearing by an hyll a burden of busshes in his necke, for helpe of his necessitie panting for werinelle, in the mid wale layed downe his burden and sate hym downe and sighed, and wared so wery of his life that he wished and called for death. Whereupon death came anone readly towarde him, & asked hym, what wylt thou wyth me. But when the poze felow saw him h leane hoyses ther so re dye: I called you for (quod he) to praye you doe so much for me; as helpe me by agayne with this bichebe burdayne & lay it in my necke. So wene I that for all our wordes, if that easpe life & welthy that is in religion, were offered vs, as wert as we be of wedding, we woulde rather abide al our olde payne abrode, the in a cloister take a religious mannes life for ease. So that in conclusion we

A we should be saue eyther to put woꝛks in theyꝛ kede, oꝛ kepe our olde still, till as they little and little dye and depart, God in lyke wyse little and little as hee hath euer hitherto prouided, shall inspire his grace into the bꝛeſtes of other, and make theim fall in deuocyon and entre into religion, and so succede in theyꝛ places.

Now as it ſared in our common ſea-
cion by the ſpirituall perſons, ſo ſared
it in a maner by the ſpirituall mennes
poſſeſſions. Not ſoꝛ that we might not
alway finde other ynough content to
entre into their poſſeſſions, though we
coulde not alwaye finde other manne
ynough content to entre in their rely-
gions, but ſoꝛ that deuiling what way
they ſhoulde bee better beſtowed, ſuche
wayes as at the firſte ſace ſeemed very
good, and ſoꝛ the comfoꝛte and helpe of
poꝛe folke very charitable, appered af-
ter vpon reaſoning, moꝛe likely within
a while to make many beggers mo, the
to relieue them that are already. And
ſome waye that appered at the firſte to
moleſtande the realme in great ſtede, e
be an increaſe of the kinges honour, w
a great ſtrength ſoꝛ the lande & a great
ſuerty ſoꝛ hꝛ prince, and a great ſparing
of the peoples charge, well appered af-
ter vpon farther reaſoning, to bee the
cleane contrary, and of all other waies
the worſte.

And to ſay the trouth, much meruail
haue I to ſe ſome folke nowe ſo much &
ſo boldly ſpeake of taking away any
poſſeſſions of the clergy. Foꝛ all be it y
ones in the time of the fauourable pꝛince
king Henry the fourth, aboute the time
of a great rumbler that the heretiques
made, whan they would haue deſtroied
not the clergy onely but the kynge alſo
and hys nobilitie to, there was a ſwiſſh
byll and a falſe put into a parliament
oꝛ twain, and ſpedde as they were woꝛ-
thy: yet had I neuer founden in all my
time while I was couerſant in hꝛ court,
of all the nobilitie of thys lande aboue
the numbꝛe of ſeven (of which ſenẽ ther
are now thꝛee deade) that euer I percei-
ued to bee of the minde, that it were ey-
ther right oꝛ reaſonable, oꝛ coulde be to
the realme profitable withoute lawfull
cauſe, to take any poſſeſſions away frõ
the clergy, which good and holy pꝛinces
and other deuoute vertuouſe people, of
whome there be now many bleſſed ſai-
tes in heauen, haue of deuocion toward
god gꝛuen to the clergy, to ſerue God &

pray ſoꝛ all chꝛiſten ſoules. And there-
foꝛe as ſoꝛ ſuche folke as thys pacyfier
calleth diſcrete, ſoꝛ their diſcrete iud-
gion of taking from the clergy the abu-
ſance of their poſſeſſions, I neuer loke
to ſee theim ſo diſcrete, as were thoſe
men both diſcrete and deuout that gaue
them.

The xxij. chapter.

He putteth thys pacyfier a
thirde kind of thinkers, ſuch
a kinde as I neuer to my re-
membꝛaunce haue heard of
beſore, that is to wꝛt of ſuche
as purpoſely lay entill and openly ſpeake
heſelſe, and ſoꝛ all that thynke well. And
thoſe he ſayth are politike, whiche
to pul away riches fro hꝛ church, ſpeake
againſt all thing that any thing bꝛing
into it, as agaynſt praying ſoꝛ ſoules
in purgatoꝛy, graunting of pardones,
pilgrimages, making of lawes, found-
ing of chaunteries making of boꝛther
heddes and many moꝛe.

The thinges
that bꝛing in-
ches into the
church.

And though they ſpeake againſt all
theſe thinges, yet he ſayeth they knowe
well ynough that all theſe thinges bee
god and may be well bled. But becauſe
they bꝛing riches into the church, ther-
foꝛe he ſayeth though they knowe them
ſoꝛ good and thynke theim good, yet
they ſpeake agaynſt them all of policy,
not agaynſt the abuſes onely, but al-
ſo agaynſt the verie thinges theſe. Foꝛ
of thoſe that ſpeake agaynſt the abuſes
onely, he putteth a nother ſorte beſyde
theſe menne to whome he calleth ſoꝛ thys
point ſo politike. And he ſaith that thoſe
that onely ſpeake agaynſt the abuſes, do
better & haue moꝛe grace, but yet that
excludeth not ye wote well, but that the
toſter may bee god ynough, and haue
grace inough to, though not ſo much.

Thus hath thys pacyfier put thꝛee
kindes of folke that woulde haue the
goodes taken from the church.

The fyrſt, of thoſe that woulde take all
and leaue nothing. And thoſe men hee
ſayth haue a good reale.

The ſecõde, of thoſe that woulde leaue
ſufficiẽt and take away the remanent.
And thoſe men haue he ſayeth good diſ-
creſſion.

The thirde kynde hee calleth thoſe,
which rather then the church ſhoulde
haue any thing, let not to ſpeake agaiſt
good thinges. And thoſe men though
they ſpeake openly plat and playne he-
reſy, yet he denieth not to be wyſe men
and

A and be a good policy.

But nowe whereas they denie purgatorie, this is as me thinketh an euill policye, for withdrauing of offringes fro y^e clergye, to withdraue therewith our almoise from the poore lat people to, and yet that worst is of all from y^e selly soules themselfe, that lye there and piteously crye in payne.

By this policye ye wote well that these politike folke might impugne in generall the affectyon of gyving any thinge in almoise. For that affectyon ye wote well byingeth in the yere somewhat into some parte of the clergye. And well ye wote that syth the beliefe of purgatorie and other of those thinges agaynst which these politike menne so speake, be plaine and open truethe reueled by god, and the contrary beliefe is by the whole catholyke church plainly determined for herelye, and sith men can not know that a man belieueth y^e truth in his harte, if he hold agaynst it opely with his mouth, and those therfore that speake heresy, every god man that heareth them is bounden to denounce or accuse them, and the bishoppes are bounden upon theire wordes proued to putte them to penaunce and refozme theym, which if they refuse or fall in relapse, y^e bishoppe is bounde to deliuer the, and all good tempozall gouernours are the bounden to punish them: yf every other man dyd on all sides the parte of a good chrysten mā, it appereth that the policy of those whome this pacifier calleth so politike, would within a while proue a poore policy.

Howebeit what minde this pacifier hath himselfe concerning these pointes, himselfe declareth that he belieueth the right waye and the true. Which I am very gladde to here, and for my part as help me god I verely truste hee saith not therein, but as a true chrysten man verely saith as he thinketh. And yet is not every man therein of my mind. And therfore it woulde be wronge yf euerye some say and euerye some thinke, should serue to bying a man in hated or obloquy. For surely some say y^e they thinke, that if some men may as he sayth of policye sayne themselfe heretikes, and yet belieue full trulye for all that in theire hartes, some one man may muche better sayne himselfe for policy full catholyke, and yet in his hearte belyeue the while full falsely. But whatsover some men say or some mē thynke, in that ma-

ter I neuer will thinke that a man belyueh otherwise than he sayth he doth, but if hymselfe shoulde by some other wordes or deedes of his owne, declare of hys mynde the contrarye. And as I wyll not agaynst a mannes wordes spoken according to the ryghte faith, thinke that he belieueth wronge: surely so can I not thinke that hee whyche in his wordes opely inueieth agaynst god and faithful thinges, and dispiseth true pointes of the comon knowe catholyke sayth, both in hys harte secretly thinke and belieue right, but if he were among painims that would for feare of paine compell him to renge hys faith, which were yet in that case dampnable to hys soule, and therfore is here among chrysten menne where no such force compelleth him, but by his perill forbiddeth him of verely god reason dampnable to hys body.

The. xxiij. chapyter.



Idwbeit what this god pacifier though he belieue ryght himselfe and plainly protesteth the trueth of his beliefe, yet what he would shoulde be done eyther with those y^e agaynst theire own wronge wordes he belieueth to belieue right in theire mindes, or with those eyther whome hee belieueth to belieue wronge in dede, I can not very wel gather of hys wordes here. For here he sayth of them thus: And though some men haue mistaken themselfe in y^e sayd articles, yet diuerse other haue sayed that if they had ben wel and charitably handled, they might haue bene refozmed, and peradventure saued in body & in soule. In these wordes I finde again god readers a plaine open declaration as in my mynde, that this man belieueth in these articles like a true catholyke mā. For he cōfesseth in these wordes that all these that haue died in the contrary beliefe, bene perished in body and soule. For he sayth that some men say, that wyth god handelyng they might haue bene refozmed, and peradventure saued in body and soule. So that it appereth by these wordes, that neyther hymselfe thinketh, nor hath he heard so much as any other mē say, but that they be now plainly lost & perished for those heresy. Which is yet another god token that he not onely belieueth wel hymselfe, but also talketh not much nor hath no suche conuersacyon with

Accuse the
heretike.

A with heretikes, that they dare wel and plainly put him in full trust. For if hee were, he should here them vndoubtedly saye, that those folke bee saued soules and holy saintes, as Wainam that was late burned sayd by Bayfielde both an heretike and an apostata, that was burned about a yere before hym.

Howbeit though they call the saued soules and sayntes, yet wyl they saye y they be not in heauen. For there is no

A very false
opinion.

A soule thei say, but in some place of rest they lye still and sleepe full soundely, and sleepe shall they saye till Gabrielles trumpe awake the and call them vpe earelye, to rise and recorde theyre apparence before our sauiour at the general daye of dome.

But in good fayth this one thing am I looy to see, that lyth himself semeth to me so faythfull, and that therfore I can not perswade vnto my selfe, but that in his owne harte he loueth and fauoreth the clergy, which no mā can as I thinke hartely hate, but he that hateth also the fayth: some of these wply heretikes like y aungels of Sathan trasfiguring the self into y likenes of anngelles of light, should so deceiue this good nian, and so abuse hys good gentel nature and simplicity, as to make him with theyr wily inuented fygure of some say, vnder a pitey pretended toward those heretikes y are in theyr obstinacye perished let his woordes in suche wyse, as thoughe his mynde were to aggreue and bynge in hatered amonge the people, the name and body of the clergy, by making the people weene that their ordinaries had with euil and vncharitable handling bene the occasion that those heretiques are both in soule & body destroyed, lithe they myght as is here sayed vnder the fygure of soe say, by good and charytable hādelling of the clergy, haue ben better reformed, and peraduenture in soule and body saued.

Would God these same some folke y so haue sayed vnto this pacifier, hadde named him at the least wise some one, y was so euil and so vncharitably handled, that y lacke of better and moze charitable handling, hath ben the losse of his bodye, and soule. For then might y clargy declare their demenure toward that man, and then should thei perceiue by this pacifier, in which part of theyre dealing good charitable maner lacked. But verely whome so euer they should haue named, I doute not but those that

were the ordinaries in the cause, could easily proue y they had used no rygour to him against the law, nor omitted no charitable meane vnto him that came to their mindes, while the man lyued and the matter in their handes, nor in prouiding for good exhortacio toward hys conuersion agayne and hys saluacyon, euen till the life leste hys body.

But now for as much as some so say by them concerning some of them that are gone, the clergy would I weene be yet gladde to here, in what wyse maner of charitable fashyon thys piteouse pacifier would haue them handle other heretikes hereafter such as shall be denounced, and *ex officio* brought before the. For albeit that this pacifier in another place, somewhat semeth to misse like y order: yet I feare me there would as I shall after shew you, many a place in the realme swarme very ful, ere euer they were brought before the ordinarye by the meane of accusacion.

Howbeit let vs put the sample by soe one, that is likely to be brought and deliuered vnto the ordinary, by the meane of the kinges grace and hys counsaile. I meane John Frith. For he is in prisō in the towne alreadye taken by the bishoppes seruantes, by the ayde of the kinges officers, at commaundement of hys grace and hys counsaile, and so by the kinges officers brought into the towne where he remaineth yet, and there, fore he shall I doute not be brought as I sayed, and delpuered vnto the ordinarye.

Now then if the ordinary knew this good piteouse pacifier, and would because he seeth his good and charitable minde, desyre him of his good aduise and counsaile, in what wyse he myght best and most charitably hādle him for the sauing of hys soule and bodye, the lawes of Chrystes church obserued, y the sauing of hym if hee would stycke firme in hys obduracye, should not be the occasyon of corrupting and destroyinge the soules of other men, what couaile would this man gyue hym?

For if no manne would profess himselfe for hys accuser, and yet there would twenty bee ready when they were by commaundement of the court compelled, not to lette but depose the trueth, that hee hath since hee came in the tower, wrytten a freshe agaynst the purgatoyre, and a booke that hee calleth the *pyrrour* agaynst the relygyouse, adui.

Adauising euery manne to gyue none of them no thing though they bee of that religion that nothyng haue of theyre owne, and twyse hath hee there in lyke wyse wrytten agaynst the catholique sayth of Chyfft concerning the blessed sacramēt of the aulter: whyther would nowe thys pacifier, that the ordynarye hauing good pꝛoues and yet none accuser, shoulde pꝛocede agaynst hym *ex officio*, or elles for lacke of an accuser let him saye goe. If he would he shoulde pꝛocede *ex officio*, as I thynke he woulde

Whether it reason: what shoulde he the do, with all cannot bee done in a day. Whether shoulde he lette hym walke abrode vpon hys pꝛomyse to appere agayne, whyche Frith were lykely to breake & geate hym ouer sea, or elles take suretyes bounden for hys appaunce, as John Purser and some such other were bounden for John Wirt, and soze not to forsaite theyr bonde soz bꝛetherhedde, but let him slippe a syde & neuer bynge hym forthe, and kepe hym close among the bꝛethꝛen as the tother was kept, till

Cthe possie may make some bishoppes among the new bꝛethꝛen, and after hys newe Tytus and Tymothe stablished eche in his owne see, the new Paule thys apostle Frith, take shyping at Sandwich and saile into Friseland. Would this pacifier aduise the ordynarye thus, or elles to keepe hym in pꝛyso where he shoulde doe no hurte, and lette the walles and the lokkes be hys suretyes for hys forthe comming.

Thus farre yet as I suppose thys pacifier would aduise the ordynary to keepe Frith fast. But nowe when hys heresy was laped vnto hys charge, as for to gyue counsaile to the ordynarye to exhorte Frith to leaue them, thys pacifier I dare saye shall not nede, nor to take hym to grace neyther, nor to shew hym great fauour vpon good tokens of hys repentaunce and amendement. But now if he were one of thys pacifiers polypꝛyques, and would saye that he beleued euer the ryght waye in hys owne harte contrarie to the woordes that hys owne hande wrote, but after the maner that thys pacifier speaketh he wrote al these herselfes of policie, because that by the helype of purgatoꝛye, and of the sacramēt of the aulter, and of myꝛacles in so many places so plainly shewed thereon, hee sawe that offering and ryches came into the clergy, and therefore would say that he must

not bee taken for an heretike but for a man wyse and politike: what aduysse would here this pacifier gyue hys ordynarye?

What counsaile would he gyue the ordynary if Frith would make none excuse by policy, but saye that he wote agaynst purgatoꝛye and al religious orders, and the sacramēt of the aulter to, for loue that he beareth to the trouthe, and that those heresies be very sayth, by whiche he will abide vnto the death.

What aduise will thys pacifier giue the bishoppe than? what good and charitable handelind wyll he deuise to saue his body and soule, specially whan he shall see certaine letters whiche some of the bꝛethꝛene let fall of late, and lost them of likelyhedde as some good kytte leseth her kayes, by which letters bothe Tyndal and George Jay wꝛite vnto Frith, and counsaile him to sticke fast, & Tyndall sheweth him that all the bꝛethꝛene looke what shall become of him, & that vpon his speede hangeth all their hope.

I can not tel what good and charitable handelind this pacifier can deuise, but I dare say that there is neyther ordynary nor other honest man spirituall nor temporal, but that he is as soꝛy as thys pacifier himselfe, to se that yonge man or any other, so soberly set in such heresies, that no man can shew him the fauour that euery mā sayne would, with out the displeasure of God and peryll of theire owne soules and many other mennes to.

The. xrb. chappter.



Ad vpon al these matters there is risen a great opinion in the people, in maner vniuersally, that in punishing and correccions all these persons befoze rehearsed shoulde haue lyke punishment, if spirituall menne myght haue free liberty in that behalf. And that spiritual men would if they coude, as well put them to silence, that speake agaynst the abusion or disorder of such thinges as be befoze rehearsed, as them that speake agaynst the thing self.

Those woordes be not very well spoken of this pacifier by the people. For if he haue spoken with many moe then the tone halfe, and felt their opinions himselfe, els is it not onely agaynst the spirituality spokē very shamefully, but also to the false continued rebuke of the whole people in maner vniuersally.

For

A For ſithe that neither this pacifier, nor any man els, can bring ſoo: the any one of theſe heretiques, that haue bene by their ordinaries deliuered for their obſtinacie in the ſeculare handes and burned, that haue had any wrong done the, or bene therein otherwiſe handled, then charitie with iuſtice, accordyng to the common lawes of all Chriſtes catholick church, and the lawes of thys realme haue required: there is no good mā nor reaſonable that hath any cauſe thereby to conceiue by the clergie ſuche a malicious fooliſhe ſuſpicion, as this pacifier here vntreuſelp laieth vnto the whole people of this realme in maner vniuerſally, whan he maketh as though the whole people in maner vniuerſally wer ſo malicious and ſo fooliſhe, as becauſe the clergie which hath towarde manye heretikes bene ouer muche ſauourable, haue of neceſſiti be diuē to deliuer the to the ſeculare handes, and therein haue done them right, he maketh as though the whole people wer in maner vniuerſally ſo mad and malicious, as thereupō to take an opinion y to thoſe whych are none heretiks y clergie wold do wrong.

Surely in this one point is this booke of his the moſt indifferent that it is in any parte that I ſee therein. For there is no point in all the booke wherin it moze diſſameth the ſpiritualtye, then in thys one it diſſameth in maner all the whole people vniuerſally.

But nowe if he ſay the people in maner vniuerſally, thinke that thoſe which are as he ſaith for lacke of good and charitable handeling loſſe and periſhed in body and ſoule, had wrong and oughte not haue bene by the clergie deliuered to the ſeculare handes, and that therefore the whole people in maner vniuerſallye do and wel may, thinke in their mindes that the clergie woulde in likewyſe doe wrong to other, and bring to like puniſhment all thoſe perſons that anpe thynge ſpeake againſt onely the abuſions of ſuch thing as bring richelle into the church: nowe can not this pacifier thus excuſe hys woozdes. For he confeſſeth in hys owne woozdes, that they whiche thus haue bene loſt and periſhed, that might as he ſaythe wyth good and charitable handeling haue bene ſaued, be of thoſe that haue myſſe taken them ſelf in thoſe articles of purgatozpe, trentalles, obpytes, and pilgrimages, and haue as himſelfe ſaith befoze, ſpoken againſt them & diſpiſed them, & then had thei no wrong.

For I am ſure there was none of them, but that he was eyther relapſed, or elles dyd of obſtinacy ſtand ſtil in them. And then appeareth it yet againe, that in going about to diſſame the clergie, he doth in dede greaſpe diſſame the people, whē he ſaith that becauſe the clergie hath puniſhed them that haue ſo farre myſſetaken themſelfe in thoſe articles, that thei haue ſpoken againſt thoſe holy thinges, and diſpiſed the thinges ſelfe, the people woulde be ſo farre vnrreaſonable as they ſo: to thinke that they woulde puniſhe in likewyſe all thoſe that woulde onely ſpeake agaynſt the abuſes, and not agaynſt the thinges. For al the people ſeeth perde, that the clergi puniſheth thoſe that ſpeake agaynſt the ſacramēt of matrimony, and yet they puniſhe not thoſe that ſpeake agaynſt the abuſes thereof, as aduoutzpe, or agaynſt thoſe that vnder the name of matrimonye, lyue in ſacrilege and inceſſuous lechery, as frere Luther dothe, and frere Lambert, and frere Wythyn and Wtho the monke, and ſuche other.

And yet if he will go from hys owne woozdes againe, and ſay now that ſome of them that be for lacke of good & charitable handelyng in body and ſoule ſo periſhed, did not myſſetake themſelf at al, nor dyd not ſpeake agaynſt anye of the thinges, but did onely ſpeake agaynſt the abuſes, and that therefore he maye without reproche of the people wel ſaye that the people haue an opinion, that the clergie woulde if they might haue free liberty in like maner to puniſhe all other that woulde in like maner ſpeake, that is to wytte not againſt the good and holye thinges, but againſt the abuſes of theim: to this I ſay yet ones againe, that he ſtil diſſameth the people of a greaſe intolerable faute, that is to witte an vniuſſe & vnrreaſonable iudgement, while he ſaith that thei thinke and beleue that the clergie hath done to thoſe men in ſo great a matter ſo great wrong, and hitherto not one ſuch wrong proued.

But I ſhall in thys poynte, go yet a little nether him. Sith he ſpeaketh of thoſe that might with charitable handelynge haue bene in body and ſoule ſaued, it appeareth well as I haue ſaid, that in this peece of his tale he ſpeaketh of thoſe that haue not ben ſaued, but in erth here condemned & burned, and in hel dampned and there burning ſtil. Now as for any time ſo late befoze this vnable or ſperch of any diuiſion betwene the ſpiritualtie

And the tempoꝛaltie, that thys pacifier mighte seeme to meane of, I remember none deliuered to the secular handes, but sye Thomas Hytton at Walsstone, and sye Thomas Wilney at Pozwyche, and one of late at Ercester, and one of late in Lincoln diocese, and in London here Wapfelde the monke, and Teurberpe the potwchemaker, and Wapnam.

Howe this wyll I say, let this pacifier come foꝛ the, oꝛ if he be any religious recluse that can not come abꝛode, let hym appeare by attourney. (How be it, it appeareth that he canne be none suche, but must needes be of lykelyhood some such as goeth much abꝛode, foꝛ els he coulde not surely tell vs of so many some saies, noꝛ what opiniõ the whole people of the realme hath in maner vniuersally) and therefore let hym come foꝛth and appere in his pꝛoper persone, befoꝛe the kynges grace and his counsaill, oꝛ in what place he list, and there pꝛoue calling me thereto, that any one of all these had wꝛonge, but if it were foꝛ that they were burned no sooner, and because he shall not saye that I byd him trotte about foꝛ nought, this shall I pꝛofer him, that I wil binde my selfe foꝛ surety and fynde hym other twaine besyde of better substance then my selfe, that foꝛ every one of these whõ he pꝛoueth wꝛonged, his oꝛdinary oꝛ his other officer by whom the wꝛonge was done, shall giue this pacifier all hys costes done aboute the pꝛoofe, and a reasonable rewarde besyde. And yet nowe though he no man woulde gyue hym nothyng, it were his parte perde to pꝛoue it foꝛ his owne honestye, sythe he hath sayde so farre.

And this dare I be bolde to offer, to see the truth openly pꝛoued. After which well pꝛoued ones to be as he saithe, men may be bolde to saye the thyng y they see pꝛoued true, and thereupon if they lyst, to cast, and suspect some farther feare of the lyke, yea oꝛ of wurse if they wyll, I wil not let them. But without any such thyng pꝛoued befoꝛe, ther wyll no reason noꝛ good conscience beare it, that wee should suspect that our pꝛelates and oꝛdinarie in their iudgements againste heretikes, vse to do them wꝛong, syth all the lawes bothe spirituall of the whole church, and tempoꝛall of this realme, haue oꝛdained full faith and credence to be giuen to them therein. Which lawes to contrary now there appeareth lyttle cause, considering that the king our soveraine Lorde that now is & long mote

be, hath in his tyme as pꝛudently and as vertuouselye pꝛouyded foꝛ thys realme, that it shoulde haue suche pꝛelates and oꝛdinarie as shoulde in learning, wisdom, iustice, and luyng, be meete and conuenient therfoꝛe, as any pꝛince hath (number foꝛ number) that hath reygned ouer this realme, I dare boldly say this hūdzed yere, & shoulde in my mynde kepe my selfe a great waye within my boundes, although I would set an other hūdzed to it. But now lettynge thys peece passe, wherein I might yet saye manye thynges mo then I do, and woulde saue that the bꝛethꝛene woulde than call me longe, and wyll yet pꝛadventure saye that I am scant thozte inough: lette vs go farther and speede by thys one chapter of hys.

The xxvi. chapter.

Ad manye other murmurs & grudges beside these ybe befoꝛe reherseb be amōg the people, mo then I can reherse now: but yet aboue al other me thinketh that it is most to be lamented and sorowed, that spiritual mē, knowing these grudges and murmuracions amōg the people, & knowyng also that many laye men haue opinion, that a great occasion therof riseth bi spirituall men, and that they do no moze to appease them, ne to oꝛder themself in no other maner foꝛ the appeasing of the, the they do. Foꝛ all that they do therein most comonlye is this: they take it, that they that finde defaute at such abassions and disorder, loue no pꝛiestes, and therefore thei esleme that thei do of malice al that they do, to destroy the church, & to haue their goodes & possessions themself: and therefore they thinke it a good dede to se them punished, so that thei shal not be able to bying their malice to effecte. And therefore haue thei punished many persons, whych muche people haue iudged the to do vpon wil, & of no lone vnto the people. And though spirituall men are bound in this case, foꝛ appeasing of these opiniõs in the people, which be so dangerous as wel to spirituall mē, as to tempoꝛal men, y manie soules stand in great peril therby, not onely to refoꝛme themself, & to leaue & auoide al thyngs, y giue occasion to the people so to offende, that may by charity be omitted & left, but also to fast, pꝛaye, weare the hear, genealmes, & to do other good dedes foꝛ the self & foꝛ the people, crienge continuallye to our

Gour Lord, that these dissensions may cease, & that peace & concord may come againe into the world: yet it appeareth not that they do so, but that they rather continue still after the old course, pretending by confederacies & worldly policies, & straight corrections, to rule the people, and that is greatly to be lamented, & it wyl be hard for them to bring it so about. But if they woulde a litle meken them selfe, & withdraue suche thinges as haue broughte the people into thys murmur & grudge: they shoulde anone bring a newe lyghte of grace into the world, and bringe the people to perfect loue and obedyence to theyr superiours. And here me thinketh I myght say farther in one thing, & that is this, that as long as spirituall rulers wyl eyther pretend, that theyr authorite is so high, and so immediately deriued of God, that the people are bound to obey them, and to accept all that they do and teache, without argumentes, resistance, or grudging against the, or that they wil pretend, that no default is in them but in the people, & wyl yet continue still in the same maner, & after the same worldly countenance as they do now, & haue done late tyme past: the lyghte of grace that is spoken of before, wil not appere, but that both parties shal walke in thys darkenes of malice and diuision, as they haue done in tyme past.

Hys other murmurs & grudges that he saith he can not nowe reherse, he reherseth after many of them in his other chapters, whiche I wyl passe ouer vntouched, bothe for that the moze part of them be suche as every wyse man wyl suppose answer them him self in the reading, and satisfie his owne minde without any neede of myne helpe therein, and for that some thinges are ther also therein, that are very well sayde, & some also that be they good or bad, I purpose not to meddle much withal, as are the things that touche any lawes or statutes already made, be they of the church or of the realme, defende theym I am content to do, if I thinke them good. But on the other syde if I thinke them nought, albeit that in place & time conuenient I wolde giue myne aduice and counsaile to the chaunge, yet to put out bookes in writinge abroad among the people agaynst them, that woulde I neither do my self, nor in the so doing commend any man that dothe. For if the lawe were such as were so farre agaynst the lawe of God, that it were not possible to stande with

mans saluacion, then in that case the secret aduise and counsaile may become open, every man, but the open reproche and reuargucion therof may not in my minde wel become those that are no moze spirituall then I. And surely if the lawes may be kept and obserued without peril of soule, though the chaunge myghte be to the better: yet out of tyme and place conuenient to put the defaultes of the lawes abroad amonge the people in writinge, and withoute anye suretye of the chaunge giue the people occasiō to haue the lawes in derision, vnder which they lyue, namely s^ythe he that so shall vse to do, may sometime mistake the matter, and thinke the thyng not good: whereof the chaunge woulde be worse: y^e waye wyl I not as thus aduysed neither vse my selfe nor aduise no friend of myne to do. And therefore I wyl as I saue leaue some thynges of hys booke vntouched, whither he saue well or euyl. And finally for y^e touching of this matter is no part of my principall entent, but happeneth as an incident to fall in my waye, wherein it sufficeth by the consideraciō of one peece or twayne, to giue men an occasion to looke wel to the remenaunce and let it not ouer lightly syncke deepe downe into the breast, tyl it be well chāmed and cho^ued in the mouthe, and not onely see what he saythe, but also by the wysedome of the reader consyder what maye be said agaynst it, and whoso hath wyte and redeth it in that wyse, shal I warraunt you soone perceiue that mild indifferent booke, to beare moze hardnesse of euyl than therein, then the breast then that booke it woulde that such good folke shoulde se, as of a good minde meaning none harme, wene euery thyng were wel ment that they see saye sette oute to the shewe, and softe and smotherly spoken.

The xxvii. chapter.

Iwyl not also stycke much vpon hys hygh solempne diuinacon, wherein he prophesieth y^e as long as the spirituall rulers wyl eyther pretende that theyr authorite is so high, and so immediately deriued fro God, that the people are bound to obey them, and accept al that they teach, without argumēt, resistance, or grudge, and that they wyl pretend that no default is in them, but wil yet continue still in the same maner, & the same worldly countenance as they do now & haue done in late tyme

At tyme past, the light of grace y^e is spoken of befoze, **A**be with you now and euer more Amen.

This ende of this holpe sermon is to litle purpose. For firste as for worldy countenance is among the clergy with in these fewe yeares not a litle abated. Whych thing who so lyst wyth an even eye to looke vpon it, and indifferentlye consider it, shall not fayle to perceyue. And so there is good hope, if that maye helpe the matter, that then the lyghte of the grace that thys gracious pacifier spake of befoze, is not nowe verye farre behynde. And verlye for aughte that I

In my Lorde
Cardinal wol
seadaies.

can see, a greate parte of the proude and pompous appaile that many priestes in yeares not longe paste, were by the pryde and ouer sight of some few, forced in a maner against theyr owne wylls, to weare, was befoze hys godly counsaill so bi this preti printed boke pryncipally geue them in theyr eare, much moze I trowe then the toney half spent, and in manner wel woze ne oute. And I wote well it is woze ne out with many, whych entende hereafter to bye no moze suche agayne.

And for the residue of the countenance I dare bee bolde to warrant, that I can fynde of those that moste maye spende, which were they sure that it shoulde in this matter do any good, would be well content to wythdralwe from all theyr other countenance the chiefe parte of theyr moneables, and of theyr yearelye payelode to, and out of hande bestowe the toney, and with their owne hand yearely bestowe the tother openly amonge the poore. And I durste agayne be bolde to warrant that if they so dyd, euen the self same folke that nowe grudge and call theym proude for their countenance, would then fynde as great a grudge & cal them hypocrites for their almes, and say that they spende vpon noughty beggers the good that was wonte to keepe good women, and that thereby they both enfeable & also dishonour the realme.

Nowe as for the tother parte of hys prophesy, concerning that the lyghte of grace that he spake of befoze, wyl not appere as long as spiritual rulers wil pretend that their authoritie is so hyghe and so immediately deriued of god, that the people are bounde to obey them and to accept all that they do and teach, with out argumentes resistance or grudging against the: in this part he must first declare whither he meane in thys woorde (their authoritie) al their whole authori-

tie, or their authoritie in some parte. If he meane that they saye thus of all theyr whole authoritie in euerye thyng that they maye nowe at this tyme lawfullye do or say: I answer that they neither pretend nor neuer dyd, al that authoritie to be giuen them immediately by god, but haue authoritie now to do diuers thinges bi the graunt of kings & princes, as haue also many temporal men, & bi those grauntes haue such right in those as temporal men haue by the like grauntes in theirs. And therfore in that part the pacifier is answered.

And then if he meane that the lyghte of hys grace that he spake of befoze, wyl not appere as long as the prelates pretend that any parte of their authoritie is so hyghe, that it is immediately giuen them of god, then hath this pacifier lost the light of trouth. For the greatest, and highest, and moste excellent authoritie that they haue, either God hath giuen them himself, or els they be verye presumptuous & vsurpe manye thynges farre aboue all good reason. For I haue neuer red, or at the least wyle I remember not that I haue red, that euer any king graunted them the authoritie, that nowe not onely prelates, but other poore playne priestes also daylye do take vpon them, in ministring the sacramentes and consecrating y^e blessed body of Christ, with diuers other authorities besyde.

But it seemeth to hym peradventure, that in one pointe at the leaste wylle the spiritualtye is to proude. For he saythe they pretend to be obeyed, and haue their obaynances and theyr teachinges obserued withoutt resistance, grudge, or argumentes to the contrary.

Surelye in such thinges as the whole clergie of Christendome teacheth and ordereth in spiritual things, as be byners of those lawes which this pacifier in some places of thys booke toucheth, being made againste heretikes, and albeit that they be and long haue ben thorow the whole coyrps of Christendome bothe temporaltye and spiritualtye, by longe vsage and custome ratified, agreed, and confirmed, yet he layeth some lacke in them calling theim verye soze, in those thinges I saye, that sicke I nothinge doute in my mynde, but in that congregacion to Goddes honour graciouslye gathered together, the good assystance of the spiryte of God is accordyng to Christes promysse, as verlye present and assistent, as it was with his blessed

Athen. 15.

A blessed Apostles, men ought with reuerence and without resistence, grudge, or argumentes to receiue them. And yf a prouicial couail erre, ther are in Chyrtles church ordinary wayes to reforme it. But in such thinges as any spiritual gouernours, after a lawfull order and forme, deuise for the spiritual weale of their soules that are in their charge, & whiche thinges are suche as good folke maye soone perceiue theym for good, in these thinges at the least wise should the good not giue eare to the badde folk and froward, that against y best thinge that canne bee deuysed, canne neuer lacke a fonde frowarde argument. And therefore not onely thapostles being dyuers, assembled together with the churche in their counsaile holden at Hierusalem, dyd in those lawes that they there deuysed and proualged among the Gentiles that were in dyuers countreys farre of conuerted vnto Chyrt, dyd with authoritie wypte vnto them, these thinges haue seemed bothe to vs, and to the spirite of God necessary for you to kepe, least some fobozne fooles woulde peraduenture be holde with froward argumentes and reasoning to resist it, but saynte Paule also by himself when he deuised vnto the Corynthyens certayne good lawes and orders concernynge their order that he woulde haue them keepe in the churche, in tyme of Goddes seruice, least such as woulde faine with disputinge agaynst the good order, be take and reputed for wise shoulde wyth some probleme pulled out of a peny pycher, enueigle and corrupte the companye, whome farre the feabler reason maye bawe to the worse parte for affectyon vnto letwde lybertye: hee finally besyde the reasons that he layed for his lawe, dydde putte them to silence with his authoritie, and for bidding the to reason or dispute there against but obeye it sayde, against all suche argumentes, and suche choppelogikes agaynst the good rules, if any man wyl be contentiuous in this matter, let him well knowe that we haue no suche guyse or custome, nor the churches of God.

But now we will this pacifyer peraduenture, saye that he neyther speaketh nor meaneth of suche thinges as y spirituality doth or saith, that is good, but y the light of grace wil not appere. As longe as the Prelates pretend that their authoritie is so hygh and so immediate of God, that the people are bounde to obeye them, and to accept all that they do

and teache, wythout argumentes, resistence, or grudging. Also that he hath circumspcctly for the nones qualysed and moddered hys tale wyth thys woord (all) that the prelates should not pretend to be obeyed in thinges as well badde as good. Who hearde euer the Prelates of this realme pretende this? y they should be obeyed in all thinges wer the thyngs bad or good? I am very sure that euer h thereto they haue professed the contrarye, and not letted to saye, that if euer anye prelats of this realme, yea or y most part of them, yea or all the whole mainy were so farre fallé fro God, as to preach the contrary of our olde known catholike faith, as for ensample that ther wer no purgatoye after this worlde, or that it were not lawfull to praye to our blessed Lady or other holi saints, or to preache that ther is yet neuer a saint in heauen, but that all soules lye still and slepe, or to preache against penaunce as Linball dothe, that is as lothe good tender pernell, to take a lyttle penaunce of the priestes, as the Ladye was to come anye moze to dyspelyng that wepte even for tender heart twoo dayes after when she talked of it, that the priestes had on good fryday with the dyspelyng rodde beate her hard vpon her lylye white handes: Who so woulde (I saye) preache anye of these heresies, or that in y blessed sacrament of the aulter were not the very bodye and herve bloude of Chyrt, but as fryth teacheth nothinge but wyne and breade, or elles as Tyndal iesteth starch in steele of breade, thougher they would hereafter (whyche shall I truste neuer happen) all the Prelates in this realme fall thereto and preache the same, yet al the prelats hyther to plainly do preach and teache that no laie man should then belieue them.

And therefore lyke as if the Prelates dyd pretende that thing that thys pacifyer speaketh of, then were his aforesayd woordes well and wysely tempered and circumspcctly spoken, so while they neyther pretende that thyng now, nor, neuer here before dyd, there is lyttle wytte in those woordes.

For now we doth all hys tale amount vnto no moze, but that the light of grace wyll neuer appeare, as long as the prelats doe the thyng that they neyther doe, nor neuer dydde. Is not thys therefore (good readers) by thys good pacifyer broughte vnto a wyse conclusion?

L.iii.

The

The. xxviii. chapter.

Where he most lamenteth & the clergie dothe no moze to appeale these grudges of the temporall towarde them, and after he preacheth to them holpy what thinges they shoulde do that they do not, that is to wyte for beare suche thinges as he spake of before, whereby he specialle meaneth as both before and in diuers places after appeareth, the euyl and vncharitable handling, of heretikes, whereof the manne hath nothing proued, but also that they shoulde do thinges which he saith men se them not do, that is to saye: gyue almes, and weare hear, and fast, and pray, that this diuision may cease: now that al the spiritual men do not so, that is very true. And it is as true I trow that this thousande yere was neuer the tyme that all so dyd. And therefore if that thing cause and keepe in this diuision, it must haue bene a thing of a thousande yere olde. But I thinke that many of them doe all these thinges which this pacifier preacheth to haue done. For I am sure that though some do not they parte therein, yet among the spiritual there is both giuing of great almes, and wearyng of hear, and fasting, and prayng for peace. **W**hethe they take this deuision to be so great and so vniuersall as this pacifier speaketh of, that can I not tell, & peradventure they do not. And whether they do or no, surely I do not. For whether they pray for the pacificacio of this diuision in al suche maner wyse, as the thing requyeth, that I can not tell, but there may be peradventure therein some ouersyght vpon they parte. For yf they leue nothing vnprayed for that mai pertaine to the pacificacion of this diuision, then must they peradventure putte into they seruice both matins, masse, & euen song, some speciall collecte, and therein praye God that it maye please hym that the people may perceiue the subtil sleighes of the dyuell, and some other of hys hymnes, in manye partes of this booke of this pacificacion, whiche thinges peradventure the comppler perceyued not hym selfe, but was therein of simplicitie by some subtil shew deceiued.

The. xxix. chapter.

At this pacifier perceyvinge & what one man dothe in secretenesse, a nother canne not see, is therefore bolde to saye they doe not all those thinges whyche he woulde

haue them do, that is to wyte, fast, and pray, weare hear, and gyue almes. For he sayth that they do all these thinges it appeareth not.

As for prayenge, it appeareth perde they doe. And that so muche they dayly pray, as some of vs lay men thinke it a payne ones in a weeke, to ryse so soone fro sleepe, and sonie to tarpe so longe fasting as on the sonday to com and heare out they matins. And yet is not the matins in euery parithe neyther, all thyng so early begonne, nor fullpe so longe in doyng, as it is in y chartrehouse ye wot wel. And yet at our slouth and glotonye that are laye people, this pacifier canne wynke, and sayne hymself a sleepe. But that the clergie praieth not, that can be thortelye spye, as soone as they lyppes leaue they prayng.

Howe be it, because he is peradventure of the clergie hymself, therefore lest he shoulde seme parcial to his own part, he rather speaketh of their defaultes then ours: wherein I wyl not muche stryue w hym. But surely as he may be bolde to preache being a priest, so yf I were a prieste to, I woulde be bolde to preache thus muche agayne to hym, that for any wyngynge of the glasse and fame of indifferency, though he leaue the fautes of vs laye people vntouched, yet of hys owne parte the clergie, for no lay mens pleasure he neuer shoulde say moze then truthe.

For now as touchynge of almes, is there none geuen troweth he by the spirituality: If he saye as he saith here, that it appereth not y they do gyue almes, I myght answere agayne that they solow therin the counsaile of Christ, which saith **Math. 6.** let not thy left hande see what thy right hand doth, as I myght in prayeng haue lated those other wordes of Christ, Thou when thou wylt pray, enter into thy chamber, and shutte the doore, and pray to thy father priuelye. **Math. 6.** But lyke wyse as God for all that counsaile was content that men shoulde bothe pray and gyue to the neddy, and do other woorkes bothe of penance and of charyty, openly abrod in companie where there bee no desyre of bayne glozpe, but that the people by the syght therof, may haue occasion to giue therfore laud and glozpe to God, so dare I boldly say that as they both secretely and openly to, do vse and accustome to pray, so do they bothe secretely and openly to, gyue no lyttle almes in the yere, what so euer thys pacifier saye.

And

A And I somewhat maruaple that sythe this pacifier goeth so busily abzod, that there is no some say any where al most in all the whole realme, but that he beareth it and can reherse it, I maruaple I say not a little that he neither seeth nor beareth any some say, that ther is in the spiritualty giuen any thing in almes. I vse not muche my selfe to go very farre abzode, and yet I heare some saye, that there is, and I see sometyme my selfe so many pooze folke at Westminster at the doles, of whom as farre as euer I heard the monkes vse not to lend away many vnserued, that my selfe for the pzeace of the haue ben fain to ryde another way.

But one aunswere me to this ones, and said that it was no thanke to them, for it was lands that good pzinces haue giuen them. But as I than tolde hym againe, it were then muche lesse thanke to them, that woulde nowe gyue good pzinces euill counsaile for to take it fro them.

And also if we call it no giuing of almes by them, because the landes where of they giue it, other good men haue giuen them, whereof wil you haue them giue almes, for they haue none other.

The. xxx. chapter.

C Another thinge also whyche this pacifier seemeth to dyspraple vnder the name of proude wo:ldly countenance, if men wer as redy in a dede of his owne nature indifferent, to construe the mynde and entent of the doer, to the better parte, as they bee of theyr owne inward goodnes to construe and report it to the wurste, then might I say that the same thinge whiche they call the proude wo:ldelpe countenance, they might and woulde call a ful charitable almes, that is to witte, the righte honest finding and good byzinging vp of so many tempo:al men in their seruice, which though they be no beggers, yet myghte peraduenture the great part of them go begge if they founde them not, but sent them abzode to seeke them self a seruice.

And like as if you wold giue a pooze man some mony because he nedeth, and yet woulde make him worke therfore in your garden, lest he should by your almes lye idle and ware a loiterer, the labour that he doth, taketh not awaye the nature & merite of your almes: no moze it maketh the finding of seruautes none almes, though they waite on the fynder

and do him seruice in his house. And of al almes the chiefe is, to see the ym well bzought vp, and wel and honestly gyued. In which point though nether part do full their duty, yet I suppose in good faith, that the spiritualtye goeth in that point whiche is no small aimes, rather somewhat afoze vs, then any thing bzag behynde vs.

The. xxxi. chapter.

Hen foloweth there fastinge, which thinges the spiritualty doth as I suppose, al suche as keepe til the old Chyristen faith, and fall not vnto these newe heresies.

But this pacifier findeth a fault, and reherseth out of John Gerson, that the clergy keepeth not now the law by whiche it was ordeined that the clergy shuld keepe a lenger lent then they nowe doe. And would God as saint Paule saith, that both they and we could and would euery daye. But this pacifier that is so well seene in the lawes of the church, seeth wel inoughe that the vniuersall custome to the contrarpe, dischargerth the bonde of that lawe, though peraduenture it discharged not them that first beganne the breache whereby the custome grewe. For as for fastinge, the custom of the country may either to the bond or to the discharge and interpretation of the lawes made therfore, the custome I say may do much, as saint Austine sheweth in mo places then one. For if it were other wise, then fasted almost no man ani fast at all at this daye while we dyne at noone. For the very fast was of olde, as both by the scripture and holpe wyrters appeareth, to forbear their meale tyll night, whiche is as ye see all chaunged. And the church to condescend vnto our infirmittie, hath be faine therfore to say in lent their euen song befoze none, and beside h natural daies, to deuise vs new daies *ex fictione iuris*, that we shoulde at the lest haue euen song in the lenton fast befoze we fall to meate. And yet wee keepe not that neither. But as an Almaine of mine acquaintaunce, when I blamed him latelpe for not fasting vppon a certaine daye, answered me. Fare to sould te laye men fasten, let te pzeffer fasten: so we beginne God wote to fast full litle for our owne part, but bid the pzeffer go fasten. And where our self wold for our own part be faine that the lent wer two weekes lesse: yet wold we that for

The strength of a custome.

The olde manner of fasting.

why euen song in lent is song befoze noone.

At the clergy the lent were one weeke longer. But some of them tolde it fro theym selfe as false, and sende it to the freres. And verely religious folke ble I trowe both long lentes and aduent to, & some of theim diuers other fasshes besyde, and they be perbe a great part of the spiritualltye.

¶ The. xxxii. chapter.

When preacheth thys pacyfier yet farther, that the clergye should weare hear. He is sure ly somewhat soze, if he bynde them all thereto, but amonge them I thinke that many do alreedy, and some whole religion doth. But yet saith this pacyfier, that it dothe not appeare that they do so. Ah wel said. But now if al the lacke stand in that point, y^e suche holynes is hydde, so that men maye not see it, it shall be from hens forth wel don for theim, and so they wyl do if they be wise, vpon this aduertisement and preaching of this good pacyfier, come out of their cloisters euery man into the market place, and there knele downe in the hanel and make their pzafers in the open stretes, and weare their shirtes of hear in sight vpon their coules, and then shal it appeare, and men shal se it. And surely for their shyrtes of hear in thys waye were there none ipocrisy, and yet were there also good polycy, for then shoulde it not pzicke them.

¶ The. xxxiii. chapter.

At as for all this pacifiers preaching, the spiritualty may be content to take in good woꝛthe. For peraduenture if he wer knowen, he wer such one as to preache to all the spiritualty might wel become his personage, & yet if he be but a simple person in deede, yet y^e spiritualty may meken the self accordyng to hys good counsaile, and admyt hys hollome admonicions. But surely this one thing, though the spiritualty heare it and take it wel in woꝛth, me thinketh yet that euery good temporal man may very much mykelike, that this pacyfier in the beginnig of this hys holy preaching, preacheth vpon them to theyz soze sclauder, for the with an vntrue surmise grounded vpon imagynacion, and after with a very plaine open lye, neyther an ydle lye noꝛ of any good purpose (of whiche two kyndes of lyeng

¶ Two kyndes of lyeng.

saint Austine admitteth netther nother) in folke of the perfeccion that this pacyfier by his preaching vsed with such authoritie toward al the spiritualty shuld seeme to bee but a lye verely pernicious, which is one of the things that least can become any good Chyristen man.

For first he saith that al y^e spiritualty doth to the appeasing of y^e people is most comonly this, that they take it that they that synde defute at abusers and disorder of the spiritualty, loue no pziestes, and therefore they esteeme that they do it of malice al that they do, to destroy the churche.

This is a goodly false surmise, grounded as I said vpon a charitable imagination. But for all this, though good temporal men be euil content with such as are in the spiritualty nought, wpyth whom the good folke of the spiritualty be as euyl content as they: yet I verely trust for all this as I saye, that not the temporaltye noꝛ any one good temporal man, is for them that are nought among the spiritualty, so displeased and angrye against the spiritualty, that is to wyte against the coꝛps and body thereof, that they shoulde greatly nede to be appeased, noꝛ do not lay the fautes of noughty spiritual persons, to the rebuke of y^e whole spiritualty, no moze then they woulde thinke it reason, that the straungers of other realmes so shoulde laye the fautes of euyl temporal folke here to the rebuke of the whole temporalty, that they shuld grudge and say shrewdly bi vs for them.

None if this pacyfier wyl saye that it is not like, & wil say that we be not setwylly the temporalty and spiritualty of this realme, but that we be muche better for oure parte then the spiritualty be for theyz: the temporalty shall not be dyspraised for me. For I trust that though in respect of the goodnes that Gods benefites vnto man requieth of mienne agayne, and in respecte of the constauce and perseuerance in vertue that men shoulde hold fast and kepe, there are few oꝛ none good in neither nother part: yet in such kynde of goodnes as the frailtie of oure nature suffreth in thys woꝛlde, nowe by nowe downe, nowe falling by synne, & now rising agayne bi grace, the temporalty is good I trust and the spiritualty both, for all that there lacketh not a sozte of some suche as are very desperate vpylly the wretches in bothe, as no man douteth but there was a verely good churche of Chyist in hys blessed apostles

A possibler dayes, and yet were there euen than many ful very naught and sturke heretikes to therein.

And as for the difference in goodnes betwene them and vs, god knoweth the better and the wurse both. But straungers of other coutries that come hither and se both (saying some that haue come both out of Fraunce and Flaunders, & haue here be put in trouble by the spirytualtye for bynging in of Luthers gospel) other straungers elles I say whan they haue considered the spirytualtye of this realme, and compared the in the myndes, not onely with the tempoꝛaltie of the same, but also wyth the spirytualtye of theiꝝ owne countries, haue sayde that our spirytualtye may withoute anye speciall reproche, shewe their faces among other folke. And therfoze that the whole bodye of the spirytualtye of thys realme is so farre fallen in the grudge & indignacion of the whole tempoꝛaltie, as this pacifier speaketh, I neither se cause why it shoulde so, noꝛ yet beleue that it is so, noꝛ think it either good oꝛ honoꝛable for this realme that other realmes shuld wene it were so.

But where as thys pacifier speaketh of appealing: I praye God that some of the spirytualtye haue not in some things gone aboute ouer muche to appeale that sorte of people, by whose meanes they haue thought that al their disease hath come, those folke I say of whom bi good informacion they haue had detected vnto them for very sturke heretiks in dede, whom yf for any feare of such other folkes false suspicion spyrting vpon such sclaunderous lies, as this pacifier speaketh of, and groundeth hys conclusions vpon, the clergy begynne to spare, and for any suche causes begyn to slacke, and be the moze remisse in the calling, attaching, and examining, and of the farther ordering of heretikes, God wil not faile to make sal in theiꝝ necks the double sclaunder of that from whyche they flye. For whan they ware so fainthe harted in his great cause of repressing of heresses and mainteinyng of hys saythe, that they forbeare theiꝝ deuty for feare of false sclaunderous wordes, God wyl than make them sal into the moze sclaunder, by the selfe same meanes by whych they flye fro the lesse. For in steepe of the false sclaunder of euill menne and heretikes that they feare in the pursuyng, God wyl sende them a true sclaunder, and make them be diffamed among good

men and catholikes, for their slacke and remysse handelyng. And farther yf they fall into the foly that the pꝛophet repro- ueth, and cease to call vpon God for strengthe, and then tremble for dreade where there is no perill, and for anye dreade of men, whyche if they not onelye woulde sclaunder theiꝝ, but beate them and kyll them so, can yet kyll but the bodye and then haue spette all theiꝝ poyson, woulde for gette the feare: God (which when he hath slayne the bodye maye sende the soule into euerlastyng lyfe) yf (whyche our Lord forbydde) anye bythoppe fall in thys feare and cowardise of fayne harte, that for any worldlye feare: he suffer to be blowen out the lighte of hys lantarne of saythe, he wyl not faile to make fall vpon them the terrible comminacion and threate that the spirit speaketh of in the Apocalypꝝ vnto the bythoppe of Ephesꝝ, I wil come and remoue thy candlestykke oute of hys place.

The xxxiii. chapter.

Where where thys pacifier here surmyseth, that the spirytualtye dothe most commonlye nothing elles, but maliciouslye misconser the myndes, and therfoze maliciouslye persecute and pursue the bodies of al them that fynde defeaute at theiꝝ disorder and abusyons: the vntꝛouth of this surmysa well and plaine appeareth, by thys that euery man dayly beareth, that there is not in all the clergy any man that blyeth to preache the woꝛde of God, but that as he toucheth the fautes of the tempoꝛaltie, suche as he seeth in that audieꝛce meete to be spoken of, so toucheth he in lyke wyse the fautes of the spirytualtye, and is for his so doynge not hated of the spirytualtye, no moze then of the tempoꝛaltie, but wel commended of both. But of tꝛouth, he that woulde eyther vpon the spirytualtye alone, oꝛ vpon the tempoꝛaltie alone, oꝛ vpon any one part of either the one oꝛ the tother, as of onelye kings, oꝛ onelye dukes, oꝛ onelye Loꝛdes, oꝛ onelye gentlemen, oꝛ onelye me of law, oꝛ onelye marchauntes, make his whole sermon when that one parte onelye were not his whole audieꝛce, and woulde by that parte amonge all folke saye manye shewd things by maner of exhortacion to chaſtending: though euil folke & malicious woulde haue a pleasure to heare it, yet wold no good folk & indifferēt think that

A that he dyd wel, and specially if he wold vse that maner, where him selfe pretended that al the remanant of hys audience were in grudge and diuision already against that one parte, whose fautes and vices all his whole sermon holylye putteth in al the peoples eares to mytigate their hateder with, and wyth suche preachinge so to make the peace in lyke manner wyse, as if he founde a corner of his neighbours house burning, he wold of greate loue and polycpe lay on fagottes and gunpowder to put out the fyre.

The. xxxv. chapter.

Where this pacifier bypon that mysse imagined surmyse, goeth on farther and saith, that because the clergy so mysse conuerteth the myndes of all those that fynde faute at their mysse order and abusions, therefore they thinke it a good dede to se them punished, and they haue therefore punished many persons, which much people haue iudged them to do vpon wil and not of loue to the people. In these wordes how charitably thys pacifier ment I can not tel, but either by malycie or ouersight, either by defeaute of hymselfe or crasse of some luttel shrew, these wordes are as euill and as maliciouslye wyrtten, as anye one that woulde faine falselye disfaime the clergye coulde imagine or deuise.

For here he saith that because they haue (as himselfe beareth them in hand) conceiued a false suspition agaynst al those that fynde faute at their mysse order and abusions, therefore they not onelye haue persecuted and punished many persons, but also thinke their wrongfull persecution and vnrighuous punishment wel done. What canne be worse done then this: and therefore as thys doing were the worst that coulde be, if it were true, so is this sayeng hereby worst that can be sith it is verye false.

And in these wordes the figure of some say wil not wel serue him, and yet in it commeth here also much augmented and increased, in that he saith not that some men so say, but that much people so iudgeth. Howe be it as I saide this fygure wyl not serue him here. But he playeth lyke a wylp these, that because he wold no be knownen woulde weare a bysoure, yet for gettingt himselfe, wold first come forth bare faced, and when euerye man hadde seene hym and marked him well, wold then putte on his bysoure a pace,

and coner his visage to walke astat by knownen. Euen thus wiselye lo playeth this pacifier here. For first he sayeth as of him selfe, that the clergye hath punished many persons therefore, that is to wyte, for the euil and false suspition that they haue conceiued agaynst al those that fynde faute in their misorder and abusions. And when he hath thus said as of himselfe, and thereby well shewed hymselfe, then to couer and colour it wyth, he saith that muche people iudgeth so. And therefore his whole tale amounteth vnto no more, but that himselfe fyndeth confirmation by the pretence that much people iudgeth the same, of whyche muche people he nameth yet neuer one, nor proueth that much people so doth, nor sheweth cause wherefore either much people or litle people, or any one person so shuld, but bringeth forth a bare surmyse in such wyse imagined agaynst the clergye, as euery man that list to lie, may some imagine in some other matter agaynst anye sensible men.

But as for his much people I set not muche by. For muche people may sometime belieue some one mans lye. And agaynst his muche people, if there were muche of them that so iudge before the proufe, and sythe before the nette, and set the carte before the horse, as I wene there is not: yet is there agaynst them muche other people more wyse in that point, and more circumspecte, whyche tyll they see suche an euill tale proued true, wyllye either of indifferencye keepe them selfe in a staye, and suspende their sentence for the season, or els of a good minde rather for the whyle thincke and belieue the contrary.

Lettinge therefore for this time hys muche people passe, I woulde nowe demaunde of him howe he proueth this abominable faute, that he sayeth here to the spiritualltye hymselfe, where he sayeth playnelye that they haue punished many persons therefore, that is to witte for the thinge that he there hath reberfed, whiche is ye wote wel, because they haue he saith conceiued a false suspition agaynst them, for findinge default at their mysse order and abusions, and take it, as though they loued not the clergy, but of malice woulde destroy the church, and haue their goodes and possessions them selfe.

Howe if the clergy haue therefore punished many persons, because the same persons

A persons haue onely spoken agaynste their myſſeorder and abusions, and that the clergy haue therfore myſſeconſtrued their myndes, and imagined that they woulde deſtroy the clergy for theyr poſſeſſions, whyche thoſe other folke that ſpake agaynſt their myſſeorder went about with thoſe woozdes to gette fro the clergy to them ſelfe: if the clergy dyd I ſai for this cauſe of their owne falſe imagined ſuſpicion, puniſh thoſe many perſons that this pacifier ſpeaketh of, what thing in this world could they doe, that were wuſſe: and therfore ſyth that ſaieng agaynſt the clergy is an intollerable dyſſamacion but if it be true, I aſke thys pacifier by what meane he pꝛoueth it true.

And firſt to ſhewe that in ſome parte at the leaſt his woozdes appeare falſe, euerie man knoweth that ſome of thoſe that haue bene puniſhed, haue ben ſuch as neither if the clergy loſt theyr landes ſhould haue any part thereof themſelfe, and were of ſuch wel known noughtryneſſe and leude lypynge beſyde, that no good man coulde thincke it lykelye, that ſuche folke as they were ſhould do it for any deuocion, as was ſir Thomas Winton that was waren a Jopnour, and in manye a dape neither ſayde matins nor maſſe, but ragyd and rayled againſt the bleſſed ſacrament, and Blofelde thapota that was abiured in London, and after rayled againſt al religions at Wyſſych, and thereupon taken and empryſoned at Noꝛwiche, and Bayſfelde the monke and apoſtata, that was an abiured, and after periured and relaped heretyke, well and woozthelye burned in Smithfelde: theſe with diuers ſuche other as haue bene puniſhed for herelſe, haue bene none ſuch as the clergy neded to puniſhe them for feare that they ſhuld get from them any part of theyr landes to them ſelfe, nor were of ſuch wyſdom, learning, nor vertue neither that the clergy could feare that any men of wytte or of authoritie, would any thing regarde theyr woozds, but onely that the clergy feared, by theyr meanes myght growe the loſſe and deſtruction of many lyght perſons ſoules.

For if this pacifier wyl ſaye, that the clergy feared leſt thoſe folke and manye ſuch other like, ſhould conſpire and gather together, and pull all awaye from them by force: I canne not ſaye nay, but ſuche a thing myghte in deede by longe ſufferaunce come about, as well in this

land as it hath in other. But than if the clergy feared that thing, they feared for mo then them ſelfe. For ſurely if ſuche thing ſhoulde fortune as I truſte it neuer ſhal, thoſe folke woulde not take onely fro the clergy, but among other from ſome of their owne lay bꝛethꝛen to, ſuch as haue aught to leſe.

But this pacifier wyl peraduenture ſay, that though ſuch maner folke as euyl pꝛeſtes and apoſtatas that the clergy haue puniſhed, be none of thoſe that they puniſhed for that cauſe, but becauſe they were heretikes in deede, yet manye other haue they puniſhed for that cauſe, that is to wytte, becauſe they myſſeconſtrued their mindes and reckened them for enemies to the clergy, for onely ſynninge of fautes at the myſſeorder and abusions of the clergy. And he wil ſay as he ſaith, that not oneli himſelf ſaith that the clergy haue puniſhed many perſons therfore, but that alſo muche people (though they ſay not ſo farre as he ſaith, that is to wytte that they puniſhed them therfore) wyl yet ſay that they puniſhed them rather of wil than of loue to the people. Well yet the ſame muche people of this pacifier haue hearde them ſo ſaye, though their ſo ſapeng be grounded but vpon imaginacion and geſſing at the ſerretes of other mennes myndes (as bys owne imaginacion is) yet iudge they not ſo euil as himſelf doth. For if they iudge in that punyſhement no moze, but leſſe loue to the people, then deſyre to punyſhment, they iudge not yet that the punyſhers did the parties wrong as thys pacifier doth himſelfe, that ſaith the clergy myſſeconſtrued their mindes, and vpon ſuche myſſetakinge of their myndes for onely ſpeaking agaynſt theyr myſſeorder and abusions, dyd therfore punyſh them.

And therfore lettynge as I ſayde before bys muche people paſſe by aboute theyr other buſyneſſe, I aſke thys pacifier hym ſelfe, ſyth he ſayeth that the clergy hathe for that cauſe punyſhed manye, what number is the leaſte that he calleth manye? For though be crye ſewe be ouer manye to be ſo wrongeſullye myſſehandeled and punyſhed, for onely ſpeakynge agaynſt myſſeorder and abusions, yet euer moze this woꝛde (manye) muſte needes impoꝛte and ſygnyſſie ſome greater number perde, than one or two or thre.

And ouer thys, becauſe the matter whereupon this pacifier bzyngeth it in, is for

As for a cause of a great and in maner vniuersall grudge and diuision, nowe of late (as he saith) sprongen by and growen betwene the spiritualtye and the temporality, these many persones that ge speake of, which haue bene so late for onely speaking agaynst the misorder and abusions punished, must needes be so many as that there haue bene some such is punished almost in euery diocise. For elles he playne reproceth his owne procelle, and excuseth the clergy himselfe butware and layeth no lyttle faute in the temporaltye, if for the wrongfull demeanour of one byshop or twaine, in one persone or twaine, they would beare an vniuersall grudge agaynst all the remanant.

Howe to proue to what passe this pacifier coulede bringe his procelle of his many persones, so soze myshandeled and punished for onely speaking agaynst the misorder and abusions of the clergy, let this pacifier peruse and rehearse by name all the diocises of Englands and Wales therewith, and I wene verilye that, excepte London and Lyncolne, hee shall scante in anye one of all the remanant fynde punished for herelpe four persones in fyue yere, and in the more parte of them not fyue in .xx. yere, nor deliuered into the secular handes in the most part of them any one in .xx. yere. And then if this be thus, although (which I trowe no man thinketh) of al those that in al the other diocises haue ben punished were wronged euery chone, yet were not so fewe likely to haue made so great an vniuersall grudge, as this pacifier speaketh of. For I suppose no man douteth, but that by one occasion and other, mo men then so many, haue myse happened to be in lesse space mys punished in so much space of the land by temporal men, and yet hath there not growen an vniuersall grudge or diuision agaynst any part of the people thereby.

Let vs nowe then come to these two diocises of London and Lyncolne, and of those twayne fyyst to speake of Lyncolne, as great a diocise as it is, and as many shires as he hath within it, yet haue I not heard of late many punished for herelpe among them all. But about a tenne yere ago to my remembraunce, there were in that diocise aboute .xii. or fourtene abiured in one towne, and at that tyme euery manne that I hearde speake thereof, eyther in the court or els where, appeared very glad that suche a bed of snakes was so founde out & bro-

ken. For then were there at that tyme no pacifiers to put forth booke and lament suche diuisions, wyth layenge for the cause of the grudge, that many persones were myshandeled and punished for onely speaking agaynst the misorder and abusions of the clergy. But now euery one that is punished any wher, is inoughe for a matter of a lamentable booke of diuision, that may to pacify the grudge ere it begyn, be a fygure of some say, and they say, and many say, & much people say, and many men think, and suche other, and therewith enueyggle the reader, and make some good folke wene that right were wronge, and euery one man an hundred.

But nowe come I to the diocise of London, in which though there haue bene somewhat more a doe in these matters there is no greate maruaile, sythe vnto this diocise there is so great reioyte and confluence, not onely from other partes of this realme, but also fro other landes. And yet euen here of all that haue bene punished in this diocise, eyther in the county of Essex (for as for in Wybbleshe, I remember none) or in the cytye selfe, eyther of residents therein, or of resorters thereto, Englyshe men or straungers, sythe this pacifier affyrmeth that many persones be punished by the clergy for the onely speaking agaynst their abuspons and misorder, and of those that haue bene punished eyther ryght or wronge, farre the most part haue bene here double and treble I trowe to the remanant of the whole realme, & this is here nerte at hande, whereby the proues of al such myshandelyng may here wyth leass labour and charge be brought forth, and the truth most easely tryed: let this pacifier of those many myshandeled and wronge punished persones that he speaketh of, come forth and here proue vs some. Let hym proue .xx. let hym proue twelue, lette hym proue tenne, lette him proue fyue, lette hym proue twayne, or for verpe shame after such a great word of (so many) let him proue some one at the least. But surely I suppose he shall neuer be able to do that.

The .xxxvi. chapter.

But I suppose in good faith & this pacifier hath of some sacplytpe of his owne good nature, bene easi to beleue som such as haue told him lies, & hath bene thereby perswaded to thinke & many other folke said & knew & thing

Q thing that some fewe tolde him for very
trouth. And surely they that are of thys
newe brotherhead be so bold & so shame-
lesse in lieng, that who so shall heare the
speake, & knoweth not what sect they be
of, shall be very sore abused by them.

My selfe haue good experience of the.
For the lies are neither fewe nor small,
that many of the blessed brethren haue
made, and dayly yet make by me.

Duers of them haue saide that of
suche as were in my house while I was
chauncellour, I bled to examine them
with tormentes, causinge them to bee
bounden to a tree in my gardeine, and
there pituously beaten.

And this tale had some of those good
brethren so caused to be blowen aboute,
that a right worthy full friend of myne
did of late within lesse then this fourte-
night, tell vnto another nere friende of
mine that he hadde of late hearde much
speaking thereof.

What can nor these brethren say, that
can be so shamelesse to say thus? For of
very trouth, albeit that for a greates rob-
bery, or an heighnous murder, or sacri-
ledge in a church, wyth carieng awaye
the pyre with the blessed sacramente, or
vilanously casting it out, I caused som-
tyme suche thinges to be done by some
officers of the Parthalsye, or of some o-
ther prisons, with whiche orderinge of
them by their well deserued paine, and
without any great hurt that afterward
should sticke by them, I founde out and
repressed many such desperate wretches
as elles had not failed to haue gone far-
ther abrode, and to haue done to manye
good folke, a greates deale muche moze
harme: yet though I so diuide in cheues,
murderers, and robbers of churches, &
notwithstanding also that heretikes be
yet muche worse then all they, yet sa-
uing onelye their sure keeping, I neuer
did els cause any suche thing to be done
to any of them all in all my life, excepte
onely twaine, of whiche the one was a
childe and a seruauant of mine, in myne
owne house, whom his father had ere e-
uer he came with me, nonshed by in such
matters, and had set him to attende by-
on George Iape or Gee, otherwise cal-
led Clerke which is a priest, and is now
for all that wedded in Antwarpe, into
whose house there, the twoo Runnes
were broughte, whiche Ihon Byt, o-
therwise called Adrian, stole out of their
cloyster to make them harlottes.

This George Iape didde teache this

childe his vngraceous heresse against the
blessed sacramēt of the aulter, which he-
resse this childe afterwarde, beynge in
seruite with me, beganne to teache ano-
ther childe in my house, whiche vttered
his counsaile. And vppon that poynte
perceiued and knowen, I caused a ser-
uaunt of myne to strypp hym lyke a
childe befoze myne houtholde, for amen-
dement of himself, and ensample of such
other.

Another was one, whiche after that
he had fallen into that frantick heresies,
fell soone after into plaine open fran-
kye beside. And all be it that he had therfore
bene put by in Bedelcm, and afterward
by beating and correccion gathered his
remembraunce to him, and beganne to
come againe to himselfe, beinge thereup-
pon set at liberty, and walkinge aboute
abrode, his olde fantasies beganne to fall
againe in his heade. And I was fro dy-
uers good holy places aduertised, that
he bled in his wandering about to come
into the church, and there make many
mad toies and triffles, to the trouble
of good people in the diuine seraice, &
specially woulde he be most busye in the
time of most silēce, while the priest was
at the secretes of the masse aboute the le-
uacion. And if he spied any woman knel-
ling at a forme, if her heade hynge anye
thinge lowe in her medytacions, than
woulde he steale behynde her, and if he
were not letted, woulde labour to lyft vp
all her clothes, and cast them quite ouer
her head. Whereupon I beinge aduertis-
ed of these pageauntes, and beinge sent
vnto and required by very deuout re-
ligious folke, to take some other order
with him, caused him as he came wan-
deringe by my doore, to be taken by the
countables, and bounden to a tree in the
streete befoze the whole towne, and ther
they stripped him with rodde therfore
til he wared weary, and somewhat len-
ger. And it appeared well that his re-
membraunce was good inoughe, saue
that it went about in grasing til it was
beaten home. For he coulde than berpe
wel reherse his fautes himselfe, & speake
and treate very well, and promise to doe
afterward as well. And verilye God be
thāked I heare none harme of him now.

And of al that euer came in my hand
for heresye, as helpe me God, sauing as
I said the sure keeping of them, and yet
not so sure neither, but that George Co-
stāne could stele awaye: els had neuer
any of the any stripe or stroke giue the,
so much

As muche as a splyppe on the forehead.

And some haue sayde that whan Constantine was gotten away, I was fallē for anger in a woderful rage. But surely though I would not haue suffered him go if it would haue pleased him to haue tarped my self in the stocks, yet whā he was neither so feble for lack of meate but that he was strong enough to break the stocks, nor warē to lame of his legges with speng, but that he was lyght enough to leape the walles, nor by any myshandelyng of his head so dulled or dased in his brayne, but that he had wylt enough whan he was ones out, wyselye to walke hys way, neyther was I than so heauye for the losse, but that I hadde youthe ynough left me to weare it out, nor so angry wyth any manne of myne that I spake them any euyl word for the matter, more then to my portier that he should se the stocks mended and locked fast, that the prisoner shal not in again. And as for Constantyne hym selfe, I coulde hym in good faith good thanke. For neuer wyl I for my parte be so unreasonable, as to be angry wyth any man pryseth if he can, whan he fyndeth himselfe that he syteth not at hys ease.

But now tell the brethren many merueylous lyes, of muche cruell tormentyng that heretikes had in my house, so far forth that one Segar a booke seller of Cābridge whych was in myne house aboute foure or fyue dayes, and neuer had eyther bodelye harme done hym, or foule woorde spoken hym while he was in myne house, hath reported synce, as I heare say to dyuers, that he was bounde to a tree in my gardeyne, and thereto to pytifully beaten, and yet besyde that bounden aboute the heade wyth a corde and wryngon, that he fell downe deade in a swoone.

And thys tale of hys beatinge, dydde Tyndall tell to an olde acquayntaunce of his own, and to a good louer of mine wyth one peece farther yet, that whyle the man was in beating, I spyed a lytle purse of his hanginge at hys doublette, wherein the poore man had (as he sayd) fyue marke, and that caught I quickly to me, and pulled it from his doublette, and put it in my bosom, and that Segar neuer sawe it after, and therein I trow he sayde true, for no more dyd I neyther nor before neither, nor I trow no more did Segar himselfe neither in good faith.

But now whan I can come to goodes by suche goodlye wayes, it is no greate

maruaile though I be so sodainly growen to so great substance of riches, as Tyndall tolde his acquayntaunce & my friends, to whom he sayde that he wyfte well that I was no lesse woorthie in money and plate and other monables, then twenty thousand markes. And as much as that haue dyuers of the good brethren affirmed here nerer home.

And surely thys wyl I confesse, that if I haue heaped by so much good together, the haue I not gotten the tone half by ryghte. And yet by all the thecues, murderers, & heretikes, that ener came in my handes, am I not (I thanke God) the richer of one grote, and yet haue they spent me twaine. Howe beit if eyther any of them, or of any kynde of people els that any cause haue had before me, or other wyse any medelling wyth me, fynde hymselfe so sore greued wyth any thing that I haue taken of hys, he hadde some tyme to speake thereof. And nowe sythe no man commeth forth to aske any restitution yet, but holde theyr peace and slacke their time so long: I gyue them al plaine peremptory warning nowe, that they dye it of no lenger. For if they tarry til yester day, and then come and aske so great lunnies among them, as shall amount to twenty thousande marke, I purpose to purchase suche a protection for them, that I wyl leaue my selfe lesse then the fourth part, euen of the woldnes rather then ener I wyl pay them.

And nowe dare I say, that if thys pacifyer hadde by experience knowen the trouthe of that kynde of people, he wold not haue gyuen so muche credence to their lamentable complaynynges, as it seemeth me by some of hys Some sayes he doth.

Howe beit what saythe my woordes wyl haue wyth him in these mytacles causes, I canne not very surely say, nor yet very greatly care. And yet stande I not in so much dout of my self, but that I truste well that amonge manye good and honest men, among whych sorte of folke I truste I maye reken hym, myne owne woorde wold alone euen in myne owne cause be somewhat better beleued then wold the othes of some twayne of thys newe brethrenhead in a matter of another man.

The xxxviii. chapter.

But now to come to some sprynges of al mens causes, agaynst whom there

¶ There are layde lyke lyes, one Symonds a long wel knowne heretike walkyng a bout the realme, was taken not longe ago, by the officers of the right reuerend father my Lord byshop of Winchester, and being put in a chamber to kepe, and breaking out at a wyndowe, hath tolde many of his brethren since, that he was meruellously tomented by the bishops officers in prison, and should haue ben murthered therein to, and that elies he would neuer haue runne his way. But he woulde neuer since complaine of his harmes to the kynge or his counsayl, but wyl rather of perfeccion suffer them all patiently, then to pursew and proue the with his forth coming againe.

¶ Woulde God thys pacifyer myghte haue the examinacion of that matter. It would peraduenture do hym great good hereafter, to synde out the truth of such a false heretikes tale.

¶ And now notwithstanding that the brethren boast much of his happy scape: yet if he happed to die or be hanged somewhere there as no manne wylle where but they, they would not lette for a nede to saie that he scaped not at all, but was pynfully kylled in prison, and pynfully cast awaye. For so sayde some of them by George Constantine, not onelye by his selfe myghte out of my keeping, but also euen now of late, not wythstanding that they well knowe that manye marchauntes of oure owne hadde seene hym synce, laughe and make merve at Antwarpe.

¶ Such lust haue these blessed brethren that euer talke of fayth, and spirite, and trowth, and veritye, contynually to deuyse and imagine lies of malice and hatred, agaynste all those that labour to make them good.

¶ And suche a pleasure hath epyther frith hymselfe, or els some other false foolyshe brethren of his sect. For he told one or twaine, and caused the brethren to blowe it farther aboute, that woode was set him into the towre, that the chancellour of London said it shuld cost him the best blonde in his body.

¶ Nowe whither frith lye or hys felowes, let them draw cut betwene them. For surely where they tell it vnder such maner, as though they mayster Chancellour shoulde reioyce and haue a cruell desyre of the mans death: I knowe hym so well that I dare well say they falselye helpe hym therein.

¶ Nowe be it some truths they myghte

happe to heare whereupon they myghte buylde their lye. For so was it that on a tyme one came & shewed me that frith laboured so sore that he sweate agayne, in studieng & wyting agaynst the blessed sacrament. And I was of trowth the verye heavy to heare that the younge foolyshe felowe shoulde bestowe suche labour aboute suche a deuelyshe woork, & wyting that the man had some good chrysten friends to whome he would geue care, that myghte wythdrawe hym from geuing and enclining al his hart to the following of that frantike heresye, where with he were in peryll to peryll both body and soule, said in the communicacioun these wordes or other of like effecte. For if that frith (quod I) sweate in labouring to queneche that sayth, that al true chrysten people haue in chrystes blessed body and bloude, which all chrysten folke verilye, and all good folke fruitfully receiue in the fourme of bread: he shal labour more then in bayne. For I am sure that frith and al his felowes with al the friends that are of theyr affinitie, shal neither be able to queneche and put out that faith. And ouer that if frith labour about the quenching thereof tyl he sweate, I would some good friend of his shoulde shewe hym, that I feareme sore, that chryste wyl kyndle a fyre of sagottes for hym, and make hym therein sweate the bloude out of his bodye here, and straight from hence send hys soule for euer into the fyre of hell.

¶ Nowe in these wordes I neyther met nor meane, that I would it wer so. For so helpe me God and none other wyse, but as I would be glad to take more labour, losse, and bodelye payne also, then peraduenture many a man would wene to winne that yonge man to chryst and hys true saythe agayne, and thereby to preserve and keepe hym from the losse & peryll of soule and body both.

¶ Nowe might it peraduenture be that I tolde mayster chancellour this tale, and so I wene I dyd, and he might thereupon happen to reposte it againe, or say some suche lyke wordes of like purpose to some other man, and that thereupon these bretheren buylde by theyr towre of lyes. Or els which were not impossible, frith if he heard the tale tolde by me, myght withdrawinge the best, and making it some suche as hymselfe lyst, tel it out by mayster chancellour, to byng hym amonge the people in oppnyon of malice and crueltye.

But

A But his milde mynde and herpe tender dealing in suche matters, is amonge all the people by good experience so plainly proued and so clerely knowen, that it wyl be hard to bzing anye suche sinister opinion of him in any good honest mā's head, for the wordes of a greate meynye suche maner folke as Frith is, whyche not onely speaketh lies againste honest mē, but also writeth false lies & heresydes against the blessed sacramēt of the aulter.

Some man wil yet peraduenture say that this is a thing farre vnlykely, that either Frith or any man els would willingly take a bourden from one mā and lay it in a nother mans neck, and namely to laye it to the chauncellour fro me, sythe that all suche folke reken in themselves, that they haue moze cause of grieve against me then him.

Surely if they were wisse, and entended to be good, they should neither think the selfe to haue cause of grief or grudge against me nor him neither. For of my selfe I wote well, and of hym I belieue the same, that we nothing entende vnto them but their owne welth, which with out their amendemēt by chaunge of their heresydes into the true faith again, is impossible to be gotten.

But for the poynte that I speake of, that it were not so farre vnlykely as it would happely seme, that Frith would tourne the tale fro me to maister chauncellour, ye shal perceiue partly by his owne dede, and partly by the dealing of some other suche, in suche like maner of matter. For ye shal vnderstand, that after that Frith had wyrtten a false foolyshe treatise against the blessed sacramēt of the aulter, I haunge a coppe thereof sent vnto me, made shortlye an aunswere thereto. And for because that his booke was not put abrode in print, I woulde not therfore let myne runne abrode in mens handes. For as I haue often sayde, I woulde wishe that the common people shoulde of such heresydes neither heare so much as the name. But for as muche as that thinge is impossible to prouide but that heretiks wil be doing, therfore are other folke some time dyuuen of necessitye to speake of those matters also, and to make answer vnto the.

And therfore whan heretikes abire and do theyr penaunce, the preachour is sayne to rehearse their opinions in the pulpet, and there aunswer those diuelish argumentes openly, with whiche those heretikes first deceiue men and women

in corners secretly, and after spied the abrode in audyence by defence of those heresydes in their examinacion openly.

And also if their bookes be ones put abrode in print, it is a thing very harde to get them wel in again. But as for me I bled therein this prouision for the remedye on bothe partes, that though I woulde not put myne aunswere abrode into euery mans handes at aduenture, because Frithes booke was not put out abrode in prynte: yet I caused myne answer to be prynced vnder myne owne name, to thetent I might as in dede I haue, giue out some to such as I perceiued had sene his booke before.

Sowe happed it that vpon a tyme, the right reuerend father my Lord bishoppe of Winchester set for Frith vnto his owne place of very fatherly fauor towards the yonge mans amendement, which he sore desired, both for other causes, and amonge other causes partly also for this, because he was not manye yeres ago a yonge boye waiting vpon him and a scolar of his. In that communicacion, what wordes were betwene theym, were nowe to longe to rehearse. But suche they were as I woulde wyllyngly that all suche as be wylle, and wene that Frith were wylle (whiche be peraduenture some that heare the brethren speake of him, and way not them selfe his wordes) had ther standen by and heard. For they shoulde I am sure haue takē Frith euer after, for suche as he plainely before good recoorde proued hym selfe than, whyche was not an heretique onely, but besydes that, a proude vnlearned foole.

But as I was aboute to tell you, in that communicacion my sayde Lord of Winchester amonge other thinges communed with Frith against his afore remembred heresy that he so sweareth in, to impugne the true Christen faith concerning the sacramēt of the aulter. And when Frith there stood in his heresy, as stiffely as he defended it foolishly secretly betwene them twaine, my Lord longed that the felowes folke myght appeare, called good and worshipfull wytnesses vnto them. And then because his Lordshipp perceiued Frith, lothe to haue it knowen abrode oute of the brethrenhead, as yet at that tyme he wēt about to pof the realme with his pestilent heresy against the sacramēt: my Lord I say said vnto him, it was nowe to late for him to thinke he could kepe close,

renoke

Arenoke it frith/quod his lordshippe) ye maye and repent it, and so were it well done ye didde, but kepe it fro knowledge ye cannot, ye be gone now so farre. For your booke of this matter haue ben sent abrode in many mennes handes, & that so long, that loe here is an aunswere already made vnto it, and shewed him my booke in pzent, but of trowth he deliuered it not vnto him. Howbeit soone after he gate mine aunswer I canot tell of who, and synce haue I hearde of late, that he sweareth about that matter a freth, and hath I heare say, the deuellish booke of Wickliffe, Swinglius, and frere Hulkin secretly conueyed vnto hym into the towre, and hath begonne and gone on a great waye in a newe booke agaynst the sacrament.

But the thing that I tell you this tale for, is this. I am wel enfourmed that he knoweth very wel that I made that aunswere, and it is not very likely but that by one or other he hath the booke in pzent, and of likelihod he neuer hadde it other wise. For y was as easy a way ye wotte well, as one to write it out that had it in pzent already, and befoze it was pprinted I know very well he could neuer geatte it. And at the leastwise I knowe it well that he knoweth well ynoughe that the aunswere was made by me, and yet he dissimuleth that, & sayning himselfe not to know who made it, but to think it rather that my sayde Lord of Winchester made it then any man elles, maketh his new booke as I am very certainly enformed, not against me by name, but all agaynst my sayd lord, of a solemne pryde that he woulde haue his booke seme a disputacion betwene the bope & the bishop.

But there shall not greatly nede such a bishoppe so learned as my sayd lord is, to dyspute with anye suche as frith is, for syue such booke as that is, if it be no wyser then was his other, or then thys his newe is either, if it be no wyser then one telleth me, that both can good skylle, and hath hearde a great part readde, nor howsoeuer he haue handeled it, wille wil it neuer be tohyle the matter therof is so false. And therefore when the booke shall hereafter be finished, & happeth to come to my handes, I trust to make almost euery boy hable to perceiue the false folp therof, though he couer his rotten fruit as close and as comely as euer anye colterd monger couered his basket.

But thys as I sayd, ye may good readers see, that as frith taketh mine aun-

swer fro me, whiche hymselfe and euery man elles knoweth well for myne, and imputeth it to the byshoppe of Winchester: it were not muche vnlikelye, that he woulde when he had heard of a thing that I had sayde, and when hymself had made it woorse, then chaunge it fro me and impute it vnto maister chaunceller of London.

The xxxviij. Chapter.



Whiche if he doe, he doth it not alone. For this poynt played also Thomas Whyllyppes of London letherseller now prisoner in the towre. Whome when I was chaunceller, vpon certain thynges that I found out by him, by the examination of diners heretikes whom I had spoken with, vpon the occasion of the heretikes forboden booke, I sent for. And when I had spoken with hym, and onesly intreated him one day or twayn in mine house, and laboured about his amendment in as hearty louing maner as I coulde: when I perceiued finallye the persone such, that I coulde fynde no trouthe, neyther in his worde, nor his othe, and sawe the likelihod that he was in the setting furth of such heresies close lye, a man mete and likely to doe many folke much harme: I by indecture deliuered hym to his ordinarie. And yet for because I perceiued in him a great vain glorious lyking of himself, and a great lpyce of the same spiryte of pryde that I perceiued befoze in Richard Hunne whē I talked with him, and feared that if he wer in the bishoppes prison, his godly enemy the deuill might make him there destroy himselfe, and then myght such a newe businesse aryse agaynst maister chaunceller that now is, as at that time arose vpon the chaunceler that was then, which thing I feared in Thomas Whyllyppes somewhat also the more, because a cosin of his, a barber in Water noster towne called Holpe John, after that he was suspected of heresye and spoken to therof, fearng the shame of the worlde, drowned hymselfe in a well: I for these causes aduised and by my menes holpe, that Thomas Whyllyppes (which al be it that he sayd that the cleargie loued him not, semed not yet very loth to goe to the bishoppes prison) was receiued prisoner into the towre of London. And yet after that he complayned therupon, not agaynst me but agaynst the ordinarie.

Whether.

A Whereupon the kinges highnesse commaunded certayn of the greatest lordes of hys counsaile, to know how the matter stode: whiche knowen & repozted to hys grace his higghens as a most vertuous catholik pryncer gaue vnto Thomas Philippes such aunswere, as if he hadde ben either halfe so good as I woulde he wer, or halfe so wyse as hymself weneth he wer, he woulde furthwith haue folowed, and not stand still in his obstinacy so long, as he hath now put himself thereby in another deeper perill.

B Other haue besides this complained, that they haue ben vntreuely and vniustly handled, and this haue they not letted to doe after that they haue ben convicted and abiured, and their iust condemnacions after their open examinations, and playne and cleare proues, so wel and openly knowen, that they haue by their shameles clamour, nothing gotten, but rebuke and shame. And yet wer some of them if their Ordinaries hadde ben so sore and so cruell as this booke of this pacifier maketh them, fallen again in the daunger and perill of relapse.

C And some hath ben heard vpon impoztune clamour, and the cause and handling examined by the greatest Lordes tempoꝛall of the kinges most honorable counsaile, and that synce that I left the office, and the complaynour founde in his complayning so verie shamelesse false, that he hath ben answered that he was to easely deale with, and hadde wrong that he was no worse serued.

And such haue these folke euer be founden and euer shall. For when they fall to a false saythe in harte, their wordes cannot be true. And therfore if this pacifier well and thorowly knewe them,

D I dare say he woulde lesse beileue they lamentable tales, than I feare me that he hath believed some in complayning vpon their Ordinaries, against whome he semeth vpon such folkes false complaininge, to haue conceyued this opinion, that hys booke of diuision sheweth, that is to witte, that the cleargye thinke that every man that speaketh agaynst they misorder and abusyons, loueth no priestes, and that therfore they haue punished many menne, which god forbode wer true. For if it were, surely they that so punished any one man for that cause, that is to witte, because themselves conceyue a false suspicion agaynst hym, it wer pittie that they liued. But I thinke in good sayth, that the prelates will ne-

uer desyre to lync lenger, then tyll this pacifier proue that same false tale true.

¶ The xxxix. Chapter.

I Sayde before, that I woulde touche of this booke, and so haue I touched, his first chapter whole, because it hath for the first setting furth the chiefe countenaunce of mydenesse and charitie. And yet what charitie there is therein, whan it is considered I suppose you see. For no part is ther of the cleargie that can please him, neither prelates nor meane seculare priestes, nor religious persons, not so much as any one man as you may playnely perceyue by other wordes of his in other places of hys louing boke. And yet among all these faultes, I see hym finde none with them that runne out in apostasie, but all the faultes be assigned in the that abyde in their profession still. For I fynde not in hys booke any cause of his diuision, to be founden in the sowing and setting furth of these newe sprongen heresyes. And yet doe they make, and needes must make wheresoeuer they come, the greatest diuision that can be, first in opinions, and contrarious myndes, and after ward in seruour of language and contentious wordes, and finally if it goe furth long, in playne sedycion, manslaughter, and open warre.

And this faulte of these heresyes he myght as well haue layed vnto the cleargye, as some of the tother that he so sore speaketh of, if he take heresies for anye. For lyke as naughty priestes & naughty religious persons, haue alway ben they that doe those other faultes, which vnder the figure of some saye this booke layeth to the charge of the spiritualtie: so haue noughtie priestes and noughtie religious folke (being among the cleargye as Judas was among Christes apostles) betrayed the sayth of Christe, and begunne and sette furth these vngodly heresies, as false and as feruentlye for their part, as noughty lare folke for theirs, and bothe twayne first corrupte some of their company at home, and after runne out in apostasie, & put abroad their heresies in wytyng. And some men say that some prelates haue not done all they partes, in the repressing and betwixt punishment of them. And yet as great faultes as these be, and suche as all the tempoꝛaltie should be most grieved with and

And grudge at, and therefore shoulde be moſte cauſe of thys diuiſion, if there be ſuche a diuiſion, and that euery default that is in any noughtye perſones of the ſpiritualtie be a cauſe of almoſt an vniuerſal diuiſion and grudge of the whole corpe of the tempoꝛaltie, agaynſte the whole body of the ſpiritualtie: yet I ſay for al this, the booke of this paciſyer layeth no piece of this faulte vnto the ſpiritualtie, but rather ſyndeth faulte and cauſe of grudge and diuiſion in the ſpiritualtie, for ouer ſoze handeling of the that are heretikes in dede, and laboꝛeth to abaſhe the oꝛdinaries with obloquy, and putte them in dreade with feare of infamy, and fallſely beareth the in hand that they haue puniſhed many perſones for a wꝛong ſuſpicion, fallſely conceiued in their own mindes agaynſt thoſe who they puniſhed.

And thus farre hath he gone in hys firſt Chapter. In which maner, albeit I truſt in God the man meant hymſelfe but wel, yet I feare me ſome wily ſhꝛew hath ſomewhat ſette hym a wꝛye in the tempering of his woꝛdes.

The .xl. Chapter.



Ad verſily, albeit as I ſayd befoꝛe, I purpoſe not to meddle with ieuery part of this boke that I thinke wer wel done for hym to amēd: yet in hys ſeuenth Chapter and his eyght, which twayne treat all of theſe matters of herelyes, for the great weyghte of the matter I ſhall not ſo beare to ſhewe you ſome difference & diuerſitie betwene hys mind and mine.

An other occaſion of the ſaid diuiſion hath been, by reaſon of diuers ſuites, that haue been taken in ſpiritual courttes of office, that is called in latine, *ex officio*: ſo that the parties haue not knowen who hath accuſed them, and thereupon they haue ſomtime ben cauſed to abiure in cauſes of herelies: ſometime to doe penance, or to pay great ſūmes of money for redeming therof, whiche veracyon & charges, the parties haue thought haue come to them by the iudges and the officers of the ſpiritual court: for they haue knowen none other accuſers, and that hath cauſed much people in diuers partes of thys realme to thinke greate malice and percialtie in the ſpiritual iudges. And if a man be *ex officio* brought befoꝛe ſecond oꝛdinary for herely, if he be nota-

blye ſuſpected of herely, he muſt pouꝛge hymſelfe after the will of the oꝛdinary, or be accuſed, and that is by the lawe *extra de hereticis cap. Ad abolendam*. And that is thought by many to be a very hard law, for a man may be ſuſpected and not gylty, & ſo be dꝛiuen to a purgacion with out pꝛoſe or without offence in hym, or be accuſed.

I will in thys poynt of conuenting *ex officio*, no farther ſpeake at thys time then concerning the cꝛyme of herely. For I am in god ſayth loth to medle with this boke of his at all. For lothe am I any thing to medle agaynſt any other mans wꝛiting that is a catholike man, ſauing that it ſemeth me beſely that be this man neuer ſo good, yet if his minde wer ſolowwed in this matter, it would woꝛke this realme great harme and no good.

For ſurely if the conuenting of heretikes *ex officio* wer leſt, and chaunged into an other oꝛder, by which no man ſhould be called be he neuer ſo ſoze ſuſpected, nor by neuer ſo many men detected, but if ſome man make himſelf parti agaynſt him as his accuſer, the ſtretes wer likelye to ſwarme full of heretykes befoꝛe that right few wer accuſed, or peraduenture any one epyther.

For whatſoever the cauſe be, it is not vnknewen I am ſure that manye will geue vnto a iudge ſecret inſormacion of ſuch thinges, as though they be true, yet gladly he will not or peraduenture dare not, be openly a knowen that the matter came out by hym. And yet ſhall he ſome tyme geue the names of dyuers other, which being called by the iudge, and examined as witnelles agaynſt their willes, both knowe and will alſo depoſe the tꝛouth, and he that firſt gaue inſormacion alſo, and yet will neuer one of them willingly make himſelfe an open accuſer of the partie, nor dare peraduenture for hys eares.

And this ſynd we not onely in herely, but in many tempoꝛall matters among our ſelfe, wherof I haue had experience many a time and oft, both in the byſcloſing of felonies, and ſometime of muchs other oppꝛeſſion vſed by ſome one man or twayne in a ſhyꝛe, whereby all theyꝛ neighbours ſoze ſmarted, and yet not one durſt openly complayne.

Howbeit it cummeth in herelies ſometime to much woꝛſe poynt. For I haue wyſt where thoſe that haue been in the company at the time, being folke of god ſubſtaunce, and ſuch as were taken for

A woorthyppefull, beyng called in for witnessnes, haue first made manye delapes, and after ward being examined on their othes, haue swoyne that they hearde it not, or remembred it not, and toke no hede to the matter at the tyme, whereas it well appeared by the depositions of diuers other being with the at the time, that in euery mānes conscience they lyed. Whan would these folke become an heretikes accuser, against whome they woulde rather be forsworne then of the crouth to beare witness.

And thys thing maketh, that it maye be somtime (albeit very selde it happeth) that in herelpe vpon other vehement suspicions without witnessnes, a man may be put to hys purgacion and to penance also if he sayle therof, whiche thing why so many should nowe thinke so harde a lawe as this pacifier sayeth they doe, I cannot see, nor those wyse men neither that made the lawe. And yet were they many wyse men, and not onely as wyse, but peraduenture many mo also in number, then those that this pacifier calleth many now, that as he sayth finde nowe the faulte. For though it be alledged in the *extravagant de hereticis c. s. Ad abolendam*: Yet was that lawe made in a general counsaile.

And verely me thinketh that he which cannot be proued gylty in heresie, and yet vseth suche manner of wayes that all hys honest neighbours wene he were one and therefore dare not sweare that in their conscience they thynke hym anye other, is well woorthye me thinketh, to doe some penance for that manner of behaueour, whereby he geueth all other folk occasiō to take him for so noughty.

And by the comon law of this realme, many times vpon suspicon the iudges awarde a writ to enquire of what fame and behaueour the man is in hys countrey, and hymself lyeth sometime still in prison till the retourne, and if he be retourned good, that is to witte, if he be in a maner pourged, then is he deliuered, and yet he payeth his fees ere he go. And if he be retourned noughty, then vse the iudges to bynde hym for hys good abeyng, and sometime sureties with hym too, such as their discrecion will allow. And then to lye still tyll he fynde them, is sometyme as muche penance to the tone, as the spiritual iudge enioyneth to the tother. For the tone cummeth to the barre as openly as the tother to the consistory, and sometyme his fetters waye a

good piece of a fagot, besides that they ly lenger on the tone mannes legges, then the fagot on the tothers shoulder. And yet is ther no remed but both these must be done, bothe in the tone courte and in the tother, or elles in fiede of one harme (which to him that deserueth it not happeneth selde, and as selde I am sure in heresies as in theft, and muche moze selde tw)pe shall haue ten times moze harme happen dayly to folke as innocēt as they, and of innocentes many made nocentes, to the destruccyon of themself and other tw, both in goodes, bodye and soule.

And because thys pacifier taketh it for so soze a thing in the spirituall lawe, that a man shall be called *ex officio* for heresy, where he shall not know his accuser: if we should chaunge the spirituall law for that cause, then hadde we neede to chaunge the temporall tw, in some such poyntes as chaunge it when ye will, and ye shall chaunge it into the woorse for aught that I can see, but if it be better to haue moe theues then fewer.

For nowe if a man be endighted at a sessions, and none euidence geuen openly at the barre (as many be, and many may well be. For the endightours maye haue euidence geuen the a part, or haue heard of the matter ere they came there, and of whom be they not bounden to tel but be rather bounden to kepe it close, for ther be sworn to kepe the kinges counsaile and their owne) shall than the party that is endighted be put vnto no busynesse aboute his acquytrale: And who shall tell him there the names of his accusers, to entyle hym to hys writte of conspiracie? This pacifier will peraduenture saye, that the same twelue men that are hys endyghtours are his accusers, and therefore he may knowe them. But what helpeth that hys undeserued veracyon if he were faultlesse? For as mēdes the law geueth him none against any of thcm, nor it were not well done he should, but maye whan he is after by other. xij. acquite, goe gearte hym home and be merve that he hath had so sayze a day, as a man gearteth him to the fyre & shaketh his hatte after a showze of rain. And nowe as it often happeth, that a mā cometh into a showze by his owne ouersight, though sometime of chaunce and of aduerture: so surely though sometyme it hap that a man be accused or endyghted of malice, or of some likelihod which happed him of chaunce and not his fault therein,

And in dede
so he is.

Atherin, yet happeth it in comparifon be-
ry felfe, but that the partye by fome de-
meanour of himfelfe geuech occafion that
folke haue hym fo fufpected.

Now if this pacifyer fay, that yet ther
is at the leaft wyfe in a temporall iudge
an open caufe appearing, wherupon
me may fee y the iudge calleth hym not,
but vppon a matter brought vnto hym,
where as the fpirituall iudge may call a
man vppon his own pleafure if he beare
the partie displeafure: this is berpe well
fayd as for the tempoal iudge. But what
fayth he now for the tempoal twelue
men? For ye wot well they may doe the
fame if they wer fo dyfpofed, & then had
I as liue the iudge might doe it as they.
For in god fayth I neuer faw the dape
yet, but that I durfte as well trufte the
trouthe of one iudge, as of two iuries.
But the iudges be fo wyfe men, that for
the auoyding of obloquie, they will not
be put in the trufte.

And I dare fay the Ordinaries be not
fo wyfe neither, but that they woulde
as fayne auoyde it too if they mighte, fa-
uyng that very neceffitie left all thoulde
fall to nought, compelleth them to take
thys waye, whiche neceffitie fome tyme
canfeth alfo bothe the tempoal iudges
and the kinges counfayle, to putte fome
folke to bulnes or difhoneftie sometime
without epyther iurie or bypnyng of the
accufer to the pzoefe of the matter in the
parties pzeience.

For if the iudge knowe by fure infoz-
macion, that fome one man is of fuche e-
uill demeanour among his neighbours
that they maye not beare it, and yet that
the man is helyde, fo hyolent and fo ieo-
perbous, that none of the dare be a kno-
wen to fpeake of it: will there no iudges
vpon manye fcrete complayntes made
vnto them, without making the partye
pzeiue who told him the tale, bynd that
dufy troublous man to god abearnyng?
I fuppofe yes, and haue feen it fo too, and
wzong woulde it be sometyme with god
pzoze peaceable folke in the countrey, but
if it were fo done among. And my felfe
whan I was chaunceler, vpon fuch fe-
cret informacion haue put fome out of
comiffion & offyce of iuflice of the peace,
whiche elles for muche money I woulde
not haue done, and yet if I were in the
tone rowme fkill, and they in the tother
agayn, but if they be mended (whereof I
neither than faw nor yet heare any like-
lyhod) I woulde put them out again, and
neuer tell them who tolde me the tales

that made me fo to doe.

But yet will peradventure this paci-
fyer faye, that fome tyme in some berpe
fpectall cafe, he could be content that the
fpirituall iudge fould vpon his discre-
cion call one for fufpicion of herefy *ex of-
ficio*, but he woulde not haue men commo-
lye called, but epyther by accusacyon or
pzeientment in their fenes or eudpyghte-
mentes at the common lawe.

I had as lefe for anye thyng y I fee, that
thys pacifyer fhould fay thus: Wp thys
waye that they be called, I woulde not
haue them called, but I woulde haue
them called after fuche an order as they
mighte be fure that than fhould they ne-
uer be called. For as for taccufe folke
openly for herefy, every man hath expe-
rience ynough, that ye fhall feldome find
any man that wil, but if the iudge fhould
fet an officer of the court therto without
any peril of expences, and than wer this
way and that way all of one effect. And
as for pzeientmentes and enditementes
what effect woulde come of them concer-
ning herefy, ye fe the pzoefe I trow mete-
ly well already.

For this is a thing well known unto *Wetsh* in all
every man, that in every fene, every fef-
fion of peace, cuery felfion of gaole deli-
uery, every lete thozowe the realme, the
fyzft thyng that the iury haue genen the
in charge is herefy. And for al thys, tho-
rowe the whole realme howe many pze-
sentmentes be there made in the whole
pere. I wene in some feuen pere nor one.
And I fuppofe no man douteth, but that
in the meane time some there be. I wyll
not be curious about the fearching oute
of the caufe, why it is either neuer, or fo
very feldre pzeiented, not fpye in fytene
pere. But thys I fay, that fith some will
not, some cannot, and none dweth, if he
fhould putte away the pzoefle *ex officio*,
the thyng fhould be left vndone, and tha
fhould fone after with heretikes increa-
ced and multiplied, the fayth be vndone
and after that thzough the froke of god
reuengeing theyr malice and our negli-
gence, fhould by fediction and trouble, &
dearth, and death, in thys realme many
men both good and bad be vndone. And
therfoze for conclusion of this piece, my
pzoze aduyce and counfayle fhall be, that
for herefy, and fpecially note thys time
men fhall fuffer the pzocefles *ex officio* ftad,
and for as manye other fynnes alfo as
are onely refourmable by the fpirituall
lawe, excepte there be any fuch finnes of
them as ye thynke were good to growe.

The. xij. Chapter.



AD It appeareth *de hereticis li. vi.* in the Chapter *in fidei fauorem*, that they that be accursed, and also parties to the same offence, may be witnesses in heresy, and in the Chapter *Accusatus perag. licet*, it appeareth, that if a man be sworn to save the truth concerning heresy, as well of himselfe as of other, and he firste confesseth nothing, and after contrary to his first saying he appealeth both himselfe and other, if it appeare by manifeste tokens, that he doth it not of lightnes of mynde, ne of hatred nor for corruption of money: that then his witness in fauoure of the saythe shall stande as well agaynste himselfe, as agaynste other: and yet it appeareth evidently in the same court, and in the same matter, that he is a perjured persone.

Thys is a dangerous law, and more like to cause untrue and unlawfull men to condemne innocentes, then to condemne offenders. And it helpeth lyttle, that if ther be tokens, that it is not done of hatred, nor for corruption of money, that it shoulde be taken: for sometyme a wolfe may shew himselfe in the apparell of a lambe. And if the iudge be parciall, such tokens may be sower accepted then truely shewed.

Thys piece concernynge the testimony of known euill persones to be receiued and taken in heresy, I haue somewhat touched in the thyrde Chapter of the thirde booke of my dialogue, where sith they may reade it that will, I will make here no long tale agayne thereof. But wel he worteth that heresy, whereby a chrysten man becometh a false traytour to god, is in al lawes spiritual and tempozall bothe, accounted as greates a crime as is the treason committed agaynste any worldly man. And than why shoulde we fynde so great a faulte, that suche witness shoulde be receyued in a cause of heresy, as are receiued not only in a cause of treason, but of murder also, and of other more spngle felonye, not onely in fauour of the prynce, and defraction of such odious crimes, but also for the necessitie which the nature of the matter worketh in the pzoise. For syth euill folke be not to make good folke of their counsel in doyng of their euill dedes, those that are done should passe vn-

punished, and moe lyke be committed a frethe, but if they were receyued for records to theyr condemning, that were of theyr counsaile and parteners to the doyng. Whiche kynde of folke will not let to sweare twyse nay, befoze they confesse once yea, & yet their one yea, more true vpon their bare worde, than theyr twyse nay vpon a solemne othe, and yet confesse they not so simply, but that it is comonly holpen with some such circumstances as make the matter more clere.

Nowe see you well that as hymselfe sheweth, the law pzooubeth wel agaynste all lyghte receiuing of suche confession. And yet this pacifier sayth, that al that helpeth little, because the iudge may be parciall, and the witness may be a wolfe shewing hymselfe apparellled in the apparell of a lambe.

Whiche appearing in apparell, more men that cannot apparell theyr speche with apparell of herbozike, be comonly to call a wolfe in a lambes skinne.

But what order may serue agaynste such obieccions? What place is there in this worlde spirituall or tempozall, of which the iudge may not haue some say that he is, or at the least wise (as he sayth her.) may be parciall? And therfore not onely suche witness shoulde be by thys reason of his reiected, in heresy, treason, murder, or felonye, but also by his other reason of a wolfe in a lambes skinne, all maner of witness in euery matter. For in euery matter may it happen, that he that seemeth a lambe, may be in dede a wolfe, and be nought where he seemeth good, and sweare false where he seemeth to say true. And therfore this patche of this pacifier concerning witnesses, euery wyle man may beare witness that there is little witte therin, and lesse good would growe therof, if folke would followe his inuencion, and make of the lawes a chaunge.

The. xij. Chapter.



AD In the Chapter there, that beginneth *statuta quedam*, it is decreed, that if the byshop, or other enquirers of heresy, see that any greates danger myght come to the accusers or witness of heresy by the greates power of them that be accused: that then they may commaunde, that the names of the accusers or witness shall not be shewed but to the byshop or enquirers, or such other learned men,

Heresy is as great a crime as treason.

A men as be called to them, and that shall suffice, though they be not shewed to the partie. And for the more indemnitie of the sayd accusers and witnes, it is there decreed, that the byshoppe or inquirers may enioyne such as they haue shewed the names of such witnes vnto, to kepe them close vpon payn of excommunication, for disclosing that secreete without theyr lycence. And surely this is a soze law, that a man shalbe condemned, and not knowe the names of them that be causes therof.

B And though the sayde lawe seme to be made vpon a good consideracion for the indemnitie of the accusers and witnes, yet it semeth, that that consideracion can not suffice to proue the lawe reasonable. For it semeth that the accusers and witnes might be saued fro daunger by another way, and that is by this way. If the byshoppe or inquirers decree, that the accusers and witnes might take hurte, as is said before: then might they shew it to the king and to his counsaile, beseeching his grace of helpe in that behalf, to saue and defend the accusers and witnes fro thereto power of them that be accused: And if they would doe so, it is not to suppose, but that the king would sufficientely prouide for theyr sauegarde. But for as much as it shoulde seme, that spirituall men somewhat pretend to punish heresies onely of theyr owne power, without calling for any assistance of the temporall power, therefore they make suche lawes, as may help furth theyr purpose, as they thinke: but surely that is not the charitable way, to put the knowledge of the names of the accusers, and witnesse fro hym that is accused, for if he knewe the, he might percase alledge and proue so great & so vehement cause of rancour and malice in the that accuse hym, that theyr saying by no lawe oughte not to stande agaynst him. And that spirituall men pretend, that they only shoulde haue the whole enquier and punishment of heresye, it appeareth *Extra, de hereticis li. vi. Cap. Ut inquisitionis, perag. Prohibemus.* Where al powers, and all lordes temporall, and rulers be prohibite, that they shal not in any maner take knowledge or iudge vpon heresye, sith it is mere spiritual, and he y enquireth of heresye, taketh knowledge of heresye. And so the summe called *Summa Rosella*, taketh it *titulo excommunicat. perag. iiii.* And if that be true, it semeth that all iustices of peace in this realme be excommunicate: for they by authori-

tie of the kinges commissions, and also by statute, enquire of heresies. And I thinke it is not in the church to prohibite that: for though it were so, that the temporall menne maye not iudge what is heresye and what not, yet they may as it semeth, by theyr owne authoritie enquire of it, and informe the Ordinary what they haue found. And also if a Metropolitan with all his cleargye and people of his dyoces fell into heresye: it wold be hard to redresse it without temporall power. And therefore temporall men be ready, and are bounde to be ready to oppresse heresies, when they rpe: as spirituall menne be. And therefore spirituall menne maye not take all the thanke to themself, when heresies be punished, as though theyr charitie & power onely dydde it, for they haue the fauour and helpe of temporall men to doe it, or elles many times it woulde not be brought about.

The prouision of the law that he speaketh of, was made as appeareth vpon a greate cause, in the aduopyng of the great daunger that myght in some speciall case happen to thole, by whose means heresies wer detected and conuicted. But this lawe this pacifyer accounteth soze and vcharitable, and deniseth as he thinketh, a better. But his deuyce peraduenture though it woulde serue in some one lande, woulde yet not serue in some other, and they that made that law made it as it might serue most generally thowowe christendome, whereas this deuise though it might serue in england myghte not haue serued well in manye places of Almayne that are peruerbed synce, not even while y matter was in a mattering before y change was made.

But surely that lawe and other of olde made agaynst heresies, if they had been in Almain duely folowed in the begynning, the matter had not there gone out at length to such an vngacious ending. And budoutedly, if the prince and prelates, and the noble men of this realme, and the good people of the same, hadde not been diligente in the tyme of the pryncce of famous memory king Henry the fowerth, both to haue agaynst heresies those lawes of the church kepte, with which this pacifyer syndeth nowe these fautes, and also to make great prouisions agaynst it beside: it was then very likely and cumming to the poynt, as bitterly to haue subuerted the sayth in this realme here, as it hath done synce.

An any part of Swycherlād oꝛ Saxony.

And also the doubt that this pacifyer puttereth, in excepcions to be layde by the partie agaynst the accusers oꝛ witnesse, syth the knoweledge of the partie lacketh, must be supplied the moze effectually by the iudges, to enquire and ensearche by their wisedomes, whether any suspicion of euil wil oꝛ other corrupcion, myght leade the witnesse oꝛ accusers anye thyng to depose oꝛ doe in the matter. Wherein, if diligence be by the iudges vled, it wil be very hard that any such thing shoulde be of any weyght but they shal heare therof, and may consider the matter accoꝝding.

B And on the tother syde, the remedye that he deuileth foꝛ the suretie of the witnesse, shoulde not peradventure make the men so bold, as in a cause of heresye to meddle in the matter, agaynst some maner of man, but y they rather would foꝛ theyꝝ owne suretie, kepe their owne tonges still, than with al the suretie that could be fowden them besyde, haue their persones disclosed vnto the partie.

And as touchyng the coniecture of this pacifyer, that the spiritualtie pꝛecende that no leye man shoulde haue the enquirie and punishment of heresies, the lawes of this realme and the whole church maye well stande together foꝛ ought that I see in the both, and so haue they in these matters of heresye God be thanked hether to full wel. And therfoꝛe this pacifyer seemeth me to bring in thys matter to no great purpose now, but if it be either to set some diuision, oꝛ elles to fyll vp the lease. And therfoꝛe syth as I sayd befoꝛe, I purpose not in any open english booke to ransake and rebuke eyther the one lawe oꝛ the tother: I shall let him with that matter alone.

D

The. xliij. Chapter.



Neuertheles, myne entent is not to pꝛoue y sayde lawes al wholy to be cruel & vnreasonable. Foꝛ I knowe well, that it is right expedient, that strapte lawes be made foꝛ punishmente of heresies that be heresies in dede, moze rather then anye other offence, and that the discrecion of the Iudges spirituall, may right wel asswage the rigour of the sayde lawes, and vse them moze fauorably agaynst them that be innocentes, then agaynst them that be willesfull offenders, if they will charitably search

foꝛ the trouth. But surelye if the sayde lawes shoulde be putte into the handeling of cruell Iudges, it myght happen that they shoulde many times punish innocentes, as well as offendours, but I trust in God, it is not so. Neuerthelesse, whether it be so oꝛ not, certain it is, that there is a great rumour among the people that it is so, and that spirituall men punish not heresye onely foꝛ zeale of the saythe, and of a loue and a zeale to the people, with a fatherlye pittie to them that so offend as they ought to doe, how great offenders soeuer they be, but that they doe it rather to oppresse them that speake any thyng agaynst the worldlye power oꝛ riches of spirituall men, oꝛ agaynst the greate confederacye, that (as manye menne say) is in them to mayntayne it.

Soiue his entent is not (he sayth,) to pꝛoue the sayde lawes of the church agaynst heresy, wholy cruel and vnreasonable, but so murche of them as it stāderth not with his plesure to appꝛoue. And now he is content that strapte lawes be made foꝛ punishment of heresies, such as be heresies in dede, wherein in this boke of his, he meneth. y. thinges. One, that he is content they be soꝛe punished if they be condēned. But firste he would haue them called by such meanes, as he seeth well they neuer shoulde be sent foꝛ.

And then he woulde exclude all suche witnes as wer likely to betwape them. And whē that no man shal accuse them, noꝛ no man be receyued that can pꝛoue it agaynst them: then when the iudge can lawefully conuicte them, he would I trowe be content that they were burned twyfe, and so woulde I wene, themselves be content to, foꝛ they shal be safe ynough I warraunt you then.

Per another misery he meneth what soeuer it be, in those woꝝdes, the punishment of heresies that be heresies in dede.

Here woulde he peradventure haue euery heresye when these netwe brethren were taken therin, be brought in questiō agayn, and stand in cōtrouersy whether it wer heresy oꝛ not, and that were another godd helpe foꝛ them, as though the church vled to laye to their charges the speaking agaynst some false faith, oꝛ at the least wile woulde pꝛoue them heretikes in speaking agaynst some such thinges as they had neuer heard of befoꝛe.

But now he sheweth why he dweth not

A not wholly condemne these lawes of þe church. But then the cause he sheweth to be such, as he by & by taketh it awaye. For he sayth the cause to be, for that the Iudges (if they be good and charitable) may by their wisdom and goodnes, moder and temper the rigour of the lawes, but on the tother syde the euill Iudges may doe by those lawes he sayth, much harme. But now what lawes are there, or may there be, by the abuse of whiche none euill iudge may doe harme.

But then to shew that by these lawes of the church, muche harme and lyttle good or none could come, he handeleth it so that he woulde make men wene, ther were not a good indifferent iudge in all the whole cleargie. For when he hath shewed what hurt an euill iudge and a cruel shoulde doe by those lawes, he saith that hymselfe trusteth the spiritual iudges be not such. Howbeit, lest we shoulde take him at that word and beleue him, he sheweth vs yet that the common people with a great rumour say the contrary. And the thyng that he sayth here vnder the name of the people and great rumour, that sayth he in hys first Chapter vnder the name of manye men. And yet immediately befoze that, he sayth much worse as of himself, affirming that manye persones haue ben punished by the spiritualtie for an euill suspition and a false of their own imaginacion, because those many persones so punished hadde befoze spoken onely agaynst spirituall menes misdeorder and abusions, which poynt, honestly woulde he shoulde haue proued fyrst, and then wryte it after.

And now cummeth he and couertly goeth about to make men wene, that no spiritual iudges be indifferent. For thus he sayth.

And though manye spirituall men may be found, þe haue right many great vertues and great gyftes of god, as chastite, liberalitie, patience, sobernesse, temperaunce, cunning, and such other, yet it wilbe hard to find any one spirituall man, that is not infect with the sayde desyre & affectio to haue the woꝛldly honour of priestes exalted and preferred, and therfoze if any lay man report any euill of a priest, though it be openly knowen þe it is as he sayth, yet they will be moze diligente to cause the lepe man to cease of that saying, then to doe that in them is to reforme that is a myse in the priestes that it is spoken of, taking as it were an occasyon to doe the lesse in

suche reformacions, because lepe men speake so much agaynst them: But surely that will be none excuse to spirituall rulers afoze God, when he shall aske account of his people that wer commpted vnto their keeping.

If the best spirituall menne be suche as this pacifier here sayth they be, than be they a very thewed sort in dede, if they be al so badde that it be hard to fynd any one, but þe though any priest be so naughty that his lewdnes is openly knowen, yet if any ley man report it, the best spirituall men will he sayeth, be moze diligente to cause the lepe man cease of hys saying, than to doe theyr deuoyze to reforme the priest, yea and yet moze then this, he sayeth they wyl doe the lesse toward the amendement of the priestes, because lepe menne speake so muche of it. And this sayth this pacifier hymselfe, shewing sooth boldely therin his own open face withoute anye visour of some say. And therfoze sith he sayth this euen by the best, til he proue it somewhat better, this shameful tale is suw what shamefulle dare I saye, and somewhat is it folliethe to, sith he saith therewith that those which thus will doe, haue yet amonge many other great gyftes of god, paciẽce, sobrenes, temperance, and cunning to. For I am sure if they haue that condicion, that they be so affectionate vnto euery euill priest, that they can so euill beare the dyspraise of his open knowen vntuities, that they will doe the lesse toward his amendement, because ley men muche abhorre his lewdnes: this pacifier may be pacient I will not say naye, and may peradventure haue much cunning to, but surely either is this pacifier not very sober, or hath hys brayne otherwys somewhat out of temper, if he take the (as he calleth them) for pacient folke, or for temperate eyther.

The xliiij. Chapter.

Ad yet to bring the spiritualtie in the moze hated, and to make the name of the spiritualtie the moze odious among the people, this pitteous pacifier in dyuers places of his booke, to appease this diuision withall, alledgeth agaynst them þe they make great confederacies among the, to make & mayntayn a part agaynst the temporaltie, and by suche confederacies, and woꝛldely polities, and straye correccions to reuolue the

A the people and punyſhe them, and kepe them vnder. And this poynt he bzyngeth in here and there in diuers places, ſometime with a ſome ſay, and ſometime with a they ſay, and ſometime he ſayth it himſelf. And I wotte not well if he hated the ſpiritualtie in dede (as ſome ſay he doth, and yet I truſt he dweth not) what moze odious thing he might ſay.

What any one kynde oꝝ ſoꝛt of people is ther in this realme huſband men, artiſters, marchauntes, menne of lawe, iudges, knyghtes, lordes, oꝝ other, but that euill diſpoſed people myghte begyn againſt them a ſedicious murmur, caſtyng abrode a ſuſpicious babbeling, of gathering, and aſſembling, and roweing, and talking, and finally confederpꝛng together: and yet all ſuch ſuſpicious babbeling not woꝛth a fether altogether when it wer well conſidered.

But in ſwondꝛe places muche he harpeth vpon the lawes of the churche, as though the ſpiritual lawes whiche the ſpiritualtie here haue made, were a gret cauſe of thys diuiſion. And than diuers of the lawes that he ſpeketh of, be lawes not pꝛouincialle made by the cleargye here, but the lawes vſuall thoꝛowe the whole churche of Chꝛyſte, whereof the making may not be layde to them, noꝛ menne are not therfoꝛe ſo vnreaſonable (though thoſe lawes wer leſſe good than the great wiſedom of this paciſyer could deuife) as to be angry foꝛ them with our cleargye that made them not, but haue be bounde to kepe them.

And as foꝛ diſtamping them with the abuſe of thoſe lawes toward crueltie, as he dweth in hys booke, there is no greate cunning in the making of that lye. Foꝛ euery ſoule that lyſt, may deuife and lay the like to ſome other folk whan he wil.

Howe as foꝛ theyꝝ aſſembles and cominge together to the makynge of theyꝝ lawes and coſtitucions pꝛouincial, this paciſyer to laye thoſe foꝛ any confederacies, that ſhoulde be now a cauſe of this ſo ſodayne a late grudge and diuiſyon, wer a very farre ſette inuencion. Foꝛ ſettyng a ſide the diſputacion, whether thoſe conſtitucions be ſo vnreaſonable as this paciſyer would haue them ſeme, this thyng ſuffyleth agaynſte hym, that there is not I thynke verely any one pꝛouynciall conſtitucyon that he ſpeaketh of, that was made, oꝝ to anye mannes grieve oꝝ grudge putte in execucyon, in the tyme of anye of all the prelates that are now liuyng. And howe could than

anye of them be anye ſuche confederacy oꝝ cauſe of thys late ſpꝛongen diuiſion.

But I ſuppoſe he callerh thoſe aſſemblinges at their conuocaciōs, by ſ name of confederacies. Foꝛ but if he ſo dwe, I wotte nere what he meaneth by that woꝛde. And on the tother ſyde if he ſo dwe, foꝛ ought that I ſe he geueth a good thyng and an holeſome, an odious heynous name. Foꝛ if they dydde aſſemble oftter, and there dydde the thynges foꝛ whiche ſuche aſſembles of the cleargye in euerye pꝛouince thoꝛowe all chꝛiſtē dome from the begynning wer inſtitute & deuyſed, much moze good myght haue growen therof, then the long diſuſe can ſuffer vs now to perceiue.

But as foꝛ my dayes, as farre as I haue heard, noꝛ as I ſuppoſe a good part of my fathers neither, they came neuer together to conuocacion, but at the requeſt of the king, and at their ſuch aſſembles concerning ſpiritual thinges haue very little done.

Wherfoꝛe that they haue ben in that great neceſſarie poynt of their duety ſo negligent, whether God ſuffer to grow to a ſecret vnperceiued cauſe of diuiſyon and grudge agaynſt them, God who their ſuche negligence hath I feare me ſoze offended, knoweth. But ſurely this hath in my mind ben ſomewhat a greater faulte in the ſpiritualtie, then diuers of thoſe faultes whiche vnder his figure of ſome ſay, thys paciſyer hath made be ry great in hys booke.

But ſurely if thys paciſyer call thoſe aſſembles confederacies, I woulde not greatly wiſh to be confederate with the, and their aſſociate in anye ſuche confederacies. Foꝛ I could neuer witte them yet aſſemble foꝛ any great winning, but come vꝑ to their trauayle, labour, coſt, and payne, and tary and talke & cetera, and ſo geatte them home agayne. And therfoꝛe menne nede not greately to grudge oꝝ ennye them foꝛ any ſuch confederacies.

The. xlv. Chapter.

At what faultes ſoener thys paciſyer fynde in the ſpiritualtie, yet of his tender pittie he hath euer a ſpeciall eye to ſe that thei ſhould not rigorouſly miſſehandle ſuche good menne as are ſuſpected oꝝ detecced of hereſye. And therfoꝛe wheras in other places he hath ſhewed befoꝛe, that they haue punyſhed many menne of malice, foꝛ onely ſpeaking

A king agaynst theyr misleorder and abuses: now he cometh in the viij. Chapter, & lett helpe their malice they might happen to punish the also for their owne ignorance, therfore he teacheth the spirituall iudges one great point concerning heresie and sayth.

It is a common opinion among doctours, & none is an heretike for that only & he erreth, but for that he defendeth opiniatively his error. And therfore he that erreth of simplicitie may in no wise be sayd an heretike. And *Summa Rosella*, in þe title *Hereticus in principio*, sayth that a man may erre, and merit thereby; and he putteth this example. If a simple vnclearned man heare the preaching of his bishoppe, that preacheth happely agaynst the sayth, and he belieueth it with a ready mind to obey: this man meriteth, and yet he erreth; but that is to be vnderstand where ignorance excuseth. Then it seemeth, that it is not pnowgh to proue that a mā is an heretike, for that he hath holden opinions agaynst that the church teacheth, ne that he oughte not to make any purgacion nor abiuracion for it, for that that he held in such case was not his sayth, but the sayth of the church was his sayth, though happely he were not then fully awysed of it. And therfore *S. Aydan*, when he held the wrong part of keeping of Easter, was no heretyke, and some say that saynt Chadde was of the same opinion as *S. Aydan* was, whiche in lykewise was no heretyke, for theyr desire was to know the trueth: and therfore it is not read, that they made epyther purgacion or abiuracion, ne yet the abbotte Joachim, which neuerthelesse erred, for he was ready to submitte him to the determination of the church, and therfore he was neither holden as an heretike, ne compelled to abiure. Then if thys be soth, it wer gret pittie, if it shoulde be true as is reported, that there shoulde be so greate a desyre in some spirituall menne to haue menne abiured, or haue the extreme punishment for heresy, as it is sayde there is. For as some haue reported, if any will witnes, that a manne hath spoken anye thyng that is heresye, though he speake it onely of an ignorance or of a passion, or if he can by interrogatories and questions be driuen to confesse anye thing that is prohibited by the church, anon they will dreyne him to abiure, or holde hym attaynted without examining the entent or cause of hys saying, or whether he had a minde to be re-

fourmed or not: and that is a verpe for e waye, our lord be more mercifull to our soules, then so grienously to punish the for euery light defaulte.

This processe were a pretty piece, and somewhat also to the purpose, if this pacifiers doctozing wer a good profe, that the spirituall iudges knew not this tale before, nor wist what appertayned vnto their part in this matter, vntyll this pacifier taught them thys great secret mystery sought out in *Summa Rosella*, so strange a booke to synde, and so harde to vnderstande, that verpe fewe men hadde medled with it before.

But the tale is not so muche tolde of any pryde to teache them, as of charitie to teache vs, to take and belieue for true, euery false fayned tale with which anye man list to belieue them. For vpon thys lesson he byngeth in as you see, his charitable infamacion of the cleargies crueltye, making men wene it wer so, vnder his sayre figure of lamentacion, & great pittie that it were if it shoulde be so, but yet it is (he sayth) reported so, and some say that it is so.

But surely some say agayne, that like as ther is nothing so euil, but that some may happe to doe it, so is there nothing so false, but some may hap to say it. And some other saye also, that like as ther is nothing so false, but some man may hap to say it, so can no man say any thyng so false, but some man vnder pretexte of pacifying may happe to repeate and report it.

For as for all that gape reported tale that some ley men say that some spirituall men haue so great desyre to haue men abiured, or to haue extreme punishment for heresy, that if any will witnes that a man haue spoken anye thing that is heresy, though he speake it but of ignorance or of a passion, or if he can be driuen by interrogatories and questions to confesse anye thing that is prohibited by the church, anon they wil dreyne him to abiure, or holde hym attaynted, withoute any farther consideration of hys intent or cause, or whether he wolde be reformed or not.

All thys tale though he tell it but as it wer by some spirituall men, yet is it tolde to make all leue menne wene that those some spirituall menne wer so gret a summe, that it wer some greate cause of all this greate grudge and diuisyon, whiche he sayeth that the temporallve nowe hath in thys realme agaynst the spiri-

A spiritualite in maner vnuerſally, wher-
in he maketh yet as I truſt in maner an
vnuerſall lye, ſith I can yet ſee no ſuche
vnuerſal cauſe, and leaſt cauſe of all in
this point ſpecially, which moſt ſpecial-
ly as the ſoyeſt and the moſte cruell hey-
nous point, in ſondry places of his booke
this paciſyer preacheth and preaceth v-
pon, that is to wit, the miſchhandling of
men in that cauſe of hereſy, making me
wene with his heynous handling, that
the ſpiritual iudges in thys realme han-
dled y thing ſo cruelly, that al the world
had cauſe to wonder and grudge therat.

But when all his holiſome holy bab-
ling is done, euery manne may ſee theſe
thynges true. Firſt, that ſyth in
punyſhing of hereſies, there is, & a good
whyple hath been, ſo little buſynes in all
the thynges of England and Wales, both
about examinacion and punyſhment of he-
retikes, except only London and Eſſex,
& thoſe are both in one dyoces, his ſome
ſpiritual men that he would haue ſeme
ſo great a ſome, are yet of trouth ſo fewe
that he ſemeth in maner to poynte them
with hys finger, and mighte as well in
maner rehearſe them euen by name.

Secondly, of thoſe ſame ſome ſo fewe,
yet is there ſome ſo learned to whom the
matter moſt ſpeciallye pertayneth, that
if thys paciſyer kepe no more cunnynge
in hys breaſt then he putteth oute in hys
booke (as cunning as he weneth it were)
he is no moze hable to teache ſome one
of thoſe the leſſons that long to the mat-
ter, then he that learned to ſpell, is hable
and metet to teache a good maſter in grā-
mer to reade.

Thyrdely, that all his whole tale of
they greate deſyre of mennes ſhame or
harme, and of their miſhandling of men
and of vncharitable dealing, is a verye
faſſe ſayned tale, and ſo hath been alrea-
dye proued and founden, in thoſe that
haue hadde there ſurmiſe brought furth
vnto the tryall, and ſo ſhalbe proued a-
gayn I dout it not, whenſoener this pa-
ciſyer will fall fro the bablyng of a ge-
neralltie (wherin he may point and ſpice
a faſſe tale with ſuſpicious woꝝdes) and
come to the naming of any one perſone
ſpecial, and before any folke indifferent
offer himſelf to the proſe.

For let him come furth and name a-
ny one whom he will, and I warraunt
you the dede ſhall ſhewe it ſelfe, that the
ſpiritual iudges which had the matter
in hād, wer neither ſuch as neded of this
paciſyer to be taught what longed vnto

right, nor wer ſo malicious and cruell, &
but that they woulde be as loth as hym-
ſelfe to doe them rigour or wrong.

And he ſhal find whomſoever he will
name, that hath been either punyſhed or
abſured, that the matters which he haue
been layd vnto them, they haue not been
by any ſubtile queſtions induced to co-
feſſe them, but they haue been both well
proued agaynſt them, and neither haue
been ſlight, nor light, nor ſo ſtrange ar-
ticles and unknowe, as they might ther-
in of ignoraunce or ſimplicitie ſo ſoze o-
uerſhote themſelf.

But where this paciſyer ſpeaketh of
paſſions and of willing to be reformed:
ſurely if he will ſo lightlye pardone all
paſſions, that he will haue no man pu-
niſhed for any thyng done or ſayde in a
paſſion, than ſhal his pittieus affection
many times doe much harme, by the ta-
king awaye of the punyſhment whereof
the feare is ordeyned to refrayn the paſ-
ſion, and to make other alſo ſo beare the
lyke for any ſuch maner paſſion.

Punyſhment
is ordeyned
to refrayn the
paſſion.

For well ye wot men fall in aduow-
trye choꝝowe ſuch dānable paſſions. And
by the paſſion of pye and anger, menne
fall into manſlaughtre. And by a paſſi-
on of pryde, many a man falleth to trea-
ſon. And by theſame paſſion alſo, men
fall into hereſy, and ſometime ye wotte
well fall in a playne frenſy too. And in
their paſſions of hereſy, they ſpeake vn-
gracionuſly, and contend agaynſt the ſa-
cramentes, and blaſpheme oure bleſſed
lady, and our ſautour himſelfe alſo, and
horribly deſpyſe the holy hoſwel, & make
mockes and mowes of the maſſe, & rayle
on Chriſtes own bleſſed body & bloud in
the bleſſed ſacrament. Will this paciſy-
er that all theſe blaſphemous damnable
heretikes ſhalbe ſpared, ſo ſuche deſpe-
rate damnable paſſions? If that waye
wer allowed, tha wer that heretike moſt
ſure, that agaynſt all y ſayth moſt could
rayle & rage. For than might it be ſayd,
that the man was in a great paſſion.

Now as for willing to be reſourmed,
I dare ſay y the ſpiritual iudges wolde
gladly ſee euery man, and therein woulde
gladlye ſhewe them all the fauoure they
could, but ſometime they cannot ſhewe
al the fauour that they fayn woulde. For
though they may receiue hym and ſaue
hys lyfe at the fyrſte tyme: yet are they
ſtreghthed by the playne lawe that they
may not ſo doe at the ſeconde, whan the
man is relapſed.

And lawes haue determind who ſhal
be ta-

And taken and reputed for an heretyke, and who not, as well as thys pacifyer can teache vs, and a little better. And they haue both had a respecte and a sure eye to proude, that neither innocentes or playn simple folke shoulde be for anye slepyght offence soze handeled or bntreuly circumuented and punished, nor that wyly false wretched heretikes, shoulde by craft and sophems be suffred to seme wyse among vblearned people, and sain simplicitie, and say they repente, and so be sent away lyghtly to goe teache they heresies & sove they popson into mens soules againe.

B For if that way were taken whiche it seemeth that thys pacifyer would haue, & euery man myght be holde excused that to ould say be spake heresy of ignorance, or of ouerlyght, or of simplicitie, or of a passion, or whiche as often as he would not defende his heresie and stubbernely stycke thereto, or though he dyd for the whyle, would afterwarde yet offer to be reformed, and promple that he would amende: yf all these I saye shoulde alway passe unpunished, the churche of Christ at the making of the lawes foresaw, and all christendome shoulde shortly fynde, howe lytle frute woulde growe thereof.

C And whan this pacifyer hath tolde thus, muche myssehandling and crueltie of the clergy, wherin yf he sayd true it touched yet verie fewe, and hath promued it by a some say of as fewe, and findeth some suche thinges for faultes as if they were chaunged after the fashon of his booke, would of heretikes in manye places for a very few make a very great maynpe, and the yes that heretikes of malice blowe aboute against their iudges, labozeth to make men beleue the for true, by hys repeting and reporting vnder a pretext of charitie: than endeth he that paynted processe with hys denounce prayer full holy and sayth.

I Thys is a very soze way, our lord be moze mercifull to our soules, then so greiouously to punish vs for euery light defaulte.

Whan he hath proued those euill denyses good, and those false yes true, tha lette thys god sy John Some say take hys portuous and his beades and pray. But in the meane while those god men whome by such figures and suche holpe pretertes, he goeth about vngodly to defame, doe earnestly pray God for hym, to geue him the grace to chaunge thys euill fashon and this verpe soze waye.

And they pray God heartely to be moze mercifull to thys pacifyers poze soule, than thys pacifyer is to other mennes, whose soules (belieue himsele neuer so well, and meane he neuer so well therewith) yet his booke goeth about by sowing of dissencion and emboldinge of heretikes, to infect and enueneome with a grudge and hatred against the spiritualtie, and with the cankar of pestilente popsoned heresies, and all against their owne saluacion.

The. xlvj. Chapter.

Here shal ye see to the further encouraging of heretikes, what an other goodlye Some say this god sir John Some say findeth. Loe thus he sayth.

I And here some saye, that because there is so greate a desyre in spirituall menne, to haue menne abiure, and to be noted with heresye, and that some as it were of a policie doe noyle it, that the realme is full of heretikes moze then it is in dede: that it is very perillous, that spiritual men shoulde haue authoritie to arrest a man for euery light suspeccion, or complaynt of heresie, till that desyre of punishment in spirituall men be ceased and gone: but that they shoulde make processe agaynst them to bring them in vpon payne of cursing: and then, if they tary fourtie dayes, the kinges lawes to bring them in by a writ *De excommunicato capiendi*, and so to be brought forth out of the kinges Gaole to aunswere. But surely, as it is somewhat touched before in the vij. Chapter, it seemeth that the churche in tyme past hath done what they coulde to bring about, yf they might punish heresy of themself, without calling for any help therein of the seculare power.

And therefore they haue made lawes that heretikes might be arested and put in prison, and stockes if nede wer, as appeareth *Clementinis de hereticis. Capi. Multorum querela*. And after at the speciall calling on of the spiritualtie, it was enacted by parliament, that Ordinaries might arrest menne for heresye: for some menne thynke, that the sayde Clementine was not of effect in the kynges lawe to arrest any man for heresye: but if a man were openly and notably suspected of heresy, and that there wer sufficient recozd and witnesse agaynst him, and ther wer also a dout that he would flee & not appere, wherby

A wherby he might infect other, it semeth conuenient that he be arrested by the body, but not vpon every light complaynt that full lightly maye be vntreue. And it will be right expedient that the kynges highnesse and his counsaile loke specially vpon this mater, and not to cease, till it be brought to moze quyetnes then it is yet, and to see with great diligence, that pryde, couetise, noz worldly loue be no iudges, noz innocentes be punished, ne yet wilfull offenders goe not without due correccion. ¶

B In this processe loe, (good readers) this pacifyer declareth, that he woulde haue the kynges highnesse and his counsaile so specially loke vpon this matter, that neither innocentes should be punished, noz yet wilfull offenders goe without due correccion. Who could end and conclude al his matter moze fruitfully?

But nowe the speciall wayes where by he deuileth, that the kynges hyghnesse and his counsaile should bring this thing about, be twayne.

C The tone is, if they prouide that neither men that be proude, noz couetous, noz haue any loue to the world, be suffered to be iudges in any cause of heresye.

The tother is, that the bishoppes shall arrest no man for heresye, till the desyre that spirytual men haue to cause men abiure heresies, and to punish them for heresies, be ceased and gone.

D And surely I thinke that hys two deuises will serue sufficiently for the tone parte, that is to witte, that none innocentes shalbe punished. But I feare me very sore, that they will not serue halfe so sufficiently for the tother parte, that is to witte, that wilfull offendours goe not without correccion.

For nowe to begynne with hys first deuise, that none bee suffered to be iudges in cause of heresie, that are proude, or couetous, or haue loue to the worlde, if he meane of such as haue none of these affections with notable enormitie, then til he proue them that are already worse then he proueth them yet, that is to say, til he proue it otherwise by some of their outrageous dedes in the dealing and mishandeling of men for heresye, that he here dysfame them of, then he hath yet proued, and that he proue they cruell wrongefull dealing, otherwyle then by some sayes, or by hys owne sayinge: the kynges hyghnesse and his counsaile can see for all hys holesome counsaile, no cause to chaunge those iudges that

are already, but to leaue them still, and then serueth that deuise of nought.

And on the other side, if he meane that the kynges hyghnesse shall suffer none to be iudges in cause of heresye, that hath anye spyce at all, either of pryde, or of conetpse, or anye loue at all vnto this worlde: heretikes maye sytte stille and make mery for a little season, while men walke about and seeke for suche iudges. For it will not be lesse then one whole wekes worke I wene, both to find such, and to be sure that they be such.

And it wilbe somwhat the moze hard, because that whereas men would haue I weant sonest to haue founde them, there this pacifyer hath putte vs out of doubt, that there shall it be merueylous harde to finde anye one of them, that is to wit, in any part of the spirytualtie, prelates, secular prelates, or religious persones, any one or other. For he sayth playnly, that haue they neuer so manye bettes besyde, yet it wilbe hard to find any one spirytual man, but that he is so infected wyth desyre and affectyon to haue the worldelye honoure of prelates exalted, that he is throwe suche pryde farre fro such indifferrence and equitie, as ought and must be in those iudges that this pacifyer assigneth, whiche must haue no spyce of pryde, conetpse, noz loue toward the worlde. And then syth in all the spirytualtie it will be as he saythe, harde to fynd any one, it will be yet wat well twyse as harde to find twayn, and yet see they to seeke for all the realme, though they wer made iustices of Mper.

E Nowe if it will be so harde to fynd anye one suche in the spirytualtye, I can scant belieue, but that it would be somewhat a dore to fynde manye suche in the tempoalitie eyther, and speciallye not onely such, but those also that the kyng might be sure to be suche, besydes that ther must be than many chaunges and many new deuises of lawes for the matter, because fewe tempoal men be sufficiently lerned in those lawes of church, by which that matter hath been accustomed to be ordered before. And happely if any such men be so sufficiently lerned, yet is it possible that those men which are so lerned, are not those that are so pure and cleane from every spyce of pryde, conetpse, and worldly loue. And therefore were the heretikes likelie thus to make mery a good whyle, before there shoulde be founden good iudges for them.

Now as for the tother point, that bys hoppes

A thoppes shoulde not arresste them, thys woulde also helpe to the suretie of innocentes, as from any trouble of suit, and so will it also farther, if neyther byshop nor king arresst them. And in likewise will it saue innocentes from the trouble of all false indyghtmentes, if no manne shoulde be neither for no felony arressted, nor endyghted neither.

But than this waye woulde not well serue for the tother syde, that wilfull offenders shoulde not passe unpunished. And thereby sith it woulde helpe wilfull offenders to passe without punishment, it might hap to punish innocentes more sore, than shoulde the trouble of suit and wrongfull arressting doe.

But yet is this pacifyer not so fauourable toward folke suspected of heresye, as to take away the power of the bishop for euer, of arressting them, and to dzyue the Ordinaries for euer to sue citacions agaynst heretikes and pzoesse of excommunication, but will haue he sayth, the bishoppes power of arressting no longer suspended, than as long as spiritual men haue that great desire to cause men ab-
E sure or to haue them punished for heresy as though he had well pzooued that they haue so, because he sayth that some men say so.

But now if some say be no sufficient pzoofe, than is hys tale lost. For than he sheweth no cause why that power of theyrs shoulde in any cause be more suspended now, than in any tyme here before. And on the tother syde, if some saye be a good pzoofe, than the suspending will be as long as a depzyuing for euer, sith there shall neuer be any time in whiche there shall lacke one or other some saye, to say more then trouth.

But is he content at the last, lest euery man myght spee the perill of his deuce, to temper hys deuyce in such wyse, that till the spiritualtie haue lest their cruell despyze of aburpyng and punishing folke for heresy, they shoulde not be suffered to arresst folke for euery light suspicion, or euery complaynt of heresye. Howe be it he graunteth that where one is openly and notably suspected of heresy, and sufficient recozd and witness agaynst hym, and besydes all that, a doute y he would flie wherby he might infecte other: than he graunteth it conuenient that he shold be arressted by the bodye. And therein he bypnyeth in the Clementine and the statute, by which the ordinaries haue power to arresst folke for suspicion of heresy,

and would as farre as I perceiue, haue the king refozme them after his deuce. But yet sith which is a light suspicpon, and which is an heauye, and which is a light complaynt, and which is an heauye, and which is an open suspicpon, and which but a priuie, and which suspicpon is notable and which is not notable, and which witness be sufficient and which be not sufficient, be thinges that must be wayed by the spiritual iudges, and vpon theyr waying of the matter for light or heauye, must folowe the arressting of the party or the leauing of the arresste: we be come agayne as in a mase to the poynte where we beganne, that be the matter great or small, lest all y whyle they be cruel they shoulde iudge lyghte heauye, and smalle greate, they arressting of anye at all must be suspended fro them, and sende them to sue by cytacion, till menne see that same mynd of theyrs of delzying mennes abiuracyon and punishmente vtterlye chaunged and ceace, that is to say, tyll there be no man lest that will so much as saye that some men say that they haue not lest that mynde yet, and make a lye agayn of the than, as those some haue done that haue so sayde already to syr John some saye now. And long will it be I warrant you ere euer all suche folke sayle.

And therefore, sith in the meane season by thys pacifyers god deuyce, heretikes may goe vnarrested, I cannot be- lieue that if his waye were folowed, it woulde be any god meane to make that wilfull offenders in heresy, shoulde not passe unpunished, as fast as both in the ende of thys Chapter and in the tother before also, he calleth vpon the kynges hyghnesse and hys counsaile, and hys parliamente, to looke vpon thys matter after hys god aduertisemente, and neuer cease tyll they bypnyng it to effect.

I little doubt but that if the kynges hyghnesse doe, as I doubt not but hys highnesse will doe, mayntayne and assist the spiritualtie in errecutynge of the lawes, euen those that are already made agaynst heresies, and commaund euery tempozall officer vnder hym to dooe the same for his parte, though there wer neuer moe newe lawes made therfore, yet shall both innocentes be saued harme- lesse well ynough, and offendours punished so.

¶ The. xliij. Chapter.

Howe

Nowe whereas thys pacifyer sayeth, that some of the spiri-
tualtie as of policie doe nople
it, that the realme is ful of he-
retikes moze then it is in dede: I thynke
there is no politike man of the spiritual-
tie that will make that nople, whereby
the heretikes might be the moze bold, &
the catholiques moze inclynable to the
worlse parte, and the moze faint and fie-
ble in the sayth.

But I know this very well that here-
tikis haue made that nople, both for the
cause aforesayd, and also to feare the or-
dinaries therewith, and to put their offi-
cers in dzeade from doing of their office.
And peraduenture vpon such nople some
officers haue been afeard. And at y least
wise I worte well, some heretikes haue
been so bold, that they haue not feared to
flocke together, not all at the first for he-
resse, but some falle in amonge them for
good company, to doe some theyd turne
they cared not greatly what, but after-
ward with a little moze acquaintaunce
and communicacyn, haue fallen into
their heresies also. And suche noples be
sometyme for the aduantage and fur-
theraunce of them that intend unhappi-
nes, to make folke wene they wer verpe
many, be they neuer so fewe.

I remember manye times, that euen
here in London, after the great busines
that was there on a May dai in the mo-
ning, by a ryng made agaynst stran-
gers, for whiche, diuers of the pzentices
and iourney menne suffered execucyon
of treason, by an olde statute made long
befoze, agaynst al such as would violate
y kinges safe conduct: I was appoynted,
among other to searche and enquire by
diligent eraminacion, in what wise and
by what persones, that pzieue confede-
racyn beganne. And in god sayth after
great tyme taken, and muche diligence
used therein, we perfittly tryed out at last
that all that busines of any ryng to be
made for the matter, beganne onely by
the conspiracy of two yong laddes that
wer pzentices in chepe. Which after the
thing diuised fyrst & compassed betwene
them twayne, perused pziuely the iour-
ney me first, & after y pzentices, of many
of y meane craftes in the citie, bearyng
the first that they spake with in hande, y
they hadde secretly spoken with manye
other occupacions alreadye, and y they
wer all agreed therunto, and that bely-
des them, there were two or thre hun-
dred of seruyng men of dyuers Lordes

howses, & some of the kynges tow, whiche
would not be named nor knowen, that
would yet in the night be at hande, and
when they wer once by, would not fayle
to fall in with them and take their part.

Nowe this vngacious inuencion, &
these wordes of those two lewde laddes
(which yet in the businesse fledde awaye
themselve, and neuer came agayn after)
did put some other by their ouersight &
lightnesse in suche a courage and bolde-
nes, that they wend themself hable to a-
uenge their displeasure in the nyghte, &
after either neuer to be knowen, or to be
strong ynough to beare it oute and goe
farther.

And the like vngacious policy diuise
nowe these heretikes that call themselfe
euangelicall byethren, some potheaded
poffles they haue, that wander about y
realme into sondry thyres, of whom eu-
ery one hath in euery thyre a diuers name
and some peraduenture in corners here
and there they bying into y byetherhead.
But whether they geatte anye or none,
they let not to lye when they come home
& say that moze then half of euerye thyre
is of their own sect. And thesame boaste
Walselde thapostata, whiche was after
burned in Smithfield, made vnto mine
owne selfe. But blessed be God when he
came to the syre, he found none verpe rea-
dy to pull him fro it.

Howbeit ther was in one place of the
dyocyle of London but late, a company
that by such meanes eche encourageing
other, toke such hearte and boldnes, and
openly by day they ensembled themselfe
together to the nnumber of an hundred
or aboue, to rescue a well knowen open
heretike out of the Ordinaries handes.
Howbeit as many as thei wer they sped
not, and some of them punished after.

And in thesame dyoces also, wher ther
was a pziest taken for heresy, and in the
comissaries handes, word was brought
him, that except he deliuered the pziest &
let him goe, he should within ii. howres
haue two or thre hundred come set him,
that woulde plucke down his howse or
burne it ouer his head. Whereupon the
commissary worlse afrayde then hurte,
deliuered out the pziest, whom if he had
kept still, there would peraduenture for
all the crakes, not one heretyke of them
all haue been so bolde to come sette hym.
But yet that could I not wel haue war-
raunted hym.

And in some place of thesame dyoces
also, they haue made a great face, & sayd
that

¶ That though the king sent by commissiō vnder hys great seale therfore, they would not suffer a soze suspected prync of theires for herely to be taken thense. Howbeit when that after he sealed a commissiō and sent it vpo the assay, it made they hartes (God be thanked) faint and were so wel come downe, that they laied all the weight to a few lewde felowes & women in the towne.

¶ And therfore boalt and bragge these blessed brethzen neuer so fast, they feele ful well themself, that they be to feble in what countrey so euer they bee strongest. For if they thought themself able to meete and matche the catholiques, they woulde not I weene lie still in rest the dayes.

¶ For in al places where heresy haue spronge hitherto so hath it euer proued yet. And surely so negligently might it be handled, and the matter so long so slowthed, that at length in time so might it happe here to. And verely if they looke ones therfore (as farre as they be yet fro the power) some of them haue not let to say, nor some to write it neyther. For I redde the letter my self which was cast into the palce of the right reuerend father in god Cuthberd now bishoppe of Durham, and at that time bishop of Lōdō, in which among many other bragging wordes meete whatsoeuer they were for those heretike brethzen made it, were these wordes conteyned.

¶ There will ones come a day.

¶ And yet doe.

¶ And out of question that day they not onely long for, but also dayly loke for, & woulde if they were not to weake not sayle to finde it, and in some moorning earlye like good thyrping husbundes, arise by themselves vncalled, as they so daynly did in Basyll.

¶ And if greater hope haue they, because in places where they fall in companie, men vse the not nowe adapes as if time was when they dyd. For they se that it beginneth almost to growe in custome, that among good catholyke folke, yet be they suffred hardely to talke vnterred. Which thing albeit farre from commendable, yet with many folke it hapeth vpon a good surety, that good men in their own minde conceiue of the strength and fastnesse of the catholyke sayth, which they verelye thynke so stronge, that heretikes for all their babling shal neuer be able to baintquite. And therein vndoubtedly theire mynde is not onely

good but also very true. But they thinke not farre enough.

¶ For as the sea shal neuer surrounde and ouerwhelme all the lande, and yet hath it eaten many places in, and swallowed whole countreis hye, and made many places now sea that sometime were wel inhabited landes, and hath lost parte of hys owne possession in other partes againe: so though the faith of Christ shal neuer be ouerflown with heresy, nor the gates of hel prouaile agaynst Christes church, yet as in some places it winneth in new people, so may therein some places by neglygence be lost tholde.

¶ For if that we because we know our cause so good, beare our selfe thereupon so bold, that we make lyght and sleight of our aduersaries: it may happe so farre betwene the catholyques and heretikes at length, as it fareth soetyme in a suit at the lawe by some good man, agaynst whome a suttile wily thewe beginneth a fals accion, and asketh from hym all the lande he hath. This good man sometime that knoweth hys matter so true perswadeth to himselfe that it were not possible for him to lese it by the lawe.

¶ And when hys counsaile talketh with him, and asketh him howe he can proue this poynte or that, for hymselfe answereth agayne, feare ye not for that sir, I warrant you, al the whole countrey knoweth it, the matter is so true, and my parte so plaine, that I care not what iudges, what atteyners, what ritmen goe thereon. I wil challenge no man for any labour that myne aduersarye canne make therein. And with such good hope, the good manne goeth him home, and there sitteth still and putteth no doute in the matter. But in the meane while hys aduersarye which for lacke of trueth of hys cause, must nedes put al hys trust in craft, goeth aboute his matter busely, and by all the false meanes he may maketh hym frendes, somtyme god felowshype, some with rewardes, findeth a felow to forge him false euidence, maketh meanes to the shuffe, geateth a parciall panell, labozeth the iurpe, and when they come to the barre hee hath all hys trinketes redy, where as good Comme Cruthe commeth forth vpon the tother side, and because he weneth al the world knoweth how true hys matter is, bringeth neuer a wytnesse with hym, and all hys euidence vnsozted. And one wyse I ones,

¶ I.

¶ that

That brought vnto the barre when the tury was swozne, and openly deliuered his counsaile his synder bore with hys finte and hys matches, in ftede of his bore of euidence, for that had hee left at home, so negligent are good folke some time, whan the knownen trouth of theyr matter maketh them ouer bolde.

And surely muche what after thys fashon in many places play these heretpykes and wee. For like as a few birdes alway chyrking and sleing from bulthe to bulthe, many times seme a great many: so these heretiques be so basely walking, that in euery ale house, in euery tauerne, in euery barge, & almost euery hote, as fewe as they bee a man shall alway fynde some, and there be they so busy with their talking, and in better places also where they may be herd, so seruient and impoirtune in putting forth of any thyng which may serue for the furtherance of their purpose, that betwene their impoirtune preasing, and the deligence or rather negligence of good catholike men, appereth ofte times as gret a difference, as betwene frost and fyre.

And surely betwene the true catholike folke and the false heretpykes, it fa-
 reth also much lyke as it fared betwene false Judas and Chrystes faithfull apostles. For while they for all Chrystes calling vppon them to wake and praye, fell first in a slumbe, and after in dead slepe: the traitour neyther slept nor slumbered, but went aboute full busely to betray hys mayster, and bring hymselfe to mischief.

But yet when he came wpyth hys company, they scaped not all scot free, nor Peter wel awaked out of his slepe was not so slouthfull, but that he coulde cut of one knaues eare, nor al the wretches of theim with all their weapens, able to stande agaynst Chrystes bare worde when he sayd, I am he whome ye seeke, but to grounde they fell forth wpyth right vpon their backs. Whereby we be sure that neyther heretiques nor deuilles can any thing doe but by goddes speciall sufferaunce, and that they shal betwene them both, neuer be able to distrop the catholike faith, nor to preuaile agaynst the catholike churche, & all the mischief shal be theyre owne at length, though God for our sinne suffer the for a scourge to preuaile in some places here and there for a while, whom vpon mennes amendement he wll not fayle to serue at the laste, as doeth the tender

mother which when she hath beaten her childe for hys wantones, wppeth hys vien and kisseth hym, and casteth the rodde in the fyre.

Howbeit if euer it shoulde (as god for-
 bede it shoulde, and I trust it neuer shal) by such colde slouth and neglygence on the catholique parte, and such hote seruient labour of the heretpykes, that the heretpykes parte shoulde hap to growe so stronge, as thei shoulde conspyre to giue the aduenture by feate of handes: I nothing doubte of good mennes good heretres, nor of the present aide and helpe of god, but that the presence of peryll rasing men out of thys dull sleepe, would cause them than so to ware warme and diligent in the matter, that the heretpyques shoulde haue such speede, as they haue befoze this time had in this realme when they haue attempted the like.

But yet though the heretiques parte shoulde (as I verely truste they shoulde) haue euer moze the worst yet very sure it is, that neither parte shoulde haue the better, but that it would then well appere, that it had bene much moze wysedome for all good catholike men, to haue wahren warmer afoze, and to haue repressed those heretiques in time, befoze they grew to so many.

And this thinge was perceiued very wel both befoze the making of y statute of kinge Henry the. iiii. whych statute thys pacifier would haue now reformed, and also at the time of the making and yet much better soone after in the reign of the prince of famous memozy king Henry the. v. For befoze this statute made, the parliament in the. v. yere of kinge Richard the. ij. complained of heretikes, & founde great harme growe y thei were not arrested, but wpythoute arrest in contempt of the censures of holy church, spred their heresy aboute fro shire to shire and fro diocise to diocise. Wherof y realme feared as the statute expreth, that therof would at length grow some great comocion and peryll. And therefore it was then prouided, y at the request of thordinary y chaunceller shoulde fro time to time atward out commissiōs, to attach such heretikes & kepe the in strong prizon, til they were sufficed & ordered according to y lawes of y church. And yet was it after ward well perceiued, y this prouisiō could not suffice. For the heretikes would contently be gone befoze y commissiō could come, and do as much hurt in a nother place.

And

Math. 16.

John. 18.

John. 18.

Neither the
 deuil nor he-
 retike shall
 preuaile agaynst
 the church.

¶ And therefore the parliament in the second yere of kyng Henry the.iiij. bothe being enforced by the clergy, and also by themselves perceiuing that those heretikes encreased still, and would at length doe some great myschies but if they were better repressed, byd among other good thinges provide, that chozdinaries might arrest the heretiques, and imprison them themselves. And yet was al that to little to. For in soe places the heretikes waxed to stronge, and would not be arrested for them. And therefore at laste it came to that poynt, that men longe had looked for. For those heresydes begon by Wickliffe in the time of the noble prince king Richard the.ij. and beyng then by some folke maintained, and by many men winked at, and almost by all folke for stouthed, the perill was so long neglected, that the heretiques were growen unto such numbze, cozage, and boldnes that afterward in the time of the sayd famous prince king Henry the fifth,

they conspired among them, not onely the abolition of the sayth, & spoyling of the spirytualtye, but also the destruction of the king and all his nobyltye, with a playne subuersion and ouerturning of the state of his whole realme. Upon which their false conspiracy disclosed, when they wer by the policy of that noble pryncce and his counsaill disappointed, and secretly puenented, and by field taken by before, in whych they had consented to gather together by nyght, and from thence to haue made their inuasio than after due punishment done vpon many of the. it was wel perceiued what greates mede it was euer after to repressell

¶ And subdue suche sedicious heresies forthwith at the firste springing. And therefore was ther by and by thereupon by the full parliament, not onely that law confirmed, which lawe this pacifier here speaketh of in this capiter, but also moe made thereunto, as that they that were deliuered to the secular handes, should for sayte both goodes, and landes, and by great officers of the realme should be sollemnely sworn to repressell heretiques and assist the ordinaries. And therefore vndoubtedly that good chryste zeale of the prince, the nobles, & the commons, toward the mayntenance of the sayth, and their high wisdom in providing for the conseruacion of the peace, rest, and suertye of the realme, were the auctours & very doers, in the making & passing of that very vertuous and very prudent acte.

¶ Whych acte that euer this pacifier, or a great manye suche, shall be able to induce this prudent parliament to chaunge that will I see ere I belieue. Which I trust I neuer shall in this tyme, namely in which, though there be not the xv. part of so many heretiques as these that he would very faine there were, & while there be not, yet would haue them seme to be, yet are there of trouthe many more then there were within these few yeres past, and therby the cause for which the statute was made, not onely standeth still, but is ouer that of late very greatly encreased, & so more neede to let those lawes stande and make more such to the beside, then by the allwaging and mitigation of any parte of theim, to bringe these heretiques into such cozage & fear, as the goodly deuises of this pacifier could not faile if they were folowed to bring them.

The. xlvij. chapter.

Wich, wheras he vbleth to the letting forth of his purpose, has furnished suspicion against the spirytualty, making men belieue vnder his figure of Some say, that the spirytual iudges misse handle those matters, and vse themselves therin cruelly: I dare be bounde to warraunt, that ryght good witrnesse & worshipfull shall recozde and testifie, that they haue ben present and sene the iudges handle the wyth very great fauour alway, and sometime to saye the trouthe tenderly. Whereof for the meane while me thynke I may take to recozde for all his some sayes this pacifier himselfe & his owne wordes, whych in this pitiful booke of denioun himselfe sayeth. For in his first chapyter he sayeth (as I shewed you) that some men to pull ryches from the church, haue not onely spoken and by playne wordes affirmed heresy, but haue also dispised pilgrimages and purgatory, and plaine inueyed against them of policy.

Now seeth every man that any euen hath, that if the ordinaries and the spirytual iudges were so fierce and so cruel as this pacifier speaketh of, then would not those other men thinke they openly to speake and affirme false heresydes, were for any maner purpose any proper policy. And therefore as for such cruelty and misshandeling of innocentes, that this pacifiers tale is vntrewe,

P. ij. bothe

Both other good folke can testifie and
hys owne wordes also beare wytnesse.

And therfore neede we no such chaunge
of the lawes for that purpose. But on y
tother side, what harme would come of
hys mytygacions, and what increace
of heretikes, the whole summe and se-
quale of hys deuises doe moze than ma-
nifestly shew.

For suppose me now, that a tynker
or a tyler whych coulde (as some there
can) reade englyshe, and beyng instruc-
ted and taught by some olde cunnynge
weauer in wycliffes wyckette, & Tyndal-
les bookes, and Frythes, and frere
Warns were now become hymselfe an
byshep, or after hys maysters decease a
doctour, and that were suche a one as
Fryth wyrteth resozted to hym, whych
thoughe he was but Frythes disciple &
scholler, was yet (he sayth) moze metely
to be byshoppe than many that weare the
myter: now if thys tynker or tyler lur-
king aboute and teaching hys ghospell
in coznars, were secretly detected to
his ordinar, and therupon sent for and
came, he should by the deuise of this pa-
cifyer for the fyrst thyste saue bring mee
forth myne accuser, and than sythe the
calling *ex officio* were gone, home goeth
the tynker agayne merely for that tyme,
and taketh for the hys schollers a newe
lesson.

Then if the court wpll appoint an of-
ficer of their own for an accuser, as an
officer of a temporall court may geue
informacio for the kyng: the tynker yet
when he were called agayne, would cry
out vpon y. And whoso holdeth against
y precess *ex officio*, woulde take y tinkers
parte therein to, and call those twayne
but both one, and so home goeth the tin-
ker agayne.

Then if some man (whych would be
longe earnest I wene) coulde at the last
be founden, that would offer hymselfe
as an accuser agaynst this tynker, whē
he were called agayne, and his heresies
were laied vnto his charge: yet if y wit-
nesses were peraduenture some scolers
of hys owne, and lacking the wply thys-
tes y hymself had, first had denied their
heresies vpon their othes, and after yet
confessed them agayne both vpon them
selfe and theire mayster tynker to, then
were there neuer so many of them, yet
by the deuise of thys pacifyer, all they
wytnesse were naught woorth, because
they were naught y menne, heretiques
themselves, and first forsworn also, so

that yet home goeth the tynker agayne. ¶

Now if there were after other good
honest proues, that would come in and
prone playnly the heresies that he held,
when the tynker were thereto called, he
would say he saied it al of ygnorance.
The if the matter were such, as he must
needes haue hearde of and knowen the
true sayth before, as pylgrimage, pur-
gatory, or the sacrament of the aulter:
he wyl not yet sticke much to say, bring
in some body here that wpll sweare that
euer he dyd teach it me. And yet when
that aunswere in such an open matter
wpll not serue, he wyl say that he saied
it of simplicitie, and that he belieneth
as the church belieneth hee. And when
he is asked how the church belieneth, he
will say he woteth nere. And if his wo-
des be reherled vnto him cleane contra-
ry to the comon knowē catholike sayth
of the church, hee wpll saue he was not
ware that the church beliened so, and
will say that they shoulde not speake of
such hygge matters that serue for doc-
tours, to such a pooze tynker that med-
leth wyth bzaile & not with latyn. And
there shall he then haue some of hys o-
ther faculty gather and stande aboute,
& say it is pity in dede that such a pooze
simple soule shoulde haue any such ques-
tions asked hym. But they wpll put it
for no pytpe at all, that such an vnlear-
ned soole shal among such other as are
lesse learned than himself, teach boldly y
falle parte, and there bragge and boast
that he better vnderstandeth the matter,
then all the doctours in the towne.

Yet if it appere that by soze woordes
he dispised and inueied agaynst pilgry-
mages and purgatorye, and such other
thynges so that he did it not of simplici-
tye when he spake therein so shrewdely,
then hath thys pacifyer taught hym to
say, that he dyd it of polycy to put away
ryches from the church, and therfore ca-
that he no heresy.

Now if the iudges bee so soze and so
cruell, that they will not allowe that po-
lycy, yet hath thys pacifyer taught him
farther to saue, that he did but speake it
affirmatiuely, and wil not holde it opi-
natiuely, and than ye wote well it is by
thys pacifyer no heresy. And therfore
musse hys iudges when they haue all
done, sende thys tynker yet ones home
again, and not kepe him so longe away
least hys scollers shoulde playe the tra-
auntes and lacke theire leatnyng the
whyle.

And

A And yet if he saied as muche after agayne, and therupō were called againe, he might say againe that he were oversene in the saying, of a lightnesse of wit and slippernesse of tonge. But he wyll not holde it opinatiuely, and therefore yet agayne it may be no heresie, so that home must theinker againe.

And now if it shoulde happen hym to say and doe so farre as he were affraide to hyde any farther rekenyng, namelpe where spirituall men so fierce and so cruell shoulde be hys iudges, the bishop myght not arrest him yet till pꝛoues bee brought in firste, that the spirytualtpe haue lest theyꝝ great desyre to abiure & punish heretykes, but must all þe meane while cite him, suspende him, and accurse him, and set him in by the kynges wyttte when he is ranne out farre of in to an other countrey, and there hath chaunged his name and set by a newe scoole, where as men can neyther finde him noꝝ yet wote where to seke hym.

C When shoulde there by these meanes wilfull offenders be punished: whyche though thys pacifier pretende that hee woulde haue done, yet consyder these thye chappters of hys which I haue rehearsed you, the first, the tenenth, and þe eight, and ye shall finde hys deuises cōe to little better effecte, than after thys fashion that I haue here described you.

And than if suche good pꝛouispons may be made foꝝ them, that they maye neuer be brought in to aunswere, and þe they may haue so many shiftes whan so euer they come: it will little feare them what payne ye sette after conuiccion, burne them twise if ye wil after iudgement, they will with good wyll agree, pꝛouiding first such good actes foꝝ the as they shall neuer come so farre.

And therfoꝝ good chꝛisten readers, woulde God the woꝝlde were suche as euery man were so good, spirituall, tēpꝛꝛall, and all, that neyther part could finde any faulte in other, and all these heresies so cleane gone and foꝝgetten, & all those that are infected wer so cleane tourned and chaunged, that no manne neded eyther abiuration oꝝ punysshment. But syth that thys is moꝝe easye to wishe, than lykely to looke foꝝ: therfoꝝe is it wisdomē that spꝛytnall and tempꝛꝛall both, albeit menne be not all sayntes, yet if their condicions be tolerable, eyther part labour to make him selfe better and charitably somewhat eithꝛ part bears with other. And those

extreme vices which neyther the tone noꝝ the tother ought in any wise to suffer, as theft, adulterp, sacrilege, murder, incest, and perjury, sedicion, insurrection, treason, and herespe, both parties in one agreing, to the honour of god and peace of Chꝛistes church with rest, welth, and surety of the pꝛince and the realme, diligently resourme & amende in such as are mendable, & those whose corrupte canker no cure can heale, cut of in season foꝝ corrupting farther.

The .xliv. chapter.



Ad thus good chꝛisten readers I make an end of this matter, the booke I meane of this deuision, wherein I haue nothing touched noꝝ intended, but onely that I woulde not the tempꝛꝛaltpe bare the spirytualtpe the woꝝse minde oꝝ affectiō, foꝝ any such suttile inuented ways that lay the fautes of the badde to the whole body, wherin be many good, and vnder a fygure of some say, say some thinges false themselfe, noꝝ that menne shoulde causelesse vpon suche surmised and vnproued cruelty, chaunge þe good lawes befoꝝe made agaynst heretiques, wherby to the displeasure of God and pꝛouokynge of his indignaciō, we were likely to haue the sayth decaye, & moꝝe harme grow theron then any manne yet can tell.

The whole some and effect therfoꝝe of my mynde in thys matter is, that as touching the spirytualtpe, I beate a tender mynde of trouthe toward (I say) the body, not toward those that are nought therein. And thys minde is euery man bound to beare, and I trust so doth this pacifier to, and will of hymself I wene doe wel ynough, if he vse to the contrary none euill counsaile.

As touching heretikes, I hate that vice of theirs and not their persons, and very faine woulde I that the tone were destroyed, and the tother saued. And þe I haue toward no man any other minde then this, (howe lowdely so euer these blessed newe bꝛethꝛen the pꝛofessours & pꝛeachers of verety belyue me) if all the fauour and pity that I haue vled amōg theim to theire amendement were knowne, it woulde I warrant you well and plaine appere, wherof if it were requysite I could bꝛyng foꝝth witnesse moꝝe then men woulde wene.

P. iij. And

A And sure thys one thinge will I bee bolde to say, that I neuer founde any yet but had he ben neuer so badde, nor done neuer so much harme befoze: yet after that I founde him ones chaunged & in good minde to mende, I haue ben so gladde therof, that I haue vsed him fro thence forth not as an euyl man or an abiect nor as a straunger neyther, but as a good man and my very frende.

B Howebeit because it were neyther right nor honesty, that any man should looke for moze thank then he deserueth, I will that all the world witte it on the tother syde, y^e who so be so depely groud in malice, to the harme of his owne soule and other mēnes to, and so set by on the sowing of sediciouse herelyes, y^e no good meanes that men may vse vnto him, can pull that maliciouse sowl oute of hys poisoned proude obstinate heart: I would rather be content that he were gone in time, then ouer long to tary to the destruccion of other.

C Finally as for y^e authour of y^e booke of deuision, because he professeth these heretiques oppinions for herelies as thei be, I trust in al hys other thinges himselfe meaneth but well, but partly may be by some pytful affeccion ledde. And some thinges he saith but vpo report, & some thinges affirmeth peradventure as of himselfe, because of the fyne credence that he therein hath gyuen to some that were not so credible as he toke the for. But in conclusion whatsoener he be, for any thinge that I perceiue in his booke, he shall I trust in conclusion be founde no such maner of man, as folke should of reason rken to beare vnto the weale of the pynce and the realme, any better minde the I. Howebeit if his wit and his learning find a better way, the
D not only I (which am but a plain soule and can inuent no newelties, but am content to stande to the olde order and lawes) but also then all they, which for thys realme in specyall, and for the whole church of Chyffe in generall, haue made those prouisions of olde: I neither can nor wil forbide any man to folow him.

But thys will I be bolde to counsaill euery man, to whole parte so euer any such chaunge shal pertaine, fyrst y^e they haue as I doubt not but they will, a good chrystie minde to the mayntenaunce of Chyffes catholpne faith, and that they therein stande by the olde wythout

the contrary chaunge of any pointe of our olde beliefe, for any thing brought by for new, not onely by Luther, Tindall, Frith, or scere Warns, but also if there would be (as there neuer wyl) an angell (as saynt Paule sayth) come out of heauen and preache a contrary new. **Ad. Galath.**

Secondly for as much as these newe fathers of these newe brethren, lyke as thei make falsed truth & truth falsed, and sayth herelies and herelies faith, so doe cal all also the newe olde and y^e olde new, not lettng to call in their bookes that faith but new, which themselfe confesse in the same bookes to be moze olde than the age of eyght hundred yere: I wil aduise you therfore good reders for the true taking of the olde faith, and for the discerning therof from all newe, to stande to the comen well knowen beliefe of the comen known catholike church of all chrystien people, such sayth as by your self, & your fathers, & your graundfathers, you haue knowen to be belieued and haue ouer that heard by them that the contrary was in the times of theire fathers and their graundfathers also, taken euermoze for herely. And also ye that reade but euen in englyshe bookes, shall in many thinges perceiue the same, by thoyse fyue tymes as farte afoze that.

We muste also say the perceiuing of the olde faith from newe, stande to the wytynges of olde holy doctours and sayntes, by whose expositions wee see what pointes are expessed in the scripture, and what pointes the catholike church of Chyffe hath besyde the scripture receyued and kept by the spirite of god and tradicion of hys apostles.

And speciallye must we also stande in thys matter of faith, to the determining of Chyffes catholike church.

Now if any man will beare other in hande, that this point or that point is not determined, or that the holy doctours of the church wryte not in suche wyse but the contrary, than whosoever is not of such learning, as to perceiue by hymselfe whyther of those two say true that holde therein contrary partes: than except the article be a plaine open known thyng of it selfe, not doubted of befoze, let hym not be lyghte of credence in the beleuing either the one dysputer or the tother, though they would bothe preache hygge prayles of theyre owne cunnynge, and

And sai that beside al their much world-
ly businesse they had spent many yeres
about the study of scripture, and boast
that their booke of diuinitie were more
neuer so much more, or that by the spi-
rite they were inspired and touch the es-
sell all dew to saynely spoken by dy-
nines, as lustre freshe & greene as after
any showre of rayne euer sponge any
bedde of leekes. Let no man I saye bee
right in belieuing them for all that, but
let him by my poore counsaile praye god
inspire himselfe, to belieue and folowe
the thing that may be his high pleasure
and let him therupon appoint with him-
selfe to liue well, and soch wyl to be-
ginne well, geate himselfe a good gho-
stlye father, and shewe him of his synes,
and than concerning the question, as he
advice and counsaile of those whome
himselfe thinketh betwene god and his
new clensed conscience, for learning &
vertue most likely, withoute any par-
ciall leaning, indifferently to tell hym
trueth.

And thus farre I say for the sayth it
selfe, because I here some menne much
speake and boast that they wyl labour
for declaracions of heresie, whiche as
me semeth is a thing that lyttle nebeth.
For I neuer wist any man in my lyfe
put in trouble for any point of heresye,
but such pointes as were for heresye wel
and openly known among the comen
people. And saynt Paule sayth that he-
resyes be manifest and open, so that he
thought as it semeth, that there needed
none other declaracion than the comon
receiued sayth of the christen people to
the contrary.

But now as to touching any new or-
der concerning heresies, with þ chaunge
of lawes before deuised for the repressio
of them: I haue no more to say therein,
but advise enery good mā endeouour hi-
selfe to kepe wel þ lawes already made
of olde, excepte he see the cause of þ ma-
king chaunged, or some other great ne-
cessitie, and that he see that pointe by
more ordinary means proued, than ei-
ther by some say, or they saye, or many
saye, or els that he perceiue well at the
least, that those folke which woulde la-
bour to chaunge them be better & wiser
both, than euer were those þ made them.
And thus finishe I this matter concer-
ning heresies, beseeching our lord and
saviour for his bitter passion, that as
his holy sacramentes therof toke their
strength, so by the prayoure of al those

holy sayntes that haue both by theyre
holy doctryne and ensample of liuing,
some of theym planted the sayth, and
some of them in sundry times wel wa-
tered the plantes, so himselfe wyl of his
goodnes specially now vouchsafe as þ
warlike sonne (the very eternal onely
begotten sonne of his eternal father) to
sweade his beames vpon vs, and aspire
hys breth into vs, and in our hartes as
saynt Paule sayeth gyue hys sayth stre-
ngth and encrease.

The. i. chapter.



In coe I to the last saute
that the brethren finde in
my booke. For as for one
more that was shewed me
within thys fewe night, I
not so much effeme, as to
vouchsafe to aunswere, that is to wytte
where they reppone that I bying in a
mong the most earnest matters, fancies
and sportes, & mery tales. For as Ho-
race sayeth, a man may sometime saye
full looth in game. And one that is but a
lay man as I am, it may better happely
become hym merely to tell hys minde,
than seriously and sollemnly to preach.
And ouer thys I can saye I beleue that
the brethren finde ahye mirth in my
bookes. For I haue not much heard
that they very merely read them.

But as to the last saute þ they fynd,
which I was about now to speake of,
where as they say that as concerning þ
churche, I haue not fulfilled my pmyse,
I shall here first put you in remembrance
what my promise was.

In the end of my preface before Tin-
dalles confutation these are my verye
wordes.

þ Now shall I (God willing) at my
next leysour goe farther in hys booke,
and come to the very brest of all thys
bataile, & is to wit the question which
is the church. For that is the point that
all these heretikes by all þ meanes they
may labour to make so darke, that by
their willes no man shoulde wit what
they meane. But I trust to drawe þ ser-
pent out of his darke denne, and as the
poetes sayne that Hercules drew vpp
Cerberus the mastiffe of hell into the
light where his eyes dased: so shall I w
þ grace of that light which illumineth
every mā that cometh into this world,
make you þ matter so lightsome and so
clere to enery man, þ I shall leaue Tin-
dall neuer a darke corner to crepe into,
able to hide his hedde.

R. iij.

Then

A Then after that I haue so clerely confuted Tindall concerning that poynt, and shall haue plainly proued you the sure and stedfast auctoritie of Christs catholiks knowen church, agaynst all Tindalles trisling sophisticacions, which he would shoulde seeme so solē, ne subtile insolubles, which ye shall see proued very frantique folies: after this done I saye, befoze I goe farther wyth Tindall, I purpose to aunswere good ponge father Frith.

B Now good readers who so list to say that I haue not fulfilled thys promyse, if he rede not my booke, I cannot make hym see the thyng that he lyffe not to looke on.

If he haue redde it, and thinke hymself not satisfied, I can not make hym perceiue moze then hys wytte wil serue hym.

C If he vnderstand it well, and yet wil saye my promise is not fulfilled, I can not let hym for his pleasure to lye. But lette hym whatsoeuer he be put in wytyng what moneth him so to say, and I shall than I doute not make other folke perceiue, that al my promise in y. poynt I haue fully perfozmed and moze, that is to wit by as muche moze at the least, as al mine eight booke amounteth. For like as in the tother I haue fully confuted Tindalles church: so haue I in that booke confuted as for this worlde, the church that Frere Barns had falsely framed here also, wherof I promised nothing. So that as touching the certētye of the church, and of the infallible doctrine thereof, whoso reade and aduise well thys worke of myne made for the

confutation of Tindall, and therewith reade and consider the. vii. first chappeters and the last of my seconde booke of my dialogue, wherupon Tindall made all hys worke: I doubt not but he that thus will doe, shall finde himselfe fully satisfied.

And therfoze good chrissten readers, as for such farther thinges as I haue in my sayed preface promised, I purpose to pursue at some other farther leysour. But first I thinke it better to bestowe sometime vpon an other thing, and leaueing for a while bothe defence of myne owne fautes and findyng of other mennes in wytyng, thinke better to bestowe sometime aboute the mending of mine owne in liuing, which is a thing nowe for many men moze necessarye then is wytyng. For of newe booke makers there are now moe then ynough.

Wherfoze that al such as will wyte, may haue the grace to wyte well, or at the least wyse none other purpose then to meane well, and as well wyters as other to amende our owne fautes & liue well: I besech almighty god to graunt vs, and that all folke spirituall and temporal in this worlde liuing, and al good chrissten soules departed hence and yet not out of payne, may for grace euery parte pray for other, and all the blessed holyc sayntes in heauen, bothe here for grace and there for glozy, pray to God for vs all.
Ame.