

The Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer *Books 5 - 9*

Made by Sir Thomas More, Knight
Lord Chancellor of England

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A complete concordance to this work can be found at
www.thomasmorestudies.org/publications.html#Concordance.

Spelling standardized, punctuation modernized
by Mary Gottschalk

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Punctuation

The only punctuation marks found in the original printed version of *A Dialogue of Comfort* are the period, comma, question mark, slash, or “virgule” (/), and parentheses. Quotation marks, semicolons, dashes, exclamation points, italics, and suspension points have been added with the goal of making the text more readily understood by present-day readers. Many commas needed to be inserted and many removed in deference to current rules about restrictive and nonrestrictive phrases. Italics are added for titles and, occasionally, for emphasis. As for the suspension points (. . .), these are substitutes for many of More’s slashes. He often used a slash where we would use a semicolon, a dash, or italics; but he also, quite often, used one to indicate whether a certain phrase was meant to be connected more closely with the one preceding it or with the one following it; to call attention to parallel elements in different phrases; or simply to facilitate serious reflection. He also quite often used a slash for dramatic purposes—to indicate, perhaps, a coming sly comment, or some possibly surprising conclusion. The evident thoughtfulness with which More punctuated this book leads one to suspect that he anticipated its being often read aloud, and wanted to make sure the reader got the cadence right. He writes as though he were speaking.

Book 5.....	575
Book 6.....	599
Book 7.....	675
Book 8.....	831
Book 9.....	993

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The Fifth Book Of the Confutation of Tyndale's Answer

The Answer unto the Chapter of Tyndale in Which He Would Prove That the Known Catholic Church Is Not the Church

Whether the Known Catholic Church Can Be the Church 5

Ye have already, good Christian readers, well seen and perceived that Tyndale hath in a long process labored to prove you that the church of Christ is another company than the known Catholic company of all Christian regions: that is to wit, a certain secret, scattered congregation unknown to all the world beside, and to their own fellows, too; and every man, by his inward feeling, not only known only to himself, but also so well and surely known unto himself, for a virtuous, good, and faithful final elect of God, that he is in himself very certain and sure that he cannot be but saved... and that he so hath the Spirit of God imprisoned in his breast, and so fast fettered in his holy heart, whereof himself hath lost the key, that neither the Spirit can creep out nor himself let him out by no manner means... but there must the Spirit abide and so preserve and keep that specially chosen creature that he suffer him to do many great abominable, horrible, devilish deeds, but yet never suffer him in no wise to do any deadly sin. 10

This, I say, ye have already seen that Tyndale hath by a long process labored much to prove us... and hath in conclusion not only nothing proved us thereof, but hath, instead of feeling-*faithful* folk, brought us forth such a sort as never was there pudding stuffed so full of farcing as his holy "feeling faith"ful folk are farced full of heresies. 15

Wherefore, seeing that for the very church of Christ here in earth, which God hath and ever shall instruct and preserve in his true faith, and out of the faith of which church shall neither be true faith, hope, nor charity... he can, when he hath all done, find out none other than this common-known Catholic church of all Christian people, neither of malice gone out nor for obstinacy put out; of which common-known Catholic church, all the good 20

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and true penitent elects be partners in faith—seeing, I say, that he can prove none other church—he now goeth about to disprove that church too; whereby we may well perceive that he goeth not about to find out *the* church, but rather to make men to ween that there were no church at all. 5

About this purpose useth he now this order. First, in one chapter he taketh upon him to prove that the known Catholic church is not the church of Christ.

Afterward, in his other chapters following, he pretendeth to answer and assoil the reasons with which it is proved that the known Catholic church *is* the church of Christ, and that none of these sects of heretics be. 10

And yet—pretending, as I say, that he will assoil all the reasons of the other side—of so many as there are, he toucheth only twain... and yet those twain how simply he assoileth, that shall you after see. 15

Let us now go to Tyndale's first point... which point in his first chapter how falsely he handleth, and how far from the point, it is even a world to see. For first he maketh the title before his chapter in this wise...

Tyndale 20
Whether the Pope and His Sect Be Christ's Church or No

More

Well ye wot, good Christian readers, that I (whose *Dialogue* in the beginning of his work he professeth himself with all his whole book to answer) have in places enough well and plainly declared that I call the church of Christ the Catholic, known church of all 25

The church of Christ Christian nations, neither gone out nor cut off. And albeit that all these nations now do, and long have done, recognized and acknowledged the pope... not as the bishop of Rome, but as the successor of Saint Peter... to be their chief spiritual governor under God, and Christ's vicar in 30

The pope Christ's vicar in earth earth—and so do not only we call him, but Tyndale's own fellow Friar Barnes, too—yet did I never put the pope for part of the definition of “the church,” defining “the church” to be “the common-known congregation of all Christian nations under one head, the pope.” 35

Thus did I never define “the church”... but purposely declined therefrom, because I would not intricate and entangle the matter with two questions at once. For I wist very well that “the church” being proved this common-known Catholic congregation of all Christian nations, abiding together in one faith, neither fallen off nor cut off—there might be, peradventure, made a second question after that: whether over all that Catholic church the pope must needs be head and chief governor or chief spiritual shepherd... or else that, the union of faith standing among them all, every province might have their own chief spiritual governor over itself, without any recourse unto the pope, or any superiority recognized to any other outward person.

And then if the pope were, or no pope... but, as I say, provincial patriarchs, archbishops, or metropolitans, or by what name soever the thing were called: what authority and what power either he or they should have among the people—these things well I wist would raise among many men many more questions than one. For the avoiding of all intrication whereof... I purposely forbore to put in the pope as part of the definition of “the church,” as a thing that needed not... since if he be the necessary head, he is included in the name of the whole body. And whether he be or not... if it be brought in question, were a matter to be treated and disputed beside.

And therefore may ye, good Christian readers, see that Tyndale, which in this point will in no wise perceive me, but maketh the title of his chapter “Whether the Pope and His Sect Be Christ’s Church or No,” laboreth to flee from the light and hide his head in the dark, and confound the matter with two questions at once.

Now is not the title of his chapter so sinisterly written and wried away from the point... but the beginning of his chapter itself is much worse and further wrested wrong. For lo, thus he beginneth...

Tyndale

That the pope and his spirits be not the *church* may thiswise be proved.

More

Lo, before, in the title, he made his question of “the pope and his sect,” which question, as I have showed you, he framed far from the matter. And since those people which Tyndale calleth the pope’s sect (by which name he meaneth all that profess the common Catholic faith) be all the nations christened, except a few lately fallen to Luther, Wycliffe, Friar Huessgen, and Zwingli—how fitly he useth his terms, in calling all the body a “sect”! Which he might as well call a “schism,” for both signify a cutting off from the whole church; and then as well he may, and so doth he soon after, call the heretics the “church”... and therein calleth he both twain as properly as if he would cut off a cantle or a gobbet from a whole loaf, and then call the cantle a “loaf” and the loaf a “cantle.”

But whereas before, in the title, he made, as I say, his question of “the pope and his sect,” here he turneth it into “the pope and his spirits.” In which except he call “spirits” in mock and scorn... all Christian nations besides those corners that profess themselves for heretics... he must needs mean here by his scornful name of “spirits” only the pope and the spirituality; and then goeth he yet much further from me, with whom he should cope. For I call ever the church which his part is here to impugn... not the spirituality only, but the whole corps and body of spiritual and temporal too.

And Tyndale very well wotteth that the spirituality so far forth doth account not themselves alone but the temporalty and themselves together for the Catholic Church... that there is not so poor a friar but he professeth it almost in every sermon. In which when he exhorteth his audience to pray for the Church, he saith not, “Ye shall pray for the spirituality alone”... but “Ye shall,” saith he, “pray for the three estates of Holy Church—that is to wit, the spirituality, the temporalty, and the souls that be in purgatory. For though they be departed out of our company, yet them account we still for voyagers and pilgrims in the same pilgrimage that we be, toward the same place of rest and wealth that we walk, till they be past once all the pain of their journey, and entered into the bliss of heaven.”

Now it is a great shame for Tyndale to fly from the point as he

doth, in a matter so plain and open that every child may see how loath he is to come near and cope.

But Tyndale hath already ridden so many shrewd courses, in which he hath had such buffets that he hath almost broken his horse's back and his own too... that now neither is there bear nor heretic more loath to come to the stake than Tyndale to come near the tilt. 5

And therefore drawing aside and flitting from the *church*—that is to wit, from the whole multitude of all Christian nations, spiritual and temporal both, which is the tilt by which he hath to run—he standeth still at the tilt's end, timpering and tempering about his harness, and will no further than the spirituality... but putteth off his helmet and doeth on a fool's hood, and from jousting falleth to jesting, to do the people pleasure, and drive away the matter, with making of mocks and mows. For now, lo, shall we peruse his proofs. Lo, this wise reason he bringeth in the first... 10 15

Tyndale

That the pope and his spirits be not the *church* may thiswise be proved. He that hath no faith to be saved through Christ, is not of Christ's church. The pope believeth not to be saved through Christ. For he teacheth to trust in holy works for the remission of sins and salvation... as in the works of penance enjoined, in vows, in pilgrimage, in chastity, in other men's prayers and holy living, in friars and friars' coats, in saints' merits. And the significations put out... he teacheth to believe in the deeds of the ceremonies, and of the sacraments—ordained at the beginning to preach unto us and to do us service, and not that we should believe in them and serve them. And a thousand such superstitiousnesses setteth he before us instead of Christ to believe in—neither Christ nor God's word, neither honorable to God nor serviceable unto our neighbor, nor profitable unto ourselves for the taming of the flesh—which all are the denying of Christ's blood. 20 25 30

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Some man would here peradventure say to Tyndale that he playeth in this point the very foolish disour, for the fault of the *man* to rail upon the *office*... considering that albeit there have popes been that have evil played their parts, yet have there been popes, again, right holy men—saints, and martyrs too—and therefore, 35

in jesting thus, upon a good office for an evil officer, he can lack no matter of railing, but may run out in his ribaldry at large and say that all the whole world must leave off all manner of offices, and neither have pope, emperor, king, councillor, mayor, sheriff, nor alderman to govern or rule the commoners, nor yet any man in his own house steward, caterer, panter, butler, or cook. For among all these offices there can be found none that hath not had ere this many an ill man in the room. 5

Therefore would some man think, I say, that Tyndale's railing here upon the pope were all run out of reason though that all the things which he layeth here to his charge were indeed as evil as Tyndale would have them taken. But surely since the man hath faults enough beside... I will myself defend him well in this. For this will I well make good in his behalf: that if the faults for which he raileth here upon the pope be things naught indeed and worthy to be rebuked... then may he well and lawfully royally jest and rail upon the whole pedigree of popes, Saint Peter himself and all. For surely the things for the teaching whereof Tyndale rebuketh here the pope, hath ever been the doctrine of popes, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and our Savior himself and all. 10 15 20

For first he proveth us that the pope "believeth not to be saved through Christ" because he "teacheth to trust in holy works for *The true doctrine of the Church* remission of sins and salvation." Is not here a perilous lesson, trow ye?—namely so taught as the Church teacheth it: that no good work can be done without help of God's grace, nor no good work of man worthy the reward of heaven but by the liberal goodness of God, nor yet should have such a price set upon it save through the merits of Christ's bitter Passion... and that yet in all our deeds we be so imperfect that each man hath good cause to fear for his own part, lest his best be bad. I would ween that good works were not so deadly poison... but taking not too much at once, for cloying of the stomach—no more at once, lo, than I see the *Mk 14:38, "Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation."* world wont to do—many drams of such treacle mixed with one scruple of dread were able enough, for aught that I can see, so to preserve the soul from presumption that one spoonful of good 25 30 35

Mt 6:17-18, "When ye fast, anoint your head and wash your face that it appear not unto men that ye fast, but

unto your Father which seeth in secret, and your Father which seeth in secret shall reward you openly.”

Lk 12:33, "Sell that ye have and give alms." Lk 16:9, "Make you friends of the wicked mammon... that when ye shall fail, they may receive you into the everlasting tabernacles."

Mt 6:14–15, "Forgive and ye shall be forgiven; if ye forgive not, ye shall not be forgiven."

works should no more kill the soul than a porringer of good worts should kill and destroy the body.

The Scripture biddeth us watch and fast and pray, and give alms, and forgive our neighbor... and we poor men, that lack the high spiritual sight that Tyndale hath and his holy elects, take these things for good works. And God saith in his Holy Writ that he *will* forgive our sins the rather for them, and *will* reward us for them; and through the Scripture... thus crieth God in our ears and faithfully promiseth, almost in every leaf. And now ye see Tyndale, that preacheth so fast of the faith and trust of God's promises, would have us in *these* promises trust God nothing at all.

But herein is great peril: specially to hope and trust to get any good at God's hand for the works of penance enjoined. For the Sacrament of Penance is to Tyndale a great "abomination," and therein indeed he saith somewhat. For well ye wot, even of natural reason a wise man will soon see that since the punishment that a man willfully taketh for the sin that he hath done cometh of an anger and displeasure that he beareth toward himself for the displeasure that his sin hath done to God... and that his willing submitting of himself to the correction of his ghostly father cometh of great humility given by God and taught by all good men: God must needs therefore, pardie, both be angry and abhor all them that for the fruits of these good affections can hope for any favor, grace, or pardon at his merciful hand.

If Tyndale list to look in Saint Augustine, in his book of penance... he shall there find that holy doctor and saint bid every man put himself wholly in his confessor's hand and humbly receive and fulfill such penance as he shall enjoin him.

Ps 76:12, "Vow ye and pay your vows to your Lord God."

But then doth Tyndale specially touch that the Church teacheth to put trust in vows and in chastity... for that is a thing

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Rv 14:4, "These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins... and they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." in the ears of Luther's elects of all things most abominable. But the Church teacheth none other trust therein than the Scripture doth itself, and our blessed Savior himself. 5

They teach, saith Tyndale, to trust in "other men's prayers and holy living, in friars and friars' coats." Is not here an abominable sin—that any man should have so little pride in himself that he should think other men much better than himself, and therefore desire them to pray for him too, besides himself? In how many places doth the Scripture exhort each of us to pray for other? 10

Jas 5:16 And when the Scripture saith that the diligent prayer of a just man *is much* worth... should we then trust nothing therein, but think that it were right naught worth at all? Or because the Scripture so commendeth the prayer of a good man, should we like his prayer the less for his holy living, and bid him pray not for us but if he live naught? Or if he be a friar and go in a friar's coat, bid him pray not for us till he put off his friar's coat and put on a frieze coat, and run out of his order, and catch him a quean and call her his wife? 15 20

Then goeth he from good livers in earth unto saints in heaven... and findeth yet more fault in that men are taught to go in any pilgrimage, or do any worship to them, or to think that their good living was so pleasant unto God, while they lived here in earth, that he will therefore vouchsafe to do anything at their request for any lover of theirs, while they be with him in heaven. 25

Howbeit, in this point I dare be bold to say for Tyndale myself that he is not so foolish but that he seeth well enough that if I may well pray my neighbor to pray for me that is here with me in earth... I may much better pray the saints pray for me that are with God in heaven—saving that he believeth that they be not there, nor neither hear us nor see us, but lie still, as Luther saith, asleep. And therefore Tyndale, lest we might ween that he believed well, biddeth us in another place of his book that when we *meet* the saints, and talk *with* any of them, *then* let us hardily kneel and 30 35

make our prayer to them. And so ye shall not need to marvel much though this man be bold to jest and rail upon every man here in earth, when he feareth not to make mocks and mows at the blessed saints in heaven.

He blameth *us*—and belieth us!—as though we took their dead images for quick. But himself seemeth yet much worse indeed, that taketh God’s quick saints for dead, against Christ’s own

Mt 22:32 words declaring the contrary... both by
Lk 16:19–31 the scripture in the Gospel of Saint
 Matthew and by the story that Christ also

telleth of Abraham and the rich glutton and Lazarus, in the sixteenth chapter of Luke.

Then cometh Tyndale in at the last with the ceremonies of the Church, and the sacraments... against which prick he specially spurneth with his kibed heel, but it will not help him. The gentleman is so proud that the holy sacraments must be his waiting-servants. For now he saith that they be but superstitious and *serve* of naught, but be set “instead of Christ” and are (as they be taught) the “denying of Christ’s blood.”

How should they now be the denying of Christ’s blood, when the Church teacheth us as *God* hath taught it—that they all have their strength *by* Christ’s blood, and that in the one of them *is* Christ’s own very blood and his blessed body both! Both which this heretic denieth... and, as in my First Book I showed you, both jesteth and scoffeth upon the Precious Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar... and like a mad, frantic fool maketh mocks and mows at the Mass.

And now that ye see, good Christian readers, for what doctrine Tyndale rebuketh the common Catholic church... ye cannot but thereby perceive what doctrine he would have them teach: that is to

Tyndale’s doctrine wit, that we should have no respect to good works, use no shrift nor penance, beware of chastity and bless us well therefrom; let no good men pray for us, nor none that use holy living, no Franciscan friar bid any bead for us in his friar’s coat, till he doff his gray garments and clothe himself comely in gay Kendal green; set saints at naught, and all holy ceremonies used in God’s Service, and

also the seven sacraments too; make mocks at the Mass and at Christ's Body, and take it for nothing but cakebread or starch. And when the clergy teacheth *this* once—*then* shall they be the *church*. But for lack of this doctrine, they be no part thereof. For Tyndale telleth us that till they teach us thus... they can never believe to be saved through Christ. And I say meseemeth, as I be saved through Christ, if Tyndale lay mad in the midst of Bedlam he could not to good Christian men tell a more frantic tale. And this frenzy is his first reason. Now let us hear his second. 5

The Second Reason 10

Tyndale

Another reason is, whosoever believe in Christ consenteth that God's law is good. The pope consenteth not that God's law is good... for he hath forbidden lawful wedlock unto all his over whom he reigneth, as a temporal tyrant with laws of his own making, and not as a brother exhorting them to keep Christ's. And he hath granted unlawful whoredom unto as many as bring money. As through all Deutschland, every priest paying a gulden unto the archdeacon shall freely and quietly have his whore, and put her away at his pleasure, and take another at his own lust. As they do in Wales, in Ireland, Scotland, France, and Spain. And in England thereto, they be not few which have licenses to keep whores, some of the pope and some of their ordinaries. And when the parishioners go to law with them to put away their whores... the bishop's officers mock them, poll them, and make them spend their thrifts, and the priests keep their whores still. Howbeit, in very deed, since they were rebuked by the preaching of Wycliffe... our English spiritualty have laid their snares unto men's wives to cover their abominations, though they bide not always secret. 15 20 25

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Here Tyndale proveth us that no pope believeth in God... for none of them "consenteth that God's law is good." He proveth that they consent not that God's law is good... because they make, he saith,

laws of their own beside; and therefore he saith that they not only consent not that God's law is good, but also that they reign over Christian people like temporal tyrants. Whereby Tyndale teacheth us that every temporal prince making any law beside the law of God consenteth not that God's law is good, nor useth not himself as a lawful prince, but as an unlawful tyrant... because he doth not only as a brother exhort Christ's law, but also like a tyrant compelleth them to keep his own. 5

Now, this glance that Tyndale in railing upon popes maketh by the way at all temporal princes and laws is, if they plainly durst speak it out, the very principal point of all his whole purpose and his master Martin Luther's too, and all the serpentine seed that is descended of them. For Luther saith that we need no more laws but only the Gospel well and truly preached (after his own false fashion). And he babbleth also in his *Babylonica* that neither man nor angel hath any power or authority to make any law, or any one syllable of a law, upon any Christian man without his own agreement given thereunto. And by Friar Barnes' heresy, a man may without deadly sin break all the laws that are made by men. 10 15

And thus ye may see that the shrewd sort of all this sect would not only have popes and popes' laws gone and taken away, but kings and kings' laws too, if their purpose might prosper... and make all people lawless, because all laws are lets, as they take them, to their "evangelical liberty" by which they claim to be bound or compelled to nothing, but *exhorted* only to live every man after the Gospel, by every man expounded after his own mind; which manner of exhorting amounteth unto as much as to let all run at riot without any bond or bridle, and then exhort every man to live as he list himself. 20 25

But now is it good to see what law so specially lieth in Tyndale's eye... for which he generally railleth upon all the remnant. That is for (that he saith) that the pope "hath forbidden lawful wedlock." In this he meaneth two things, with which Luther and Wycliffe were evil-content before. One, that there is marriage now forbidden between brethren's and sisters' children that was not before forbidden by the Scripture. For which cause Wycliffe saith that such marriages are forbidden without any foundation or ground. 30 35

But this thing, to which pope will Tyndale lay? For he shall find that in these things the old holy pope Saint Gregory and divers other holy popes, too—and not popes only, but also divers councils and great assemblies of holy, virtuous fathers—have in old time (soon upon Christendom well spread abroad), for increase of natural honesty and propagation of Christian charity, forbidden marriage to be made with other degrees, both of kindred and affinity, much further off than they that abide now forbidden; with which the Church hath since, for our infirmity, dispensed and undone the bond; so that in that point, the fault that Tyndale, Wycliffe, and Luther lay unto the pope, they must lay to so many such popes and other holy men besides, that whoso consider the one sort and the other will have little lust to believe three or four now such manner folk as Tyndale and his fond fellows be, against so many virtuous old holy fathers as they were that made those laws. 5 10 15

The other law that he layeth so sore against the pope is that priests, friars, canons, monks, and nuns may not be suffered to be wedded, contrary to their own vows and promises made unto God, which no man compelled them to make. Is not this a great fault—that Friar Tuck may not marry Mad Marian? 20

But then to set out this matter somewhat the better to the show... he royally railleth out at large upon all bishops, archdeacons, and other spiritual officers. Whose faults if they be such as we well know that he falsely belieth many... yet were their evil demeanor neither to be imputed unto the law which forbiddeth it, as the Gospel doth, nor unto the pope. Which when he hath been informed of a bishop's fault, hath, as by divers decretals appeareth, proceeded to the punishment and amendment thereof. 25

But Tyndale letteth not to lie out aloud and say that the pope hath himself “granted unlawful whoredom to as many as bring money”; and in another place of his book he saith that the pope hath in Rome set up a stews of boys. 30

We have had many pardons come hither, and many dispensations and many licenses, too; but yet, I thank our Lord, I never knew none such, nor I trust never shall, nor Tyndale, I trow, neither... but that he listeth loud to lie. And as for his licenses 35

customably given by the ordinaries, I trust he lieth in other countries; for as for England, I am *sure* he lieth. And therefor every honest man will, I wot well, take his tale thereafter, for in the like manner he may when he list, and will hereafter when he seeth his time, rail upon every lord that hath any leet, and upon all the sessions of peace kept within the realm; in all which many kinds of malefactors are amerced yearly, and fines set on their heads, and they compelled to pay them, to compel them thereby to leave their evildoing... and yet will there many, for all that, be stark naught still. But yet are not the ameracements made for licenses... but devised for *punishments*, and for means of *amendment*, though the malice of many men be so much that they never amend thereby. 5

And consider that his second reason, wherein he reproveth all laws (the spiritual openly, and covertly the temporal too), and for the laws calleth the makers tyrants... so far forth that finally no man can please him but Wycliffe, the first founder here of that abominable heresy that blasphemeth the Blessed Sacrament—this second reason of his, I say, every wise man seeth is yet more unreasonable and much more fond and foolish than the first. 10 15 20

The Third Reason

Tyndale

Thereto, all Christian men, if they have done amiss, repent when their faults be told them. The spirituality repent not, but of very lust and consent to sin persecute both the scripture wherewith they be rebuked and also them that warn them to amend, and make heretics of them and burn them. And besides that, the pope hath made a plain decree in which he commandeth saying, "Though the pope sin never so grievously, and draw with him to hell by his example thousands innumerable... yet let no man be so hardy to rebuke him. For he is head over all, and none over him" (*Distinct.* 40, "Si Papa"). 25 30

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Here he proveth us that the spirituality be not of the *church*... for none is of the *church* but repentants. And then all Christian men, he saith, repent as soon as "their faults be told them," but the spirituality, he saith, repent not. 35

Tyndale doth now forget that he hath, ofter than once, told us herebefore that his own elects will *not* ever hear their faults told them at the first, while they be carried forth in the “rage”... but that a man must, if he will have audience, tarry till the lusk have “played out their lusts”—and, as he said in one place, some of them will not give ear till the very “cold fear of death” come. And now if he will stand to this tale, he giveth the spirituality, whom he so sore accuseth, a plain answer after his own doctrine: that he is too hasty upon them; they may be of his own especial elects, pardie, full well, though they be not content to amend yet... but he must suffer them to play out all their lusts, or else till they come so near the cold fear of death that they feel not one spark of the warm flesh, and then speak and he shall be heard. 5 10

Howbeit, leaving his own doctrine for himself, they may tell him that he is somewhat over temerarious and bold, either to judge so rashly the repentance of other men, which inwardly lieth in the heart, whereof only God is the beholder... or else to impute and ascribe the manner and condition of some impenitent wretches to the whole company of the clergy, which usually declare themselves repentant by shrift and confession of their sins and doing of penance, as all other good Christian people do. 15 20

Now, if Tyndale allege against them that for all that, they fall to deadly sin again: we will ask him whereby knoweth he that... and then must he say that by some sinful deeds. But then if he grant once that deadly sinful deeds be a sure, sufficient proof of deadly sinful minds: he destroyeth, ye wot well, all his own former doctrine concerning the sinning-and-yet-not-sinning of his own holy elects, which can, he saith, never sin deadly, do they never so horrible deeds. 25 30

And yet, as for repenting... our clergy, pardie, may well appear more penitent than theirs. For I dare boldly say that except some such as be fallen into Luther’s and Tyndale’s church... there is else no man so bad of the Catholic Church but he will confess and agree that his lechery is deadly sin. But on the other side, their own clergy, and the very great clerics of their clergy (as the great cleric Luther, and the great cleric Tyndale, and the great cleric Huessgen), 35

if they be asked whether the lechery between a friar and a nun be deadly sin or no, they will answer, ye wot well, that it is none at all; if they give it once an honest name, then it is *no* sin at all—if they call it matrimony, but shall have hell for their patrimony. Whereof, ye see well, they repent not a whit; but they will, I warrant you, when they come there. 5

But all their excuse lieth in this: that all *their* faults come but of frailty... and *our* spirituality sinneth of malice, because they persecute Tyndale’s holy translation of the Scripture, in which himself hath plainly confessed that he turned the usual English words of “church,” “priest,” and “penance” to “congregation,” “senior,” and “repentance,” of very purpose to bring in his heresies against the sacraments. Which while he so did of purpose... I am content to wink thereat, and forget for this once that he sinned therein of plain, purposed malice. But yet this will I say the while for our part: that he hath no good ground to say that the persecution is malicious, done against such a translation, so translated of such a shrewd intent and such a malicious purpose. 10 15

Now, if he would excuse himself from malice, in that he would make us ween that though part be false, himself might of weak wit and frail faith ween his heresies were the true belief, because of his own mind, and Luther’s and Huessgen’s authority, in the construction of Scripture: he must, pardie, by the same reason excuse our clergy from malice in persecuting his heresies, since that they may well wit, by the authority of Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Gregory, Saint Ambrose, Saint Cyprian, Saint Basil, Saint Chrysostom, and all the old holy saints unto their own days, and all the whole Catholic church of Christ, and by his Holy Spirit given to those holy doctors of his church and ever abiding therein... that those heresies which Tyndale teacheth—that friars may wed nuns, and that the sacraments be but bare tokens and signs, and Christ’s Blessed Body at the Mass no sacrifice nor none oblation, nor but a bare memorial in wine and starch or cakebread—be very false, devilish errors... and, in all good Christian men’s ears, spitefully spoken, blasphemous, and abominable. And where he saith that the clergy doth rebuke them by whom they be warned to amend, and doth “make heretics of them and burn them,” meaning Hitton, peradventure, and such others as he was... of which sort there hath of late some been burned in 20 25 30 35

Smithfield, as Bayfield, Bainham, and Tewkesbury—the *clergy* maketh them not heretics, nor burneth them, neither. But Tyndale’s books and their own malice maketh them heretics. And for heretics, as they be... the clergy doth denounce them. And as they be well worthy, the temporalty doth burn them. And after the fire of Smithfield, hell doth receive them... where the wretches burn forever. 5

But then he saith that the pope never repenteth, because he “hath made a plain decree in which he commandeth saying, ‘Though the pope sin never so grievously, and draw with him to hell by his example thousands innumerable... yet let no man be so hardy to rebuke him. For he is head over all, and none over him’ (*Distinct.* 40, ‘Si Papa’).” 10

There are orders in Christ’s church by which a pope may be both admonished and amended... and hath been for incorrigible mind and lack of amendment finally deposed and changed. But that every lewd lorel upon every false tale that he heareth, or 15

It is not meet that men should rail upon their superiors. peradventure that himself maketh, should have courage and boldness to scoff, jest, and rail, either upon pope or prince, or a much more mean estate... is a thing so little commendable that every well-ordered region hath by plain laws 20

prohibited and forbidden such ribaldrous behavior... although they were able to prove that the thing which they said were nothing false at all. And this thing hath every well-ordered realm not without good reason provided... since it well appeared 25

that were the thing true, were it false, it were unsitting to suffer that manner to be used whereby the governors might often causeless and falsely be defamed among the people. And if the thing were sometime peradventure true... yet since that fashion and manner can nothing amend the matter, and therefore is by all laws forbidden to be 30

in such wise used toward the most simple wretch in all a town... it were a lewd thing to suffer any prince, estate, or governor to be brought in slander among the common people... whereof can come none other effect or fruit but hatred or contempt planted 35

in their hearts toward their rulers and governors, whom they be, for all that, still bound both to love and obey.

1 Pt 2:13–25

And if a man would say that great men
cannot otherwise come to the knowledge of
their own faults—ye may be sure that if the things be true whereof
the people talk, they know their deeds themselves before the people
hear of them. And if the same be false... yet may many men have it 5
in their mouths before it come at the prince's ear; and yet when
he heareth it... since the same is feigned, what good can he do thereby?
And if perchance any man think that the princes themselves perceive
not their faults for faults... till they hear the people murmur and
wonder at them: surely right seldom haps it that a man could 10
not perceive that thing for a fault which were indeed so great
that it were worthy for all the people to wonder at. And yet if private
affection toward their own fantasies happened in anything so
far to mislead their judgment: for help of such haps serve
their confessors and counselors... and every man that of good 15
mind would in good manner declare his own good advice toward
his prince and his country—either to his own person or such
others of his counsel as by them it may be brought unto him—and
not in unthrifty company fall to railing, or by slanderous bills
blow abroad an evil, naughty tale whereof all the town may talk, 20
and to their own harm defame their sovereign, while himself
shall haply nothing hear thereof.

But yet are there some that defend such evil fashion of unreverent
railing upon great personages, affirming that it
should do good that such high estates as be far from all other 25
fear may stand yet under some dread of defamation and slander;
that likewise as the desire of honor, praise, and glory pricketh
them sometimes forward to do good... so may the fear of infamy, dishonor,
and dispraise refrain and restrain them from evil, and
sometimes wholesomely bridle and contain them within the limits 30
and bounds of good and honorable order. There needeth no man to
doubt but that as far as sufficeth to that purpose is provided for
well enough... though naughty persons be not maintained in their
malicious railing. For whoso standeth aloft upon a hill of
eminent high estate cannot in no wise be hidden... but, as he seeth 35
all the eyes of his people from the valley looking up upon him, so

seeth he well that neither deed nor countenance, almost, that himself
 may make, can pass un-perceived and -marked. Which is
 enough to make any man regard himself that any respect hath
 toward the praise and estimation of other folk. Which respect
 whosoever lacketh... no fear of slander or dread of defamation 5
 amendeth. Which may percase also be long spread far abroad
 ere any man bring him word... while many men abhor to be
 demanded by what means they know that there is any such
 rumor abroad, and to be asked who told them the tale. And some
 love to tell their master no displeasent tidings... but when they 10
 hear many speak evil, turn of their good minds everything to
 the best, and say to their master that all the world saith well.
 And finally if it fortune him to hear that he be spoken of abroad...
 some may thereby happen rather wax wroth than care... especially
 since he may make himself sure that if such railing speech be 15
 suffered to run at riot, be the governor as good as God is himself,
 yet shall he be sure to be shrewdly spoken of; so ready be lewd
 persons maliciously to rail and jest upon their rulers. And so,
 forasmuch as upon railing and jesting upon any manner of
 estate, there can no good grow, but many times, rather, much harm: 20
 yet it is not only by the common laws of this realm upon great
 pain forbidden that any man should with any slanderous railing
 words misuse himself toward his prince... but also by the
 plain statute *De scandalis magnatum* sore and straitly prohibited
 that no man shall slanderously speak of any nobleman in 25
*Ex 22:27, "Thou shalt not rail upon the gods, neither
 speak evil by the prince of thy people."* the realm. And much more is then intolerable
 to suffer any such ribalds to the
 rebuke of any state to put forth any
 railing books... which malicious manner
 is by all other laws upon great pain 30
 forbidden though the matter touch a right mean person.
 And all this I say yet... as though I granted that the pope had
 made that law that Tyndale here saith he did.
 But, now, if it be false that Tyndale saith, and that of truth the pope
 made not that law, but that the words which Tyndale rehearseth 35

be no law at all, nor spoken nor written by any pope, but by some other that was never pope—what is Tyndale, then, that saith the pope hath made those words for a plain law?

Those words which Tyndale saith are a plain law made by the pope... are indeed incorporated in the book of the decrees, in the same distinction and place where Tyndale allegeth them. But then is Tyndale very ignorant if he know not that though there be in that book of the decrees many things that be laws, and that were by divers popes and divers synods and councils made for laws... yet are there in that book many things besides, that neither were made by any synod nor by any pope... but written by divers good, holy men. Out of whose holy works, as well as out of synods' and councils' and popes' writing, Gratian, a good, virtuous, and well-learned man, compiled and gathered that book... which is therefore called the decrees of Gratian, as another like book is called the decrees of Ivo, which out of like authorities compiled a like work. Now is everything that is alleged and inserted in the books of those decrees, of such authority there as it is in the place out of which Gratian or Ivo gathered it—and not a law, nor a thing made by the pope, but if it were a law or made by a pope before, and out of a law or out of a pope's writing taken into the decrees.

Now, the words which Tyndale bringeth forth, and saith that the pope hath made them for a law, be not the words of any pope... but they be the words of the blessed, holy martyr Saint Boniface, which brought the faith into Almaine, and was for the faith martyred in Frisia. And so is it plainly specified in the decrees, by those words in the rubric, “Ex dictis Bonifacii martyris.”

But Tyndale, to blind and beguile the readers with, would make men ween that it were the *pope's* words, made for a plain law. Wherein Tyndale plainly showeth his plain, open falsehood, except he were so wise that he had went the pope had made it for a law because it beginneth with “Si Papa”; like him that because he read in the Mass book, “Te igitur clementissime Pater,” preached unto the parishioners that “Te igitur” was Saint Clement's father.

Merrily spoken

The Fourth Reason

Tyndale

And Paul saith (Romans 13), "Let every soul obey the higher powers, that are ordained to punish sin." The pope will not, nor let any of his.

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More

Touching first the pope himself, Tyndale telleth us here a wise tale. For—setting aside the question whether the pope either be or rightfully ought to be *chief* governor over the Christian flock... and if he be or ought to be, how far, then, and to what things, his authority stretcheth or ought to stretch—this thing, at the leastwise, Tyndale very well knoweth himself: that neither in spiritual things nor in temporal, there is no man at Rome, in his own see, that claimeth any power or jurisdiction upon him. And as for the clergy besides, Tyndale here, as far as I see, falsely belieth the pope. For he letteth none of his to obey their higher powers... but, by the canon laws of the Church, *commandeth* every of them to obey their higher powers, and to keep and observe the laws of the princes and countries that they live in.

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But the thing that grieveth Tyndale is this: that any priest should in honor of the sacrament of priesthood have any manner of privilege more than a layman. For his heresy reckoneth every woman a priest, and as able to say Mass as ever was Saint Peter.

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Tyndale's Mass

And in good faith, as for such Masses as he would have said—without the Canon, without the Secrets, without Oblation, without Sacrifice, without the Body or Blood of Christ, with bare signs and tokens instead of the Blessed Sacrament—I ween a woman were indeed a more meet priest than Saint Peter.

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And albeit that neither woman may be priest nor any man is priest, or hath power to say Mass, but if he be by the Sacrament of Holy Orders taken and consecrated into that office: yet since the time that Tyndale hath begun his heresies, and sent his erroneous books about, calling every Christian woman a priest... there is not now, in some places of England, the simplest woman in the parish but that she doth, and that not in corners secretly, but look on whoso will, in open face of the world in her own parish church... I say not hear, but *say* her own self, and (lest you

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should look for some riddle) openly revested at the high altar—she saith, I say, herself, and singeth too, if it be true that I hear reported, as many Masses in some one week as Tyndale himself either saith or heareth in two whole years together... but if it be when he sweareth by it, or heareth some other swear. 5

All holy consecrations Tyndale calleth foolish ceremonies... forgetting that in the Old Law, divers times it is honorably rehearsed, and laid for a cause of the reverent using of the priest's person, because that the holy oil is upon him.

And he list not to remember that the holy prophet David did 10
2 Sm 1:13–16 so much esteem that holy ointment
 with which King Saul was consecrated,
 that albeit he was rejected again of God, and himself received
 and anointed king in his place, and was also persecuted by him... 15

he not only put the man to death that said he had slain
 him, for touching of God's anointed; but also, for all that, he
 spared him and saved his life and, being his deadly enemy, did
 him yet no bodily harm. He repented and forthought that he
1 Samuel 24 had so much done to him as secretly
 to cut his garment. 20

These things and many such others like, whereof the Scripture
 is full, Tyndale in every place dissembleth... and would have all
 consecrations set at naught and taken in derision... and would that
 no man should have neither prince nor priest in any manner reverence
 the rather of one rush for their holy consecration. But as he 25
 would have every woman to take herself for a priest... so would he
 that every man should ween himself a king. For surely the words
 of Saint Peter with which these heretics prove the one, prove
 even the other alike; that is to say, falsely and foolishly taken,
 prove both the one and the other... but wisely taken and truly, 30
1 Pt 2:4–9 prove neither the one nor the
 other.

The Fifth Reason

Tyndale

And Paul chargeth (1 Corinthians 5), "If he that is a brother be a whorekeeper, 35
 a drunkard, covetous, and extortioner, or a railer," and so

forth, that we “have no fellowship with him; no, not so much as to eat in his company.” But the pope with violence compelleth us to have such in honor, to receive the sacraments of them, to hear their Masses, and to believe all they say... and yet they will not let us see whether they say truth or no. And he compelleth ten parishes to pay their tithes and offerings unto one such, to go and run at riot at their cost, and to do naught therefor. And a thousand suchlike doth the pope, contrary unto Christ’s doctrine. 5

More

To begin here at the last point... though the party, sometimes, that hath divers benefices doth abuse the fruits, the pope gave him neither liberty nor license that he should so do... but gave him leave to take the cure of them, trusting upon certain suggestion that the man were such one as should and would use them well. And no doubt is there but that some man may right well have the 10 15

Note cure of divers parishes—and good causes why he so should—and do more good in them both than some other should in one. But as for this point, Tyndale meaneth much farther than he speaketh... and intendeth hereafter, if it be well allowed concerning popes and priests, then to draw that line a little longer... and look whether he may make the reason stretch a little farther, as he hath done a little in some part of his writing already, which we shall answer, I trust, well enough when we come once to the proper places. 20

1 Cor 5:13 Now, where he saith that “whorekeepers,” and such others as Saint Paul forbiddeth us the company, “the pope with violence compelleth us to have in honor, and to receive the sacraments of them, and to hear their Masses, and to believe all that that they say”: this is a very loud lie. For the pope letteth you not to complain upon them... and the laws of the Church be that for their crimes they shall be suspended from the meddling and administration of such things... and sometimes deposed of their offices, deprived of their benefices, and degraded of their orders, too. And therefore the pope compelleth him not with violence to do them honor in their vices. And if there were any that did... he were in the doing 25 30 35

an evil pope, as he were an evil man. But what were the fault of
 an evil pope to the office of the papacy... except that Tyndale will
 reprove and rebuke every king and prince, and would have none
 at all, because that some of them do not always their duty; or
 will lay to the prince's charge if any officer under him do not every
 man such right as the prince would he should, and trusteth also that
 he doth. Now, where he saith that the pope compelleth him to
 believe all that every such priest saith: that is yet another lie, once
 again. For if the priest say false, and preach heresies... as if he would
 say that all the seven sacraments be but bare signs and tokens, and
 that friars may lawfully wed nuns: the pope compelleth no man
 with violence to believe that priest... nor compelled not Tyndale,
 neither, against the plain scripture of God, in such frantic
 heresies to believe the lewd learning of Luther, Friar Huessgen, and
 Denck, Balthasar, Lambert, and Zwingli... of all which never one
 believeth other; but the pope is well content, and so would it should be,
 that if the priest preach such heresies, folk shall not believe him
 but accuse him, and have him reformed and revoke them and abjure
 them... or else let degrade him and deliver him, and let the
 princes keep him from the people. Whereof to be sure, and for
 avoiding of such heresies by the terror of that example... good
 Christian princes cause faithful people to burn him.

But then is there one thing wherewith Tyndale is sore displeased:
 that the pope will not (as he saith) let him and his fellows see whether
 the priest say well or no.

If the priest be accused of his doctrine... he is, as I say, brought
 unto examination, to wit whether he said truth or no. What
 other way would Tyndale have? It is plain enough what he meaneth
 in this matter. He meaneth therein nothing else but that he would
 have allthing so far forth set at large that he might bring first
 in doubt and question, and after in errors and heresies upon the
 question, every point of Christ's Catholic faith that God hath by

Oh what an "evangelical liberty" is this! his holy, blessed Spirit in fifteen hundred years
 taught his Catholic church. And then,
 all things once brought in that "evangelical
 liberty" that every man may believe even as him list, and after
 that live even as himself list to, without any lord or any law to

let him... then, lo, to make the Gospel truly taught, take away
in any wise all the clergy clean, and let Tyndale send his women
priests about the world to preach.

And now, good Christian readers, here have ye heard all his five
reasons... by which instead of that he should have proved—that is to
wit, that the known Catholic church of all Christian people is not
the church of Christ in earth—he hath taken upon him to prove
(all beside the purpose) first that the pope and his “sect,” and after,
yet farther from the purpose, that the pope and the spirituality, be not
the *church*. And of that which should be his purpose—that is to
wit, that the known Catholic church is not the *church*—he hath
not spoken one word. And yet finally, concerning that he hath
gone about to prove... touching the pope and the spirituality... he
cometh forth, as ye see now, with his five reasons that ye have
read... in the making of which five reasons, a man may marvel
where were vanished away all his five wits, for any piece of his
purpose that appeareth proved in them all... but if we reckon railing
for reason, and shameless open lies for good and sufficient proofs.
And therefore here end I this book... in which if Tyndale have said
anything to the purpose at all, I am content to grant him that he
hath said well in all, and fully proved altogether.

Here endeth the Fifth Book... and beginneth the Sixth, wherein is
avoided the solutions of Tyndale wherewith he would disprove the
first reason proving that the known Catholic church is the true
church of Christ. Which first reason is that all the sects of
heretics do come out of the Catholic Church.

The Sixth Book

The Defense of the First Argument against Tyndale

Tyndale

The Arguments Wherewith the Pope Would Prove Himself the
Church Are Solved.

5

More

This is the title of his chapter, wherein he descendeth by
degrees, as ye see, further down from his purpose than ever he did
before. For whereas before, instead of the whole Catholic Church
he descended to the clergy alone, which is but the one part: here
he leaveth all them, too... and maketh as though men called the whole
Catholic Church no more but the pope himself; that is to wit, a
whole great, main multitude, of many sundry states, manners,
conditions, and kinds, no more but one man alone. Is not this
gear by Tyndale well and comely devised?

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And yet forthwith, to show his further constancy, when he
cometh to the matter itself... he turneth it again from the pope alone
to the whole company of the clergy... dissembling always still the
temporalty, as though there were of them neither man nor woman
of the Church. Wherein I would have excused his one falsehood by his
other, and would have said that he meant, according to his heresy,
that in the clergy were all together contained, because he maketh
every man and every woman both a priest. But that excuse he
taketh away himself... and that even by and by, when in the next
words following, he declareth that he speaketh of no more than only
such as be so shameless that they suffer themselves to be shaven.
For in this wise, lo, the wise man beginneth...

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Tyndale

Notwithstanding, because, as they be all shaven, so they be all
shameless to affirm that they be the right church... and cannot
err—though all the world seeth that not one of them is in the right
way, and that they have with utter defiance forsaken both
the doctrine and the living of Christ, and of all his apostles—let
us see the sophistry wherewith they would persuade it. One of their
high reasons is this. . . .

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More

Lo, sir, here Tyndale affirmeth that likewise as all the clergy be shaven, so they be all shameless... and therefore hath his master Martin Luther let his crown grow, and lieth with a nun to learn of his leman some very maidenly shamefastness. But not till her hair was well grown again, ye must understand... for she was before, for lack of her hair, as shameless as Luther, ye wot well. 5

But, now, *why* be all the shaven clergy shameless, saith Tyndale? Because they affirm that *they* be the right church! Now, when Tyndale knoweth well that we speak of the Catholic Church... and then here dissembleth that the clergy so calleth the right church of Christ... and that they call the whole Catholic Church not themselves alone, but themselves and the temporalty together, as Tyndale may well learn by every poor friar's prayer that preacheth: either hath Tyndale shaven his crown again, or else is there, as God would, one yet unshaven as shameless as any that was shaven this seven years! 10 15

But yet when he goeth farther, and saith that all the whole world seeth that of the whole clergy, being "all shaven," there is "not one" of them all "in the right way," but that they have all, every one, "with utter defiance forsaken both the doctrine and the living of Christ and all his apostles"—I verily believe, in good faith, that Tyndale shall scantily find anyone so shameless among his own sort, that is to say, among all the sects of heretics, but that will confess upon his conscience that Tyndale here lieth out of all measure shamefully. 20 25

And when he hath about the proof of this point bestowed already his whole chapter before, wherein he came forth, pardie, with his fine eggs... and after a great face made of a great feast, supped them all up himself without any salt (for all his guests that he bade to supper might smell them so rotten that they supped of the savor); now to come forth again with the same tale, and set us to the same table at supper again, with neither bread nor drink, flesh, fish, nor fruit—this man well declareth us that though he be not shaven, but have his hair of his unshaven crown grown out at great length in despite of priesthood, and like an Iceland 30 35

cur, let hang over his eyes... yet hath the man as much shame
in his face as a shotten herring hath shrimps in her tail.

For surely if there were any one spark of shame in his whole
body, it would set his face afire to speak among Christian men
that other folk are out of the right way... when he wotteth well 5
that his writing showeth in what wrong way himself is—how
far fallen from Christ's holy teaching—with his beastly doctrine,
under name of "matrimony" to couple together friars and nuns in
lechery; and his abominable mocking of Christ's own Blessed
Body. 10

But now, because he speaketh of our "sophistry," let us consider how
substantially the man assoileth the first reason, that he would were
reckoned so light. And I trust ye shall see that one reason somewhat
better than all his whole five were which I have answered in the
next book before. 15

Tyndale

One of their high reasons is, The Church (say they) was before the
heretics, and the heretics came ever out of the Church and left
it; and they were before all them which they now call "heretics" and
"Lutherans," and the Lutherans came out of them, etc. Wherefore they 20
be the right church, and the others heretics indeed, as they be
called. Well, I will likewise dispute. First the right church was
under Moses and Aaron, and so forth, in whose rooms sat the
scribes and Pharisees and high priests in the time of Christ; and they
were before Christ; and Christ and his apostles came out of them 25
and departed from them and left them: wherefore the scribes,
Pharisees, and high priests were the right church, and Christ and
his apostles and disciples heretics and a damnable sect. And so
the Jews are yet in the right way, and we in error. And of truth,
if their blind reason be good, then is this argument so too. For they 30
be like, and are both one thing.

More

Now, good Christian reader, this reason that Tyndale so royally
scoffeth out with a "like" argument of his own making... he telleth
you not where he read. But it well appeareth that he hath read it in 35
other men's books besides mine; for else he would not say "one

of *their* high reasons,” but “one of *his* high reasons,” if he took the reason but for mine alone.

But this is his fashion, lo, in all things: he maketh as though he mock but men of these later days... which later days himself calleth yet eight hundred years and more. But he mocketh indeed those old holy doctors which died (and some were martyred) above a thousand years ago. 5

For ye shall understand that this reason which Tyndale so scornfully rehearseth, and would seem to shake off so lightly... was not only made by me, in my *Dialogue*, but also before my days by divers good and great cunning men. And among others, this reason that Tyndale in scorn calleth a “high” reason... was made by that great, famous doctor and high, glorious martyr Saint Cyprian, against Novatian and Fortunatus and other heretics and schismatics in and before his days. 10 15

Now is Saint Cyprian a man of such authority that the great holy doctor Saint Augustine allegeth as reverently Saint Cyprian as any man now allegeth Saint Augustine.

And this reason that Tyndale now derideth and mocketh... Saint Cyprian thought so sure, especially so furnished with scriptures as he set it forth, that he useth it not once or twice... but in sundry places, so often, against heretics, that it maketh me even sorry to see how sore God suffered that good saint to be deceived, if a heretic might now by a like-formed argument so shortly and so shamefully shake his reason off. 20 25

But I will not do Saint Cyprian so much dishonor as to set him to dispute with Tyndale; but since Tyndale and I be somewhat more meet matches, he and I shall therefore between us twain first dispute and discuss... and then you, good Christian readers, shall after discern and judge... whether the reason that he rehearseth, and the reason that he maketh by which, as by the like, he would fain seem to assoil it, be as he saith they be—both like and both one—or not. 30

For the better perceiving whereof, ye shall understand that whereas in my *Dialogue* I had proved first that the church of Christ here in earth shall ever endure and continue as long as the world shall last—which thing is, I doubt not, in such wise proved there that Tyndale dare not himself deny it here—I then 35

in the Second Book did after prove that the known *Catholic* church is that same church... and none of all the sects of heretics, because all they be come out of it; and that therefore all they be but branches cut off or broken off from this vine of Christ's Mystical Body, the known Catholic church; and that since they be from the stock, they therefore dry up and wither away, and wax worth nothing, nor meet for nothing, but worthy for the fire. 5

And so this reason that Tyndale here rehearseth, I there lay forth and declare with divers places of Scripture... by which I prove at good length, through all the second chapter, that such as go out of this known Catholic church be and always have been the heretics, and for heretics be declared by the very Scripture itself. 10
Whereof I there lay some places, and some such as Saint Cyprian layeth himself; howbeit, of truth, not *all* the places of Scripture that he layeth for that purpose, because I had not at that time read and marked Saint Cyprian upon that point. 15

Now cometh Tyndale and barely rehearseth my reason, dissembling, after his accustomed fashion, all that ever I laid forth for the proof. Of all which things, neither in his answer here, which he calleth his "solution," nor afterward when he cometh to the place in his particular answers unto every chapter in order, he never maketh any manner mention... but when he cometh to my Second Book, goeth from the first chapter to the third, as though the printer had left the second unprinted. 20

Is not this fashion a plain confession of his ignorance, and that he was at his wit's end, and saw not what to say unto it? And because he left all my proof of my reason untouched... he durst not here, for shame, speak of my name, nor be acknownd that he read that reason in my book... lest men should look for it, and spy that I had so proved it that Tyndale durst not meddle with my proofs. 25 30

Howbeit, saving that it had been more wisdom for him to have dissembled and let alone all the whole matter... else did he more wisely than to have wrestled with that chapter, out of which he shall never be able to wade while he liveth, the reason, I am sure, is in itself so strong, before made by Saint Cyprian, as I said, and some others more—other manner men than Tyndale or I be either. 35

And in good faith, I never looked that ever I should have found any man so foolish as to ween that he were able to assoil it with this argument that Tyndale here frameth for a like... or that any man were so blind of wit as to ween that those two arguments were like.

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There is but one church. For remember now, good reader, that the church of Christ must, as I have in my *Dialogue* proved by Scripture, last and continue forever, and Christ's church can be but one. Whereupon it must needs follow that there can none go out of it to begin any new church of *Christ*; but those, therefore, that go out thereof must needs be churches of *heretics*.

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Then must Tyndale, if he make his reason like mine, make the synagogue of the Jews like to the church of Christ in perpetuity of lasting and continuance upon earth... or else shall his argument and his example be as like to mine as I wist once a gentlewoman make unto her husband, which longed sore to teach her and make her perceive the *Treatise of the Sphere*, and bidding her consider

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The declaration of the sphere well what he should show her. And first he began at the earth... and to make her perceive that the earth hangeth in the midst of the world by the peise and weight of itself, and the air encompassing the water and the earth round about on every side—"Ye must," quoth he, "learn and mark well this: that in the whole world, higher and lower is nothing else but outer and inner; so that of the whole world... earth, water, air, and all the spheres above, being each in a round compass over other... the earth lieth in the very midst, and, as we might say, in the womb; and that is, of the whole world, from every part, the innermost place; and from it, upon *all* sides, toward the heaven, as it is outward, so is it higher. So that, as I tell you, in the whole world all is one—higher and more outward, lower and more inward. And therefore the earth, since it is in the very midst, that is, the most inward place of the whole world... it is therefore in the lowest; for of the whole world... the inmost is, as I told you, the lowest. And then since the earth lieth in the lowest... its own weight, ye wot well, must needs hold it there... because ye perceive yourself that no heavy thing can of itself ascend upward. And

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then, the earth lying already in the lowest place... if it should fall out
 of place on any side, like as it should fall from the inner part to
 the outer... so should it fall from the lower place into the higher. And
 that, ye wot well, it cannot, because it is heavy. And therefore—imagine
 that there were a hole bored even through the whole earth. 5

If there were a millstone thrown down here on this side from
 our feet, it should finally rest and remain in the very midst of
 the earth. And though the hole go through... yet the stone could not fall
 through... because that from the midst, as it should go outward
 from the innermost part, so should it (which a millstone may not
 do) ascend higher from the lowest place; because, as I told you, 10
 in the whole world, upon every side, to go outward from the
 innermost is ascending... and to go inward from the outermost is
 descending... and ever the outer part is, on every side of the whole
 round world, the higher, and the inner part the lower.” 15

Now, while he was telling her this tale, she nothing went about
 to consider his words... but, as she was wont in all other things,
 studied all the while nothing else but what she might say to
 the contrary. And when he had, with much work and oft
 interrupting, brought at last his tale to an end, “Well,” quoth she to 20
 him as Tyndale saith to me, “I will argue like and make you a like
 example. My maid hath yonder a spinning wheel—or else, because
 all your reason resteth in the roundness of the world—come hither,
 thou, girl; take out thy spindle and bring me hither the whorl. 25
 Lo, sir, ye make imaginations I cannot tell you what. But here is a
 whorl, and it is round as the world is; and we shall not need to
 imagine a hole bored through, for it hath a hole bored through indeed.
 But yet, because ye go by imaginations... I will imagine with
 you. Imagine me now that this whorl were ten miles thick on every
 side, and this hole through it still... and so great that a millstone might 30
 well go through it. Now, if the whorl stood on the one end, and a
 millstone were thrown in above at the other end, it would go no
 further than the midst, trow you? By God, if one threw in a stone
 no bigger than an egg... I ween if ye stood in the nether end of the
 hole, five miles beneath the midst, it would give you a pat upon 35
 the pate that it would make you claw your head, and yet should ye
 feel none itch at all.”

should have an end. And therefore Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli be gone out of the Catholic church of Christ, which while the world endureth, is ordained of God to have none end.

Also, Christ and his apostles went, as God had ordained, out of the old church to begin a new... because the old must, by God's ordinance, be left off and changed. And therefore Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli be gone out of the old church to begin a new... because the old church, by God's ordinance, shall never be left off in earth, nor never no new begun. 5

Also, Christ and his apostles went out of the old church to begin one new church of all people agreeing in one faith, either with other. And therefore Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli be gone out of the old church to begin a great many new, diverse churches, of which never one should agree with other... nor almost in any of them any one man with other. 10 15

Finally, Christ went with his apostles out of the old church to begin a new that was prophesied to be a perpetual church without end, against which the gates of hell should never prevail. And Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli be gone out of the old church to begin a great many new which are all prophesied by Christ and his apostles to be stark heretics... and that none of them all shall endure and last, no more than hath done the churches of Arius, Helvidius, Pelagius, or Manichaeus, with forty such sects more. All whom the very gates of hell have so prevailed against... that they have gotten them in and shut them fast in and fast keep them in with the damned devils with flame and fire in the deep dungeon of hell. 20 25

And thus have I now, good Christian readers, showed you so many plain differences between Tyndale's reason and mine, which twain he saith be both one... that I ween he will not show you so many differences between himself and a fool... and yet he will not say that they be both one. 30

But now shall you further see that the further he wadeth on in his solution, the deeper he sinketh into the mud, and the faster he sticketh in the mire. For lo, thus he wadeth on... 35

Tyndale

But inasmuch as “the kingdom of God standeth not in words,” as Paul saith (1 Corinthians 4), “but in power”: therefore look unto the marrow and pith of the thing itself, and let vain words pass.

More

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Very well remembered, lo. For there is one difference more between Tyndale’s reason and mine... which difference, saving that Tyndale here putteth us in remembrance, I had else almost forgotten. And that is that, as he putteth me well in mind, the kingdom of God is not in words but in power.

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Now did Christ, therefore, and his apostles, prove their departing to be lawful from the church or synagogue of the Jews, not by bare words only, but also by might and power in working of many wonderful miracles for the proof thereof.

And on the other side, Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli prove their departing from the Catholic church to be lawful by bare words and babbling only, without any power of miracles at all. Instead of which power to be showed for them by God’s hand, they have assayed to get help and power of the devil by the might of man’s hand, in raising of sedition, strife, debate, and war, among rebellious and unruly people... by which many a thousand have been in few days killed and slain, and the far most harm finally fallen upon their own heads. And Zwingli,

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Zwingli’s death

their chief captain, unto whom

Tyndale swerved from Luther because his heresy further blasphemeth the Blessed Sacrament... was taken, slain, and burned... and many by that means returned from their heresies unto the true faith again. And yet God hath not done...

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but what harm soever such heretics, as God’s scourge, be suffered

Mt 16:18; 28:20

to work for the while, his mercy shall not

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fail in conclusion both to provide for

the perpetual safeguard of his Catholic church (which he hath promised never to forsake; but though he visit their iniquities with the rod of correction, yet his grace and good will he hath

Note

warranted never to take from them)

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and also shall of his goodness turn again

from their errors some such as those malicious archheretics deceive; and them whose malice he shall find incurable, he shall as an old, naughty rod, before the face of his faithful children of his Catholic church, when he hath beaten and corrected them therewith, do as the tender mother doth: break the rod in pieces and cast it in the fire. But now shall you see how Tyndale goeth forth and declareth his solution. 5

Tyndale

Under Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was the church great in faith and small in number. And as it increased in number, so it decreased in faith, until the time of Moses. And out of those unbelievers God stirred up Moses, and brought them unto the right faith again. And Moses left a glorious church, and in faith and cleaving unto the word of God... and delivered them unto Joshua, Eleazar, Phinehas, and Caleb. But as soon as the generation of them that saw the miracles of God were dead... they fell to idolatry immediately, as thou seest in the Bible. And God, when he had delivered them into captivity for to chastise their wickedness... stirred them up a prophet evermore, to call them unto his testament again. And so he did well nigh a hundred times, I suppose, ere Christ came... for they never bode any space in the right faith. And against the coming of Christ, the scribes, Pharisees, Caiaphas, Annas, and the elders were crept up into the seat of Moses, Aaron, and the holy prophets and patriarchs, and succeeded them lineally, and had the scripture of God, but even in captivity—to make merchandise of it, and to abuse it unto their own glory and profit. 10 15 20 25

And though they kept the people from outward idolatry of worshipping of images with the heathen—yet they brought them into a worse inward idolatry of a false faith and trust in their own deeds, and in vain traditions of their own feigning. And they had put out the significations of all the ceremonies and sacraments of the Old Testament, and taught the people to believe in the works themselves... and had corrupted the Scripture with false glosses. As thou mayest see in the Gospel, how Christ warneth his disciples to beware of the “leaven” of the Pharisees, which was their false doctrine and glosses. And in another place he rebuked the scribes and the Pharisees, saying “woe” be to them because they had “taken away the key of knowledge” and had “shut up the kingdom of heaven,” and 30 35

neither would enter in themselves nor suffer them that would. How had they shut it up? Verily, with their traditions and false glosses which they had sewed to the Scripture in plain places... and in the taking away the meaning of the ceremonies and sacrifices, and teaching to believe in the work.

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More

Tyndale hath here made us a long discourse from Abraham's days unto Christ's, showing that ever in time faith hath decayed. But he might for that purpose have begun at Adam, a great deal before Abraham... and end at the Day of Doom, a great while after Christ.

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Now, it is no new thing among more people to have more taught.

But what availeth Tyndale all this tale? Proveth it any other but that yet that company was still the church continued on from the beginning unto the birth of Christ?—as Saint Augustine orderly deduceth, by a serious, goodly process, in his book of the *City of God*.

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Now, that many times God punished them—so doth he now, and his mercy always will, when his wisdom seeth it necessary. What of all this?

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“Yea,” saith Tyndale, “but he reared up always prophets in divers times, a hundred to turn them home into the right way again.”

Be it that he sent so many... what helpeth this unto Tyndale's matter? For well we wot that all the faults of the people for which they were punished, and against which God sent so many prophets to

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Gn 6:1–8; 18:16–19:29 preach, were not evermore idolatry... but sometimes other sins, and especially the

sin of the flesh for which the whole world was washed with Noah's flood, to purge the filth therefrom... and Sodom and Gomorrah burned up with brimstone for the foul sin of the flesh against the nature of the flesh. And now God will, I fear, find out yet some new, more horrible torment to punish and revenge the filthy stink of the fleshly carrion that hath cast its contagious corruption so far against God himself that friars breaking their vows and “wedded” with nuns be so shameless to become preachers, and find wretched, beastly people to bear it and be content therewith.

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But, now, that God raised up so many prophets to call the people home... what findeth Tyndale for his purpose therein? Findeth he that God raised any such as Luther, Zwingli, Huessgen, and himself, that to call men from lechery become lechers, and abide thereby, and to call men from error become heretics, and exhort men to heresy? Did God send any such? If he did, let Tyndale tell us one. If he did not... whereof serveth his purpose of his hundred prophets? 5

Also, God punished his people... and then sent his prophets, not to make sedition and sects among his people, but to govern and lead his whole flock and his whole people together. As he caused Moses to convey his whole people out of Egypt... and the other prophets, judges, and priests after, into the Land of Behest. Was there ever any of those heretics whom the Catholic Church hath from the beginning condemned, that ever so did? Let Tyndale name us one. 10 15

Then if he will say that *every* prophet did not so, but *some* did as he doth, and such others as we call "heretics" as wrongfully as if we called a ewe a sheep... that is to say, they did call upon the people, and win in some against the mind of the multitude and of the priests and princes: I say that those prophets agreed in their faith and preached alike; and then cannot Tyndale and his companions whom we call "heretics" be any such prophets sent us by God, since of these never one agreeth with another. 20

Besides this, those old prophets proved themselves by miracles to be messengers sent from God. But Luther, Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli show no miracles at all to show themselves messengers sent by God, but by their evil doctrine clearly prove themselves messengers sent by the devil. 25

And finally, as far as the church or synagogue of the Jews was decayed in faith, or good living decayed, by the false doctrine or false glosses of the scribes and Pharisees, Caiaphas, Annas, and the "elders"... which were, as Tyndale saith, "crept up into the seat of Moses, Aaron, and the holy prophets and patriarchs" against the coming of Christ... and whom Christ for their false doctrine did rebuke: yet confesseth Tyndale himself that they "kept the 30 35

people from outward idolatry of worshipping of idols with the heathen.”

And Tyndale must confess further that neither scribes nor Pharisees, nor priest, nor “elders,” as he calleth them—no, nor “youngers” neither, if he will have all the temporalty called “youngers,” as he will have all the clergy called “elders”—were not even at that time all of one sort... but as there were many naught of every sort, so was there of every sort right good folk also. 5

And as for their traditions and doctrine, of which was many vain, some evil, and some superstitious, whereby the people among them took harm in the following: such as were evil things were not so fully determined but that some were of one mind, some of other... and therein men might follow the best doctrine if they would, wherein they had doctors and teachers too... and might, if they were desirous of the best, very well discern them, concerning the glossing of Scripture, by the old, virtuous doctors that had in sundry ages, long before the false expositions and false doctrine of the Pharisees or false scribes began, truly construed and expounded both the Law and the Prophets; by whose expositions they might try and control the false doctrine of the naughty scribes and evil Pharisees (for good scribes were there, and good Pharisees too... as by the New Testament appeareth). And that there were of old in every age such true doctors and expositors among the Jews may well appear to every man that considereth the variance in the expositions of the Scripture by the Jews that were of old, before the birth of Christ, and them that expounded it after. 10 15 20 25

And also, Tyndale saith himself that between the time of Moses and the coming of Christ... God stirred up a hundred prophets. And therefore, I am sure, of the remnant besides the twelve that we have, he meaneth for some that kind of doctors and expositors that I speak of; or else I ween he will come short of his whole sum, and lack five of his hundred. 30

And thus, though God did not provide so fully for the church of the Jews as for the church of Christ... as in which he hath provided and promised to dwell himself forever: yet provided he for it so sufficiently that they might therein be saved and enter heaven 35

when it were after open... and that in evil doctrine and superstitious traditions they could not be damned, if they were desirous and diligent about their own soul health. And albeit that, because the thing had then so great difficulty that many for lack of sufficient diligence perished, God of his great mercy suffered not those naughty scribes and false Pharisees to continue long... but, to make an easy way in which no man could be deceived (except such as were over-negligent or malicious), but should soon be learned the sure truth and undoubted way to heaven, sent his own Son to begin a new church of a new fashion, of another manner of perfection... in which he would so be present and assistant forever, himself and his own Holy Spirit, and so teach it, and so lead it into every truth, that no man could be deceived but he that would not believe his church; and he would make his church so open and so well known that no man could but know it, except such as of malice *would* not know it—and yet, as I say, till himself did set up *his* church—the synagogue *was* the *very* church... and, with such as were not willingly blind, *was known* for the very church of God, divided from all the world beside by God's law, by governors of his assignment, by true prophets, true preachers, and miracles, for all the false prophets and false preachers that were therein besides. And the right faith was learned nowhere else. And whoso had gone out of that church except only into Christ's... had gone wrong.

And thus it appeareth, lo, that concerning the synagogue even at the coming of Christ... Tyndale hath here won little ground to build his purpose upon... but that even there was yet, at that time, the *very* church and a church also *known*. And therefore when he goeth now further and resembleth it unto the known Catholic church of Christ—though they were like, yet were Tyndale overthrown. But, now, when ye shall hear the remnant, ye shall see Tyndale fall ever deeper and deeper in the mire. For lo, thus creepeth he forward, like a crab...

Tyndale

In like manner is the clergy crept up into the seat of Christ and his apostles by succession... not to do the deeds of Christ and his

apostles, but for lucre only... as the nature of the wily fox is to get
 him a hole made with another beast's labor, and to make merchandise
 of the people with feigned words, as Peter warned us
 before... and to do according as Christ and all his apostles prophesied—
 how they should beguile and lead out of the right way all
 them that did not love to follow and live after the truth. 5

More

Tyndale here, good reader, plainly confesseth himself that the
 clergy be those which (though he call it "creeping") be by succession
 here in earth come into the seat of Christ and his apostles. Now cannot 10
 Tyndale (nor will not, I wot well) say nay but that while
 Christ intended not that himself and his apostles should forever
 personally dwell still here in earth conversant with us in like
 manner as they were while they lived here among us... and yet
 intended that his church here in earth should always have among 15
 them teachers and preachers (since he intended that his church
 should, as Tyndale agreeth, as long last in earth as the world should
 endure), and none other hath there been had since Christ's days and
 his apostles', in Christendom, but the clergy, by continual succession—
 then hath ever the clergy of every age been that part 20
 of Christ's very church to whom Christ specially spoke, speaketh,
 and ever shall speak these words: "Go ye and preach the Gospel to
Mk 16:15 all creatures." And also these words: "Whoso
Lk 10:16 heareth you heareth me; and whoso
 despiseth you despiseth me." And these 25
 words also: "Whoso receive you receiveth me; and whatsoever
Mt 10:14-15, 40; and city receive you not, Sodom and
Lk 10:12 Gomorrah shall be more easily dealt with
 than that city in the Day of Judgment."
 And also, since they must be the teachers... it followeth that they be, and 30
 must be, that part of his church to which part these words were
 also specially spoken: "I shall send you the Holy Ghost, which shall
Jn 14:26; 16:13 teach you all truth and lead you into
Mt 28:20 every truth," and "I am with you myself
 unto the world's end." 35

For though God in these words promised to send his Spirit, not
 into the clergy only, but into his whole Catholic church; nor to be
 with his clergy only, but also with his whole Catholic church; nor
 to lead his clergy only, into every truth, but the laypeople of his

church also: yet since he provided specially the clergy to be the preachers, of whose mouth the laypeople should hear the truth... by means of which hearing, with their own good endeavor, God would himself write it in the hearers' hearts... which order of coming to the faith appeareth plainly by sundry places of Holy Scripture—as where Saint Paul saith, "Faith is made by hearing," and "How shall a man hear without preaching? And how shall a man preach but if he be sent to preach?" And then, that a man must at the hearing do his own good endeavor, Christ saith, "Be thou not an unbeliever, but a believer." And that he then writeth himself in the heart witnesseth the prophet Jeremiah: "I shall write my law in their hearts." In which place he saith, speaking of the church of Christ, "Every man shall not teach his neighbor, but they shall all be the scholars of God, and I shall write my law in their hearts." He meaneth not that there shall be no preaching—for that were, ye wot well, contrary to the words of Saint Paul—but he meaneth thereby the teaching which the preacher teacheth (without which Saint Paul showeth that they cannot ordinarily come to the faith) is yet no teaching whereof any fruit can come... but if *God* therewith write upon the *heart*; which he never faileth to do if the party do his part, and be not by his negligence or frowardness the let.

And albeit that these words of the prophet be specially spoken for the difference between the Old Law, that was called the law written, because that Moses received and delivered the Law by writing... and the New Law, whereof Christ neither received nor delivered any part by writing: yet may those words well serve for this purpose also, since the truth of them is also in this point verified... to which truth Saint Paul subscribeth where he saith that no man can say and confess our Lord Jesus but by the Holy Ghost.

Now, these things, I say, being thus—though God write in the hearts of every sort of his Catholic church, as well the laypeople as the clergy, as well women as men, and so teach them inwardly

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and lead them into every necessary truth—yet since the preacher must have it ere he preach it... and must preach it ere the hearer hear it... and the preachers by Christ’s order must be (or at the leastwise, by Tyndale’s own confession, *indeed* be) through Christendom none but the clergy; nor, of truth, hitherto none but the clergy have been, nor (as appeareth by many plain places of Scripture) none but the clergy may be, the ordinary ministers of God’s holy words and sacraments unto the people: it must, I say, upon Tyndale’s confession needs follow that of all the words of God foreremembered, whichsoever our Savior said unto his whole church, yet ever he said it principally to the clergy; and so, by Tyndale’s own confession, since that the clergy be the successors of Christ and his apostles... and be for the governance of Christ’s church now in his and his apostles’ place... Tyndale is bound by Christ’s word to receive them, hear them, and obey them. And in that he will not so do, but instead of receiving them refuseth them, instead of hearing them mocketh them, and instead of obeying them despiseth them and persecuteth them, and teacheth his false heresies contrary to the truth that Christ hath by his Holy Spirit, according to his own promise, taught them: he is fallen, I say, into the malediction and curse of Christ, that hath ordained them... and on Tyndale’s head falleth that fearful word of *Lk 10:16* Christ, “He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me”; and “He that heareth not the church, take him for a publican and a very paynim”; and “In better case shall *Mt 18:17; Lk 10:12* Sodom and Gomorrah be than he shall at the Day of Judgment.” And thus hath Tyndale denounced his own damnation himself, plainly pursuing upon his own confession.

Now if Tyndale will peradventure say that it is in the clergy now as it was in the scribes and Pharisees in Christ’s time... and that as they and that people were then fallen from the truth into false errors, so be now the clergy and the Christian people: I have already showed him the plain scriptures in which God hath made many such plenteous promises of his assistance with his Holy Spirit in his church, perpetually to keep it from all damnable errors, by teaching it and leading it into every truth... that though he suffer

many great pieces of people to fall out thereof, and so, little and little,
the body to be diminished and made a small flock in comparison, till
his pleasure shall be to increase it again—yet shall he never neither
Christ shall never suffer his suffer it to be destroyed... nor the flock
church to be destroyed. that remaineth, how many branches soever 5
the devil blow off, to be brought
unto the scarcity either of faith or virtue that the synagogue of the
Jews was at Christ's coming. Though there never was any time
long together, nor never shall there be, but that in Christ's church,
as long as it dwelleth in earth, there shall be many naught, yet shall 10
Jn 14:26; 16:13 always the doctrine of his church with
which himself hath always promised to
be, and lead it into every truth, be so good, and so sure, that unto
those that shall be well willing to learn the truth, it shall always
be known where they may learn it... and that for the clearing of all 15
doubts and avoiding of all errors, it shall ever be true to say that
1 Tm 3:15 "the church" is, as Saint Paul saith, the
"pillar" and the "foot" or "ground"—that is to say,
the sure strength or fastening—"of the truth." And this church
must be that known Catholic church... of which from age to age 20
the Scripture hath been received, and the people taught; and not a
church unknown, of only good men or elects only, in which is
neither preacher nor people assembled to preach unto, nor sacraments
administered by any man as a minister of that unknown church,
nor people of an unknown church to administer them unto—among 25
whom can be no such assembly; for no man can know where to call
another, nor how to know another if they came together by
hap.

And thus I say that neither can Tyndale stand by his unknown
church nor for his purpose sufficiently resemble the Catholic 30
church of Christ unto the synagogue of the Jews, nor the clergy of the
one to the scribes and Pharisees of the other... since God gave these
two churches not like beginning... nor Moses, that was the lawyer
and beginner of the one, was not like unto Christ, the beginner and
lawyer of the other... nor the promises of God concerning his assistance 35
and preserving were not like in the one church and the other.
And yet by Tyndale, God had so little regarded his great promises

in that point that—whereas the scribes and Pharisees had been but a while in respect, and God had sent the synagogue sundry prophets, and Christ hastened to come because they should not deceive long—God had suffered the Catholic church of his own only-begotten Son to be as falsely deceived and worse too, and further to be led out of the right way into errors and into damnation, more than this eight hundred years together, without any man sent to show them the right understanding of Scripture, and the right way, by any such means as the people might perceive that the man were come from God... but one of them always varying from the doctrine of another, and all varying from the doctrine of all the saints whom God had proved his messengers by miracles... whereof these men showed none at all, and yet the most part, ever as they were examined and opposed, abjured their own doctrine, too. And thus, as I say, Tyndale cannot resemble the clergy of Christ's church to the scribes and Pharisees of the Jews' church.

But yet if Tyndale stick so sore thereto that he will needs have them like... and while he can never prove it, will yet with great words (and oaths, haply, too) bear me downright still in hand it is so: let us, to stop his mouth with, grant him for this once that it *is* so... and see then what he could yet get thereby, that for his purpose were well worth a fly.

Though it were so indeed... yet must Tyndale be bound to obey them, pardie, as far forth, at the least, as Christ commanded the Jews to obey the others.

Then if Tyndale will say that it can extend no further than even barely to as far forth as they teach and preach the Gospel truly... and that every man and woman whom they teach, and to whom they preach, may say not only to one of them that he construeth the Scripture wrong and teacheth the people false, but also that, the same teaching of that one man being examined and affirmed for true by the whole clergy assembled together... yea, and by the princes and the lords, and by both the learned and unlearned laypeople too—may yet tell them, upon Tyndale's mouth or Luther's, that they lie every one... and all the clergy falsely construeth the Scripture, and all the temporalty foolishly followeth their construction... and so the one blind with malice leadeth the other

blind with folly into the ditch of damnation... and there they lie tumbling together, while this lightsome elect of Tyndale, that shall tell all the Church this tale, seeth plainly the truth... and is illumined by Luther, Tyndale, Friar Huessgen, or Zwingli, and laugheth the folly of all the known Catholic church to scorn: if Tyndale come to this point, he will at the leastwise ever give us leave to resort to the Jews' synagogue, with the scribes and the Pharisees, to which he resembleth us. 5

Now let us, then, imagine that Tyndale, as he was born heathen and christened in England, so had been born a paynim... and circumcised in Jerusalem, four years before the birth of Christ, by the reason that, being at years of discretion, and hearing of the stories and the temple and manners of the Jews, he had of devotion suddenly fallen into their synagogue, and dwelled in Jerusalem; whereupon, yet, after his circumcision, considering that there were among them divers sorts and sects, as Pharisees and Sadducees, and scribes and Levites, and priests and laypeople... and though they were all Jews and agreed in circumcision, and came of old all of one stock, yet be now severed asunder in doctrine and in belief, and that not in small things but in such things as the one sect did reckon and account the other to stand in great error and damnable: what would Tyndale have done in this case? Would he without any other reader have taken the books of their scriptures into his own hand... and thereof, without any credence given unto any man, pick out the truth by himself? He should have therein a very hard work... and were very likely to frame himself a new faith in many great things, agreeing with no man but with himself. Then shall he find also divers counsels in the same scriptures, forbidding him that foolish, proud fashion of study and learning... 10 15 20 25 30

Prv 3:5 and bidding him that he shall not lean unto his own wit.

Then would he of likelihood have had recourse to them, and enquired of them the solution of those doubts. For out of the church or synagogue of the Jews it is not likely that ever he would have looked to have the truth of those doubts determined, which doubts rise upon their law and upon the construction of their scriptures. 35

And also, considering the miracles that God had, so great and so many, very oftentimes showed in every age for that synagogue, and that in that synagogue some continued still—such as himself had seen in the pool of the temple serving for the sacrifice—he might still have thought that in the synagogue of the Jews both had been and then were yet the very, true way both of belief and living, and in none other church. And then could he not doubt but that in the same synagogue were some good folk always that had the very truth... of which part of that synagogue if he might happen, he should surely know the truth. 5 10

Now seemeth me that it should have been no great mastery for him then to find them out. For it is no doubt but that if he should have taken unto him such as were called cunning, twain at once at good leisure, one on the one side and another of the other... as, for example, on the one side the proud Pharisee that despised the publican, and on the other side Gamaliel: now, whereas the proud Pharisee would have told him for his part, “We have with us, Master Tyndale, of the scribes and the Pharisees the more part, and we have men of honest and good living, and well learned in the Law and in the Scripture, and that are also the rulers; and therefore it is most reason in the construction of the Scripture, and the faith and manners depending thereupon, ye should believe us”—Gamaliel would have told him again, “Yea, Master Tyndale; but I am a Pharisee as well as he... and there are on our side, though not so many, yet Pharisees and scribes and rulers of the people too, both as good, as honest, and as well learned also, both in the Law and in the Scripture, as the best of all them be. And whereas he cannot himself say that his part passeth us by nothing but by number... I shall prove you that in the number itself they be far fewer than we... and that yet besides that, we far pass them in things of far greater weight. 15 20 25 30

“For, M. Tyndale, as lately as ye were circumcised, yet this wot ye well yourself—or, at the leastwise, ye think it is so—that God hath stirred up among us, since the time of Moses, almost a hundred prophets. And surely he *hath* stirred up very many... of whom, besides the twelve that are accounted in part of our scripture, we have many of sundry ages past in whose books we find written expositions and 35

commentaries *upon* our scriptures; and those men were good and holy men... and for whom God showed many great miracles, and for none of our adversaries he never showed one. And in their old books find we that in the points for which these men and we vary nowadays, those old prophets and interpreters of the Scripture were of the mind that we be, and the people of their times, too... till that these men of the other side brought in this new doctrine which is untrue: but even now; of late in comparison of the long time in which the contrary was taught by holy men and believed by the people before. So that, this being weighed and considered... we pass them in number, time, and miracles; that is to say, besides the length of time and the number of men, we pass their part by one whose eternity passeth all time, and whose infinity passeth all number: that is, Almighty God himself... which hath for the expositors of our part many times by miracles declared his favor against those that expound the Scripture on their part, for whom he never showed none.

Jn 5:1-9

“For as for the miracles done in the Temple, or in the Temple pool, they cannot draw to their part against us... since they be not showed to declare the truth of any particular man... but only to give knowledge that the church or synagogue of the Jews is the church of God here in earth; in which as well we as they—that is to wit, as well the true as the false, as well the good as the bad—be for the while together, till Messiah come, that shall make a new church, a greater and a better... and the true from the false much better known, too.”

I doubt not but Tyndale should at that time among the Jews in Jerusalem have heard his doubt disputed and debated thus. And then could he not with any good reason have doubted but that the false Pharisees had been well answered by the true. And so should he have known even then, of the very church there, which part he should have believed, though the thing had some difficulty there, because the sundry sects abode still together... but yet the continuance and succession of the truth from the beginning should into that darkness have cast a meetly good light.

Now, if Tyndale will here deny me and say that there were no such holy men of them, that from age to age left any such books behind them: whensoever he so shall answer me, he shall then

hear what I shall say more unto him. But as for this time, I shall not need to let therefor.

For though there had not been such indeed, nor that Tyndale could not have heard any man in Jerusalem at that time that could have told him that tale and proved his tale true: yet shall Tyndale never be able to withstand it but that *if it had* been so answered and so proved, he had been then well and with good reason satisfied. Against which if he had not rebelled, but endeavored himself for his own part to be pliable to the truth... God should have wrought with him into the full consent and belief thereof. 5 10

Now say I, then, that since that answer, if it might have been proved true, should and of reason ought to have contented Tyndale at that time in Jerusalem, concerning the church of the Jews: he *Mt 16:18; 28:20* shall never avoid it here but that in the the known Catholic church of Christ, though we leave off the promises of God made unto this church, by which promises it appeareth clearly that he will never suffer it to come to such a confusion or difficulty... yet if it did, and were in that point like unto the church that the Jews had against the coming of Christ—infected by many false folk with false doctrine, and the Scripture adulterated and vitiated with false glosses and wrong expositions... and that they which so had marred all were “crept up” into the place of Christ and his apostles, and were waxen a great deal the more part of those that had the authority in their hands... and thereby had misled the people both into wrong belief and wrong ways of living... making them to ween that they did well when they did naught—if it were, I say, come in the Catholic church even unto this point... which thing, God keeping his promises foreremembered, were more than twice impossible to happen... yet if it so were indeed, as Tyndale lieth and falsely saith it is, yet unto folk that long to know the truth, it could not be but perceived easily which doctrine were the truth; that is to wit, whether theirs that thus were “crept up” and had falsely taught, or else such true men as would rebuke and reprove them... and teach the people the contrary, and construe the Scripture otherwise. 15 20 25 30 35

“Whereby should it be perceived?” will some man say. Surely well, and plainly, by this way.

God hath, since the death of Christ and his apostles, stirred up in his known Catholic church, I dare well say many more than a hundred prophets... whom he hath with more than a thousand miracles declared to be his messengers. Now, of these holy doctors and prophets we have the books of every age, some from the death of Christ’s apostles even unto our own time. Now might it, then, by their books be perceived that these folk now “crept up,” as Tyndale saith, “by succession” into the place and “seat of Christ and his apostles” as the scribes and Pharisees were at Christ’s coming “crept up into the seat of Moses,” did in doctrine and exposition of Scripture agree with those old holy doctors and prophets of every age and time... or else contemned and contraried them, and in faith and living began a new, diverse, and contrary doctrine of their own, in things necessary to salvation, or perilous toward damnation. And then if they so did, and that there came others that would call men home from their evil doctrine and from their false expositions of Scripture whereupon the false doctrine dependeth, unto the old doctrine and old, true declaration of Scripture... in which those old holy doctors (and, as Saint Paul saith, “prophets upon Scripture”) did consent and agree: by this mark, I say, might it be perceived and known whither part were the true and whither part were the false.

Let us now, then, setting for the while all other marks aside, of which there are very many—let us, I say, consider but this mark alone. For even this mark alone shall be sufficient to discern and know the Church now for the true part, and Tyndale and Luther and all their sects for the very plain false.

For albeit that Luther in the beginning professed in his writing that he would stand for the proof of his doctrine unto the trial of those old holy doctors and prophets of every age... weening that men, for the delight of the new school matters, neglected the old holy doctors and listed not to look upon them—yet when he saw himself deceived, and his devilish doctrine, by the writing of the old holy saints of every age brought out on every side, utterly thrown down and overwhelmed... then began he to

change his tale and swerve from them, and set their authority clear at naught, and wrote that he cared not for ten Augustines, nor for a hundred Jeromes... nor for as many Saint Cyprians. For he said he was sure that he had his doctrine from heaven... and that the Scripture, whatsoever all they said, was plain and clear for him. 5

And thus, though some of these folk be glad to catch a patch of an old saint's saying sometimes, if they may mangle it and make it seem to serve anything for them—yet may ye clearly perceive by their master Martin Luther himself that they cannot say nay themselves but that the consent of the old holy saints is with the Catholic Church, plain against their devilish doctrine. 10

And this point themselves so clearly perceive to be perceived and known... that they begin to make, in a manner, mocks openly... and give the people counsel to give little credence to the old holy saints' writings... and they scoff at them that against such heresies allege them... and in this manner they jest and say in their sermons: "Men lay forth nowadays unto you, for the proof of their doctrine, the old holy saints, and call them 'fathers'; but *we* lay for *our* doctrine the *evangelists*, and *apostles*, and *Christ himself*—and these be *grandfathers*! And therefore, as they cry unto you, 'Fathers! Fathers!'—we cry unto you, 'Grandfathers! Grandfathers which are much more to be believed than those fathers!'" 15 20

Here is, lo, a goodly false, foolish fallacy, to beguile the poor unlearned people... with turning their minds from the point that is in question, and make them gaze and muse upon another thing... and ween that the clergy would have them think that the old holy doctors were more to be believed than Christ and his apostles themselves! Whereas indeed the question standeth in this: whether the old holy doctors and saints whom we call the "fathers" be better to be believed in the construction and the understanding of Christ and his apostles, and the old prophets too... whom we be content that these men call grandfathers, and great-grandfathers too... or else these young, new, naughty nephews that make themselves gracious, godly, and wise, that they can tell allthing from before the world was wrought, and their fathers so graceless and so foolish that they neither had grace, learning, nor wit to perceive anything at all what the writing of their grandfathers meant. 25 30 35

Also, that these folks' doctrine cannot agree with the old holy doctors' ... appeareth plainly by this: that these men teach and renew the selfsame old, rotten heresies which those holy doctors by their full consent and agreement condemned, both in great assembled councils, and by their own books severally made against them—as against their heresies that they now teach against free will, against priesthood, against Penance, against the other sacraments, against vows; against holy days and fasting days, and especially the Lent; against general councils, and against the Catholic Church; and many another abominable heresy besides.

Of this consent of the holy doctors and saints against their heresies cometh this envy and hatred that these heretics bear unto them all again... so great that, lest men should because they be saints have their doctrine the more in reverence and estimation, they have devised a new heresy wherewith they would make men believe that there were none of them all yet in heaven. And lest their malice and envy toward them should appear, and the cause also wherefore they bear it, if they should so say by no more saints but those that were writers and doctors of the Church: they let not to say the same utterly of all the *O shameless and false doctrine!* remnant, our Blessed Lady and all—that except our Savior himself, there is none yet in heaven at all, neither in body nor soul. And lest men might think that if there were purgatory, some went from thence to heaven among—that is one of the causes why they put that there is no purgatory neither. Then, since they see that if God give yet, before Doomsday, unto no man reward and bliss for his faith and good life, it were hard to think that, being so liberal, good, and merciful as he is, he would be more prone to punish than to reward... and for their evil deeds or infidelity, before that day send men into pain: therefore till Doomsday they would have the world believe there were none hell neither, for any soul of man.

And then, lest they should be driven to confess that they believe the thing which, if they durst for shame show, I ween they believe indeed—and will hereafter come forth with if they may get once their other heresies in men's hearts fastly first confirmed—lest they should before, I say, be driven to confess that they believe

the soul to be mortal, and utterly die with the body... they say for the while that until Doomsday they lie still all and sleep... as Luther writeth plainly in a sermon upon the gospel of the rich glutton and Lazarus.

And therefore if we tell them of that story of Abraham, Dives, and Lazarus, the twain in rest and wealth, the third in fire and flame, the story that Christ telleth himself—they call it but a parable, and almost make a pot at it. 5

Then all apparitions they mock at... and all the miracles they blaspheme, and say the devil doth all. And thus while the affection of these heretics to the old heresies maketh them to decline from the old holy doctors, that ever condemned those heresies, and against their expositions construe the Scripture wrong—the devil hath driven them down much further, and made them fall to blaspheme against God’s saints and his miracles, and give 10

Mt 12:22–37 the honor of God’s great works unto the devil, as the very worst sort of the Jews did; and unto all their old heresies to link a whole chain of new, such as the worst and the most shameless sort of heretics that ever were of old, would have been yet ashamed to think upon. 15 20

If Tyndale deny that himself and all their sects be against all the old holy doctors, and all the old holy doctors against them: he cannot say nay but that besides the abominable “wedding” of friars and nuns, Luther confesseth himself, in his *Babylonica*, that all the old doctors are against him in his heresy that he holdeth against the Canon of the Mass. 25

And so for conclusion of this point, that Tyndale may see what he hath won with his resembling of the Catholic Church unto the synagogue of the Jews that was at the coming of Christ... and the clergy of the Catholic Church to the scribes and Pharisees that then were in the synagogue: he hath now, by occasion of that resemblance, luckily found out that though these heretics did still dwell with the Church, and neither departed away themselves nor the Church did vomit and spew them out... but that the true and the false, though they taught diversely and contrary, continued yet still together, as they did in the synagogue of the 30 35

Jews—yet this one mark alone, of the old holy doctors of the Catholic Church condemning the heresies of Tyndale and Luther and all their other sects, clearly would give a light by which the true doctrine might be known from the false. And therefore this mark alone as openly marketh Luther, and Tyndale, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, and all the rabble of their fellows, for open and plain heretics... as if the devil had, his own hands, marked each of them an *H* in the forehead, with a fair hot iron fetched out of the fire of hell. 5

This one mark, which Tyndale hath here caused to be found out, doth yet furthermore shake off all his railing and scoffing, and rejecteth them and casteth them all back again, and maketh them, every one, to fall upon his own pate. 10

For by the expositions of the old holy saints... we know that the words of Saint Peter with which Tyndale here railleth upon the Church... were by Saint Peter spoken against such heretics as taught opinions *against* the Church—as plainly appeareth by many old doctors of the Church. 15

2 Pt 2:1–3

And also, the very words of Saint Peter will declare the same. For he saith that those false, lying masters shall be the bringers-in of damnable sects. Whereby it well appeareth that he speaketh against those archheretics which against the one, Catholic church—which in the necessary points of the faith agreeth and ever hath agreed well in one together, by that Holy Spirit of God which by Christ’s promise leadeth it into every truth, and maketh all of one mind in that house—do bring and have brought a hundred sundry sects of heresies, erroneous, false, and untrue, whereof neither any one consenteth with another nor, among them all, one man, almost, with another. 20

Jn 16:13
Ps 67:7 (*Vulgate*)

And where Saint Peter saith that many men shall follow their damnable abominations—that is so clearly verified in these heretics now, that all the world hath cause to weep that it is so well spied. 25

Also where he saith that by them “the way of truth” shall be blasphemed—is very manifest and open especially in these new 30

35

heretics, as Luther, and Tyndale, Huessgen, and Zwingli... which not only blaspheme among them the old holy doctors and saints, and the miracles of God wrought and showed by them for the establishing
Jn 14:6 of the truth... but also Christ himself, 5
in the Blessed Sacrament... which is, as himself saith, both the way *and* the truth, and the life therewith.

And when he speaketh of avarice and feigned words—as for feigned words, they use none other, if plain false be feigned; as appeareth by their plain false heresies against the blessed sacraments. 10

And as for avarice, though many of them fall at the last to beggary (by the very vengeance of God, full sore against their wills)—yet see we well enough how greedily the peddling knaves that here bring over their books grasp about a halfpenny, and had almost as lief hang up his evangelical brother as lose a penny by him. 15

And Sir Thomas Boulde reported here their liberality very well. For besides much other evangelical avarice, he told us here that albeit he saw gold great plenty in Tyndale’s purse... yet could he get but one small piece to go out of Almaine unto London on his errand both to sow his evangelical seed and to steal an evangelical book out of a poor friar’s library... and when he had 20
stolen it, then bring it into Almaine to him. And for all this long labor of his going, and his business of tilling and sowing, and besides that, his legerdemain in stealing, whereof a man might hap to fall to hanging... he could, as he said, get of Tyndale no more for all this gear but one poor piece of gold. 25

Now, as for “making of merchandise,” that Saint Peter speaketh of, and Tyndale here layeth against the clergy of the Catholic Church—what merchandise these heretics make I cannot well tell. But this is well known: that when our evangelical English heretics fall in acquaintance beyond the sea with some of our merchant’s 30
factors... they milk them so evangelically that when their masters call them home, they give them a very shrewd reckoning.

And surely as all the words of Saint Peter with which Tyndale here jesteth against the Catholic Church were by Saint Peter spoken against these heretics only: so will *these* words of 35
his at last be verified plain upon them, in which he saith that

the judgment “ceaseth not,” but is ready a good while to go against them... and their perdition “sleepeth not,” but waketh and groaneth for them.

But as for that that Tyndale saith, that the clergy, creeping into the seat of Christ and his apostles by succession, do as the wily fox doth, whose nature is to enter into a hole made with another beast: I cannot well perceive what he meaneth by his wily similitude of the wily fox. For since he saith they come into the place by succession... he layeth not any invasion, or intrusion, or other unlawful coming, thereinto. And as for their wiliness in following the wiliness of the fox, whose “nature” is to “get him a hole made with another beast’s labor”—he cannot mean anything to the purpose, that I can perceive... but if he mean to mock the words of our Savior himself, which saith to his apostles themselves, both for themselves and all that should by succession in their office follow them, that they *should* in a manner follow the nature of the fox in that fashion. For he said unto them, “I have sent you to reap that that ye
Jn 4:38 labored not; for other men labored, and ye have entered upon their labors.”

And therefore I cannot divine what mystery Tyndale meaneth by his following of the “wily fox,” whose “nature” is, he saith, to “get him a hole made with another beast’s labor.” Nor I purpose not to lose the time in musing what he may mean thereby, nor to be so curious and inquisitive as to enquire whether peradventure he have found out any such fashion in Saxony, that *their* priests, their friars, and their monks use there in their “marriages” that wily manner of the wily fox. Howbeit, indeed such as come thence... unasked say they do, and commonly can do none other.

Now, where he saith that the clergy do enter for only lucre... he taketh upon him to judge the power of God in judging every man’s mind... but if he think it a sufficient proof that they come thereto for nothing else, because they say not, “Take away the lands and all the fruits from the benefice, or else I will none of it.” As
1 Cor 9:13–14 though the Apostle said not himself that reason would they should have their

living by the altar; yea, and though he counseled them to be content with bare meat and drink and clothing... yet said he

1 Tm 5:17; 6:8

that one of them, doing their duty, is worthy the double that another man is.

“Nay,” saith Tyndale. “For they govern not well, nor do not as Saint Paul saith—sow spiritual things. For they be,” saith Tyndale, “false teachers, and do beguile and lead out of the right way all them that have no love to follow and live after the truth.”

5

Let Tyndale here speak out and tell us *which* truth is that that the people love not to follow and live after... and that therefore God suffereth the clergy to lead them out of the right way far wrong.

10

This “truth” is, good Christian reader, a very false truth... whereof not

Tyndale’s tried “truth”

only the clergy now, but the apostles also themselves, ever clearly taught the

contrary—as that folk should not pray for their fathers’ souls nor do penance for their own sins, nor honor the Blessed Body of

15

Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, nor set by no sacrament else, but call incestuous lechery good and lawful marriage, have holy vows in derision... and in despite of Matrimony and vowed chastity both, to pollute them both at once, “wed” friars and nuns together.

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Lo, these things and such others are the sure, tried “truths,” ye wot well, that Tyndale would have the people believe and “live after,” and the “spiritual” things which he complaineth that the clergy will not preach. Which spiritual seed because they will not sow... he would they should reap none of our carnal corn... nor not only be reckoned unworthy to receive, as Saint Paul saith, the double advantage that another man should, but also to receive so much, by Tyndale’s will, as another man’s old clouted shoes. And yet the mark that we spoke of, of the old holy doctors and saints, marketh him from the Church for a plain heretic in these pestilent points too. And that they all so do... he knoweth himself so well that I think, as shameless as he is, he will not, for very shame, say nay. But now runneth he forth and railleth on further, thus...

25

30

Tyndale

And in like manner have they corrupted the Scripture, and blinded the right way, with their own constitutions, with traditions of dumb ceremonies, with the taking away the *significations*

35

of the sacraments to make us believe the *work* of the sacraments,
first, whereby they might the better believe in works of their own
setting up afterward...

More

Now would I that Tyndale should here have rehearsed with *what* 5
“constitutions” of their own the Church hath ”corrupted the Scripture”
and “blinded the right way.” Howbeit, he may say that I am
to blame to bid him rehearse them again, he hath rehearsed them so
often already; as ordering that men should have Matins and Mass,
and keep the Sunday and some other holy days, and that they should 10
be bound to keep fasting days, and namely, as Tyndale’s fellow
Brightwell saith (whom some folk call Frith), the “foolish fast” of the
Lent... whereby there is taken away the evangelical liberty that folk
may not eat flesh on Good Friday for compassion of Christ’s Passion.

And with this ordinance be they wondrously wroth... as though the 15
Church ordained that folk should destroy themselves with forbearing
their meat... and kill themselves with abstinence. And yet are the
laws of the Church mitigated and made easy with exceptions and
liberties almost more than enough... providing for sick men,
children, old men, laborers, pilgrims, nurses, women with child, 20
and poor folk, and well near as far as men might go... but if these
heretics be angry that the Church had not provided for gorbellied
gluttons too, that they might cast in and cast up gorge upon gorge,
and with a full belly, before they be ahungred, pamper in their
paunches afresh. 25

And yet in this point too, the mark that I spoke of, of the old
holy saints, doth mark these men for heretics. For these ordinances
are not begun by the clergy that now is, nor by the clergy
of this eight hundred years past... but hath been begun and continually
kept and observed from above a thousand years... yea, 30
fourteen hundred years—yea, from the days of the apostles themselves...
and began also *by* themselves, as it not only doth appear plainly
by other authentic writing, but verily well also by the very
Scripture itself, as I partly have already showed, and partly shall
yet hereafter. 35

Then saith he that “the clergy” hath “blinded the right way” with
“dumb ceremonies.” Yet ask I Tyndale here again, *which* clergy,
and *which* ceremonies? I say that in this point again, the

mark that himself made me find out, the old holy doctors and saints, mark him for a heretic and a liar both.

For it is evident and open that great part of the ceremonies which the Church useth now were of old used, in the time of the eldest of them, and *before* the eldest of them, too... and that such ceremonies came from the apostles themselves. And Tyndale never brought out yet either book, leaf, or line to prove us one word of all his bibble-babble true, that ever the ceremonies that he calleth now “dumb” spoke ever in old time so much as a mum more than they do now. Truth it is that men might then make allegories of them, and so may they now, and so many preachers do, and so doth that good man that made the book of *Rationale divinorum*... with which kind of allegories Tyndale cometh forth in his book of disobedience in such a goodly fashion as it seemeth that but if the priest always tell that tale to the people, he would have the people pull the priest from the altar, and the amice from his head.

But to what purpose he maketh all this brabbling upon “dumb ceremonies” appeareth well upon the next word after, where he saith that “the church” hath taken away “the signification” from the sacraments. Yet I ask Tyndale again, *which* church, and *which* significations? Let us go again to our old mark... and I dare lay a wager with him, he shall find no more significations of the sacraments in the books of the eldest of all the old holy doctors and saints than I shall find him in the books of every age now this two or three hundred years from Easter last past upward, and so forth in the other ages next above that, till he come to the old time of that holy doctor whomsoever himself will allege. And then it well appeareth, pardie, that the clergy that now is hath taken away no significations of the sacraments at all.

We will also demand of Tyndale, since he saith that the clergy hath taken away the significations of the sacraments... whether were those significations that they have taken away necessary to salvation, or not. If they were not... then is there not so great loss of them. And on the other side, if they were so necessary that without the knowledge of them the things that we be commanded to do, and which we may not without disobedience of God leave undone, be become noyous, superstitious, and damnable...

then, since as many such significations as be written in the
 Scripture do remain still and be preached, the *others*—of whose
Acts 5:12 taking away Tyndale complaineth—being
 necessary for salvation to be known... were 5
 never written in Scripture. And then falsifieth himself his own
 doctrine that no such necessary thing was by the apostles left
 unwritten.

If he say that more than have their special significations
 written in Scripture be not necessary: therein will not only the mark
 that we spoke of, of the old holy saints, mark him for a heretic... 10
 but so will the very Scripture, too, by which it appeareth that all the
 seven sacraments were by God given to his church as things by
 God's instruction necessary for man's salvation... in such wise,
 at the leastwise, as the neglecting and contempt of the grace that
 God giveth in them is able to bring the despiser to damnation. 15

But it appeareth clearly what holy purpose Tyndale hath in this
 matter. For he speaketh not so much of the significations for any
 care that he careth for the significations... but only because he
 would have us take the sacraments for nothing else but only
 for the bare signs of some lost significations... and therefore as 20
 things not only naught worth and superfluous, but also superstitious
 and noyous.

And in this wise would he make us ween that for the sacraments
 we were never the better... and that to take them for any other
 thing than a bare token, and to think that the Blessed Sacrament 25
 of the Altar were the very Body and Blood of Christ, or anything
 else than wine and cakebread set up for a bare sign, as a taverner's
 bush or tapster's ale stake, were a very superstitious thing...
 and not only perilous, he saith, for the thing in itself, but also
 because it might hap to be a means to make us believe that the 30
 things which the Church calleth good works were anything
The Church doth teach us how fruitful or meritorious. And which works
to do good works. be those, trow ye? Fasting, and watching
 in prayer, and doing of almsdeeds.

Were it not a perilous thing to believe that such things would 35
 do us good? Being done as the Catholic Church teacheth us to do
 them—to believe that none of them all can get us any reward in
 heaven of the nature of the deed itself, but only because the liberal

goodness of God hath appointed such a reward thereto, through the merits of our Savior's Passion; and that yet we may well fear in all our good deeds such imperfection upon our own part in the doing, that it shall percase have no such reward at all; and for all that fear, hope well and pray therewith, that the goodness of God supply upon his part the due perfection requisite that lacketh upon our part. Is not this doctrine, of such belief and trust in good works, so perilous that, rather than men might be the rather drawn into good works therewith, Tyndale should make us take all the seven sacraments and cast them clean away?—which he saith, in more places than one, be now not only fruitless, but also harmful and perilous. In which point every man marketh well that yet again the mark that we spoke of, the common consent of the old holy doctors and saints, mark this man for a very mischievous heretic. 5 10 15

And ever this the farther he walketh, the deeper is this mark printed in his forehead; that he can never wander so far out of the way but the devil will well enough by that mark perceive him and challenge him for his own. For lo, thus goeth he forth...

Tyndale

... and with false glosses which they have patched to the Scripture in plain places to destroy the literal sense, for to set up a false, feigned sense of allegories when there is none such; and thereby they have stopped up the gates of heaven, the true knowledge of Christ, and have made their own bellies the door. For through their bellies must thou creep, and there leave all thy fat behind thee. 20 25

More

If Tyndale have yet railed enough... glad would I be to have him come once to some reason. For as for his creeping through folks' bellies, whereof he so sore complaineth, I would he had declared how he crept in, and into whose mouth he crept, and by what craft he escaped the teeth for biting, and how long he lay in the belly, and how he got down through the small guts, and in the creeping out, what sticking his face found beneath, and how much grease he left there behind him... and for the belly grease that he left behind him, whether he brought out any gut grease with him. For 30 35

such foolish jesting and railing as he maketh here upon the clergy
might any knave have made upon the apostles in the beginning,
when every man that came into Christendom did give all that ever
he had into their hands, altogether, and kept himself

Acts 4:32—5:11; 6:1 right naught, nor durst not upon pain 5
of death after the vengeance of God fallen
upon Ananias and Sapphira for keeping part of their own aside
for themselves. Then might, lo, some such as Tyndale is now, have
railed and said to any that were willing to come into Christendom,
“Brother, beware of the apostles, for through their bellies must thou 10
creep, and there leave all thy fat behind thee.”

And as it seemeth, some such fellow began to sow such seed of
evil rumor among the people against the apostles even then, and
set some suspicious or inquiet minds upon grudging.

Nor I cannot now so greatly see who is compelled to be at so 15
great cost with the clergy. Such as have of their own make no
great exactions besides, that I hear of. And such as naught have of
their own, yet is no man compelled to give them aught but of his
own devotion and charity... which yet such heretics have in some
places not a little cooled, and in some places utterly quenched, when 20
the people see them so beastly to break their vows and “wed.”

Now, where he saith that the clergy useth to “destroy the literal
sense” of the Scripture with “false,” “feigned” allegories—this is falsely said
of him. For the allegory neither destroyeth nor letteth the literal 25
sense... but the literal sense standeth whole beside.

And where he saith that there is none allegory sense, as Luther
and he say both, and that in more places than one: yet shall our
old mark, of old holy doctors and saints, mark him for a
heretic again. For I am sure he shall not lightly find any of those 30
old but that he used allegories.

Luther and Tyndale would have all allegories and all other senses
taken away, saving the literal sense alone. But God, whose plenteous
Spirit indited the Scripture, foresaw full well himself that
many godly allegories holy men should by his inspiration at divers
times draw out thereof. And sometimes he indited it, and our Savior 35
himself sometimes spoke his words, in such wise that the letter had
none other sense than mysteries and allegories... as commonly all his

parables be, of which he expounded some himself and some he expounded not, but hath left them to be expounded by holy doctors after his death; and some of them hath he helped diverse to expound diversely, as his high wisdom saw that diverse good fruit should follow and ensue thereupon. 5

Sometimes, also, though the literal sense be full good... yet doth God give the grace to some man to find out a further thing therein. Which sense God, that indited the letter, did when he made it foresee, and more did set thereby than by the sense that immediately riseth upon the letter... which letter his high wisdom so tempered for the nonce that such other sense might be perceived therein, and drawn out thereof, by such as himself had determined to give the grace to find it. 10

Dt 25:4 And for example, our Lord saith in the Book of Deuteronomy, “Thou shall not bind the mouth of the ox as he goeth in the flour and thresheth the corn.” The very letter is of itself good... and teacheth men a certain reason and justice: to deal well and justly even with the very beasts that labor with them... and to abhor without good cause either to pine them or pain them. Now, though this sentence be good, and the Jews were bound by the letter of the law to order themselves in that wise toward their oxen... seeing no further therein, nor some so far neither, peradventure: yet did the Apostle find out another, secret sense therein... and that sense such as in respect thereof he set the other at naught... and showed that God meant thereby that the priest, which laboreth spiritually in his office, must have his temporal living therefor. And to prove that the Spirit of God 15

1 Cor 9:9–12 intended this sense and understanding therein... he saith, “Careth God aught for the oxen?”—as though he would say nay. And yet indeed God careth and provideth for the living of every living thing. For it is written 20

Ps 147:9 in the psalm that God giveth the meat to the beasts and to the young birds of the crows that call upon him. And our Savior saith himself, 25

Mt 6:26 “Look ye upon the birds of the air; they neither sow nor spin... and yet your Father that is in heaven feedeth them.” 35

And thus it appeareth that God careth for the feeding of all that ever he hath made.

But yet saw Saint Paul that God so much cared for the priest's living *above* that he careth for the ox's living... that in respect of the one compared with the other, God cared not for the ox at all... but would we should understand thereby that we should in any wise provide that the priest which laboreth with us in spiritual business should have of us his temporal living. And I ween Tyndale is even angry with Saint Paul for that exposition. 5

Now are there many other texts in the Old Law which in like wise receive like exposition, by goodly and fruitful allegories, as in the old holy saints' books appeareth. All which will Tyndale here have wiped out in any wise, and will have none allegories at all. 10

Holy Saint Jerome expoundeth by an allegory the text of Scripture *1 Kgs 1:1-4* that the holy prophet David, by the counsel of his physicians, when he waxed very cold for age, took to wife besides all his other wives the fairest young maiden that could be found in all the country about, to do him pleasure in his presence by day, and lie in his arms and keep him warm a-nights. This text was true indeed. And yet doth that holy doctor Saint Jerome, in all that ever he can, draw from the consideration of the letter to the looking upon the allegory. For be the words of the text never so true... yet thought, as it seemeth, that blessed, holy saint that God caused that story to be written in the Scripture rather for the fruit that folk shall take by some good, wholesome allegory that God would into some man inspire thereupon, than to make us muse and study and devise upon the only example of King David's deed, whereby some old husband would learn to let his old wife lie, and take cold in, a bed alone, and himself take a young, pretty prim to bed to keep his back warm, for physic. 15
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Finally, I dare well say that the allegories written upon the text of Holy Scripture be very fruitful, whatsoever Tyndale say... and else would God never have suffered so many blessed, holy men bestow so much time about them... but that himself both foresaw the fruit and devised those texts in such wise also that 35

through good folks' labor, with the sweet warmth of his own inspiration, such wholesome fruit should plenteously spring thereof.

Go me now through all these points again, that Tyndale hath under the name of "the clergy" laid against the Catholic Church—"creeping up" into the apostles' place, respect of lucre, leading in a wrong way, beguiling the people, making of constitutions, using of ceremonies, taking away the significations of sacraments, and making of false glosses—and ye shall find, good Christian readers, of all these faults that they falsely lay to our charge, their own bosoms full. 5 10

For their archheretics account themselves for the preachers, and challenge the apostles' place, not by succession but by invasion. For they go and preach and be not sent... and though pride prick them forth with liberty to lechery, yet not without lucre neither. For some one of them, putting out his fellows such as will be religious and continue chaste, keepeth all their living alone, saving for a harlot taken unto him to be called his wife, and get up a convent of bastards between them; and then they beguile the people with their false preaching, and lead them a very wrong way except the straight way to hell be the right way to heaven. 15 20

Now, as for constitutions, whereof they would have none among us—themselves have been fain in some cities of Almaine, as lately as they be begun, to make more constitutions and more burdensome to the people, more grievous and more sore, to keep up their heresies with, than the Church hath made in many years to keep up the true Christian faith. 25

Ceremonies, also, which among us they mock and call them "dumb"—Martin Luther himself, Tyndale's great master, after that he had left them off, was by the proof and experience driven little and little to take them, almost every one, up again... saving fasting, lo. For that ceremony Friar Luther will none in no wise, lest it should enfeeble his flesh and let him from begetting of children, and hinder his harlot of teeming. 30

Now, touching the sacraments, whereof they say the Church hath taken away the significations—these heretics take from them all the thing which they chiefly signify: that is to say, the grace 35

invisible that God giveth with them, and whereof he maketh them an effectual token and instrument.

And over this, of the seven they take away five quite, and leave the other twain fruitless... and from the one take they the sweet kernel within—the Blessed Body of Christ—and leave the people the shells. 5

Then as for trust in works... the Catholic Church scanty teacheth so bold trust in abstinence, almsdeed, prayer, and chastity, as their archheretics teach in gluttony, despoiling of churches, despite of all hallows, and in religious lechery. 10

Finally, for making of false glosses... themselves do much more than that. For they, where they list, boldly deny the text... and will take for Scripture but what they list themselves. For so reject they divers parts which the whole Catholic Church doth receive; and so might they by the same reason reject the remnant too, and so they will, I ween, at last, and some have done already. 15

And then as for false glosses, they make themselves the worst that ever were wrought. As Luther, to make men ween that matrimony were no sacrament—whereas the King's Highness, as a most erudite prince and a most faithful king, in his most famous book, among many other great authorities and reasons, pressed him sore with that 20

Eph 5:32 that the glorious apostle Saint Paul calleth it a great sacrament himself— Luther, I say, letteth not in this wise to gloss Saint Paul's words and say that Saint Paul peradventure said it of his own head. 25

Is not there a hammerhead more meet to make horseshoes in hell than to construe the Scripture in earth, that is so hard as to make such glosses to that glorious apostle's words? Wherein whoso list to follow Tyndale may set at short *all* that the Apostle teacheth... and say he said that but of his own mind, and not according to the mind of God. 30

And yet—since this is Luther's own gloss, and his own answer unto other men—Luther himself, and Tyndale also and all his other disciples, might well and without blasphemy be answered with the same in all the hard places of Saint Paul with their false glossing whereof they would destroy the free will of man and lay the 35

weight of their own sins to the charge of God's inevitable
prescience and their own inevitable destiny.

<i>Mt 6:1-4; 10:42; 25:31-46</i>	Now, what false glosses be they fain to	
<i>Lk 11:41</i>	find against good works, to corrupt	
<i>Eph 6:8</i>	a hundred plain places of Holy Scripture	5
<i>Heb 13:16</i>	by which they be clearly declared	
<i>1 Pt 3:1-2, 6, 10-12</i>	for things specially pleasing to God,	
<i>Rv 2:5; 14:13; 22:12</i>	and through the means of his goodness	
<i>2 Cor 5:10</i>	highly rewardable in heaven and meritorious!	
<i>Ps 76:12</i>	What false glosses be they	10
<i>1 Tm 5:9-12</i>	fain to find against holy vows of chastity, to corrupt so many plain	
	places of Scripture as utterly condemn to the devil their foul, filthy "weddings" and incestuous lechery!	
	Finally, feign they not false glosses to corrupt the Gospel, and drive God out of Christendom, when they would expel Christ out of the Sacrament of the Altar? What care they how they gloss the Apostle, when they care not how shameless they show themselves in setting so false and foolish glosses to the plain, open words of our Savior Christ himself?	15
<i>Mt 26:26</i>	For where he said of the Blessed Sacrament, "This is my body," Martin Luther, Tyndale's old master, glosseth it thus: "This is bread and my body."	20
	Then Friar Huessgen and Zwingli, Tyndale's two new masters, declining from ill to worse... gloss it in this fashion: "'This is my body' is as much to say as 'This signifieth my body.'" And so make they Christ to declare himself as though he would tell us thus: "I said indeed that this <i>is</i> my body, and so I made mine apostles ween, and so have I made all good men believe this fifteen hundred years... but all this while have I had no lust to tell my church the truth, because there were so many good men in it that would not upon trust of faith alone forbear from all good works, but were very busy with them by reason of their wrong understanding of the Scripture... which I liked not to declare plainly to them, because so many of them did vow chastity and kept it. But now that I have found another manner sort of holy men, that have vowed chastity	25
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and break their vow, and will do no such good works as might
 make them trust upon any reward in heaven, nor forbear any
 evil works wherewith they should walk to hell... but live at liberty,
 and do what they list, and believe as they list, and look to leap
 straight to heaven by the promise that I never made them: to them 5
 have I therefore now showed even the very bottom of my stomach...
 and not, yet, all at once... but first I told Luther and his sect that in the
 Sacrament was both my very body and very bread therewith, because
 they should not eat flesh without bread, for fear of breeding
 worms in the babes' bellies. But now soon after, since, I told to 10
 Friar Huessgen and Zwingli, and bade them tell it out unto
 Tyndale, that whereas I said 'This *is* my body' and 'This *is* my
 blood,' I meant no more but that it *signifieth* my body and my
 blood, and is nothing else indeed but even a cup of very wine and
 therewith good cakebread, alone... but if it be, as Tyndale doubteth, 15
 with overmuch watering turned from bread to starch."

These goodly glosses, lo, do these heretics make, and these blasphemous
 follies they preach unto the people, as boldly and as
 solemnly as though they had heard them in heaven, and learned
 them of God's own mouth; and would seem to be sent from heaven 20
 instead of Christ's apostles and of our Savior himself; and with
 jesting, mocking, and scoffing ween to rail out every man's
 reason save their own. For thus, lo, with his similitude of the
 scribes and Pharisees and synagogue of the Jews, Tyndale raileth on
 against the priests and the clergy, and the whole Catholic church 25
 of Christ...

Tyndale

And such blind reasons as ours make against us, made they
 against Christ, saying, "Abraham is our father; we be Moses'
 disciples; how knoweth *he* the understanding of the Scripture?— 30
 he never learned of any of us! Only the accursed unlearned people that
 know not the Scripture believe in him; look whether any of the
 rulers or Pharisees do believe in him."

More

Tyndale, as he before hath, hitherto, likened the Catholic church 35
 of all Christian people unto the synagogue of the Jews... and the

scribes and Pharisees that were then, unto the preachers and the clergy that are now—so doth he now creep a little farther, and resembleth himself and such other heretics, his fellows, unto the person of our Savior himself... and saith the reasons which we now make against him and his fellows are such “blind reasons” as the Jews made against Christ. For answer whereof, this dare I boldly say: that as sick and as feeble as the synagogue then was to which he resembleth us, and as far as they then were walked out of the way, and as evil as then the scribes were, and as false as then were the Pharisees to whom he resembleth all the whole clergy now, without any one man except—yet if our Savior Christ, to whom he resembleth himself, had then had no more to say for himself than Tyndale and his fellows have now to say for themselves, he had, I promise you, been *very* sorely opposed, and that even by the very Scripture itself, and by Christ’s own doctrine, too.

For if Tyndale and his fellows had been there then themselves, and our Savior and his apostles away... when he with his fellows would have rebuked the Jews and have reprovèd their living, they should have found in Tyndale and his fellows faults enough, so great and so sightly, that they might have said unto them very well, “Take the beams out of your own eyes, ye hypocrites, ere ye go about to take the motes out of other men’s.” For neither had Tyndale nor any fellow of his been able to say as Christ said: “Which of you can reprove me of sin?” And when they would find faults that were none... then so to have answered them further and confute them as Christ did.

For unto Tyndale, if he had reprovèd the scribes’ and the Pharisees’ doctrine, and showed that they both taught evil for good and reprovèd as evil some things that were not evil, and some things also that were indeed good—when he would have proved them this by Scripture, they would peradventure have stuck with him upon the right understanding of the Scripture. Wherein if he would have looked to have been better to be believed than they... methinketh that before right reasonable folk, he should have had a hard part to defend... saving only for one thing if he could and would have laid it against them. And that is if he would have said and could

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have proved to them that the good, holy Jews of old time before them, in sundry ages, had expounded the scriptures after his preaching and contrary unto theirs. This point would, I promise you, sorely have appalled them.

But then will this point as sore appall Tyndale in this debate between him and us, because all the old holy saints from Christ's time to ours have ever expounded the scriptures, in the necessary points of faith, as the Church now doth, contrary to Tyndale and all the whole rabble of all the sects of heretics. 5

But, now, forasmuch as I am not sure whether Tyndale would so say to the Jews or not—let us therefore hardily take Tyndale thence again... and let our Savior Christ alone with them... and see whether he have any better answers to make the Jews there than Tyndale hath here to make us. 10

Christ, if they would look to be better believed in the construction of the Scripture than he, and would ask him of whom he learned it, since he learned it not of them... could well tell them, and well prove them, that himself alone ought more to be believed therein than they all together. For he could show them that all those scriptures from Moses downward did all prophesy of him, and that he should 15

Dt 18:15–19 be the teacher of them, and the chief prophet, and the truest preacher; and that therefore Moses had commanded them to hear him... and a *Mt 17:5* greater than Moses, the Father of heaven *Mt 3:16–17* himself, had commanded them to hear him; and that the Spirit of God had 20

lighted upon him in witness thereof, and that he was himself God's own Son, and with his Father and his Holy Spirit one God himself and equal. And to make them the better perceive it... he could do and would do, and indeed so did he, such deeds in their own sight, as well by his own power and of his own authority as by the invocation of his Father—such deeds, I say, as none could do but God. 25

All this, lo, could Christ for himself answer unto the “blind reasons” that the Jews made unto him. 30

And now let Tyndale in like wise, with help of all his fellows, answer the same things for himself to our “blind reasons” that 35

we make against him, and then make his answers good—that is to wit, prove them true—and then will we give him good leave to put out all our eyes and make us all blind indeed.

But Tyndale cannot go that way, but will lead us a little out of our way... and speak against the whole Catholic Church, and then turn it to the clergy alone, and sometimes to the pope alone. And he will speak against the faith of the Church now, and make us forget that all the old holy saints from Christ unto our days both taught and believed the same, and all the Christian people besides. And thus, neither having the things to lay against the faith of the Catholic Church that were well laid against the synagogue of the Jews, nor having no such defense for himself as had our Savior for himself, to whom he would be resembled: he windeth himself so wilily this way and that way, and so shifteth in and out, and with his subtle shifting he so bleareth our eyes, that he maketh us in manner as stark-blind as a cat... and so amazeth us in the matter that we can no more see whereabouts he walketh than if he went visible before us all naked in a net.

And yet, I promise you, either is my brain stark-blind indeed or else doth Tyndale play Blind Hob about the house. For he falleth suddenly upon a conclusion... toward the proof whereof, as far as I can spy, he hath nothing touched. And yet by the words of his conclusion he leaveth us in like doubt as he did before. For lo, as though he had before well and plainly proved it... in this wise he suddenly concludeth, with as many doubts as words...

Tyndale

Wherefore, the Scripture truly understood, after the plain places and general articles of the faith which thou findest in the Scripture, and the examples that are gone before... will always testify who is the right church.

More

Who heard ever such another “wherefore”? Whereupon doth his “wherefore” depend? Hath he anything said yet whereupon it must follow that the Scripture and the articles of the faith, with examples “gone before,” do teach us which is now *the* church? He that seeth it, let him say it; for surely I see it not.

And yet are also these words in themselves so blind that if he said true, standing yet of all these marks almost every word between these heretics and us in question, debate, and controversy... till he make us those questions more clear, either they or we be still as blind as we were, and still feel and fumble about to find out “the church” as we did. For first, where he said “the Scripture truly understood”—have they not brought that point in question? And then how meaneth he now “truly” understood—as the Church understandeth it, or as heretics? And yet are not he and we well agreed upon that point neither; but likewise as that we call “truly,” he calleth “falsely”... so, look, whom we call “heretics,” he calleth “the church,” and whom we call “the church,” he calleth “heretics.”

“After the plain places”—which be those, and to whom plain? The places that the one part calleth plain, the other calleth crooked; and those that the one calleth dark, the other calleth open and plain. And that place that the one saith is plain for one thing, the other saith is plain for the clean contrary.

The “general articles of the faith”—which be those? For he wotteth well that they and we be not yet agreed upon them. For we believe matrimony is a sacrament; Tyndale saith he can himself make such another sacrament of a net or a key. We believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very body and blood of Christ; Tyndale saith it is but wine and cakebread. Tyndale believeth it is lawful (if he believe as he saith) that friars may wed nuns; and we believe as all good men have ever believed: that such “marriage” is very unlawful lechery and plain abominable bitchery. What are we, then, the nearer toward the knowledge of “the church” by the articles of the faith, if those articles be brought in as much doubt as “the church”? We seem to have need first to find out well the true church, to be sure of a true teacher to teach us them, because

1 Tm 3:15 Saint Paul saith that “the church” is the “pillar and sure ground of truth.”

“Nay,” saith Tyndale, “it shall not need. For the general articles be those that thou findest in Scripture.” Which “thou”? To whom speaketh he? For that the one party either findeth or weeneth he findeth... the other party saith is not there; and when it is showed, yet he

saith he seeth it not. And when the other telleth him that he is then very blind... the other telleth him again nay, but that, on the other side, *his* sight rather dazeth, and weeneth he seeth that he seeth not, and taketh one thing for twain.

- Acts 8:14–17* For *we* think we find in the Scripture 5
that Confirmation, Holy Orders, and Aneling
1 Tm 4:14 be great and holy sacraments;
Mt 26:26–28; Jn 6:51–58 Tyndale saith we find it not there. We
think we find in very plain Scripture that in the Sacrament of
the Altar is the very Blessed Body of Christ; Tyndale will, if need 10
require, not let, I am sure, to swear that there is nothing there but
cakebread.
- Ps 76:12* We think we find in Scripture that
1 Tm 5:11–12 men are bound to keep their holy
vows, and that friars therefore may not 15
wed nuns; Tyndale will not let to say we lie all, and that so do
all holy saints, too, from Christ’s days hitherto, that ever said so
before. How shall we now agree? What are we now the nearer for
this mark?
- General and special articles* I wot ne’er also what he meaneth by 20
“general articles”; for we call general
articles those that the general church believeth... and special, those
that be believed but of some special folk. If he would take it thus,
this would ease much of the matter.
- But, now, I cannot tell which he calleth general articles. For the 25
general church calleth those “part of the general articles” which
articles Tyndale saith be false and no part of the faith at all.
- Yet where he saith “such general articles as thou findest in the
Scripture,” he must tell us once again which “thou.” For between 30
the Church and his sects it is not fully agreed which books be the
true Scripture. For Friar Barnes saith plainly that Saint James’
epistle is none of his. And Friar Luther saith the same, and setteth not
much thereby though he wist well it were his indeed; and so the
sects take not all for Scripture that the Catholic Church doth.
- Now, where he speaketh of the “examples . . . gone before”... he must both 35

tell us which examples he meaneth and apply those examples also to his present purpose.

And when he hath so done... then shall ye well see that they shall (as all his other marks do), but if we believe the common-known Catholic church, show else no certainty of any church at all... but one church to one sort, and another church to another, and finally as many sundry churches as there be sundry sects of heretics. And since not only no sect agreeth with other, but almost no man among them all with other: all Tyndale's marks be so diverse to so many that they must needs show almost as many diverse churches as there are gone out of the known Catholic church not only diverse sects, but also diverse men. 5 10

And against this hath Tyndale none evasion that can well serve him... but only one. And that is if he say that he meaneth all his doubtful words to be expounded by himself: that is to say, that he meaneth by "Scripture well understood" the Scripture so understood as himself understandeth it... and by "plain places" those places that he calleth plain himself... and by "general articles" those articles that he calleth general himself; and that he calleth "found in Scripture" all those articles, and only those, that he saith he findeth there himself... and "examples before-gone" those examples only that himself list to assign, and so applied as himself list to apply them. 15 20

And surely if he mean thus... this will soon set an end in the matter, and shortly cease all the strife, if all folk agree to follow him; and else be we still yet at as great strife as we were before. 25

And yet, if he so mean, what needeth he so long process? For then amounteth all his tale to no more but as though he might say, "Will ye know which is the very church? Surely the very church is even whichsoever church myself list to tell you." And this were, ye wot well, soon and shortly said, and were a very godly conclusion. 30

But now goeth he further, after the fashion of an old English ballad that beginneth, "The further I go, the more behind." For now, in dilating and declaring of his conclusion, he addeth one thing, 35

More

Lo, good Christian readers, here hath Tyndale once again told us out at length the tale that he told us before of the synagogue, the Jews, the scribes, and the Pharisees, that were (as he saith) all waxen naught... and that therefore was sent Saint John the Baptist to convert them to the faith of the old fathers. And so he saith that himself and his fellows depart from the Catholic Church, which he calleth the pope's disciples, as from folk fallen from the faith and living of Christ and his apostles. And he saith that they therefore go from the Catholic Church unto the "true scripture," and unto the faith and living thereof, and do rebuke the Catholic Church and the clergy thereof, in like manner as Saint John the Baptist did rebuke the synagogue and the scribes and the Pharisees. And therefore he concludeth that likewise as the known Catholic church is departed (as he saith) from the true church, and therefore is a church of heretics: even so, himself and his fellows, because they depart from the Catholic Church, which he saith be heretics, are the very, true church. And then showeth he certain marks by which every man may well perceive that they be so. And thus finisheth he this chapter of his solution unto the first reason. Which reason proveth that himself and his fellows could *not* be the very church, because they go *out* thereof... but that the very church is always that company that still remaineth *in* it; contrary to which reason, his solution here concludeth either that they which be gone out be the *church*, and they that abide be the heretics, or else that the known Catholic church is gone first out, and therefore heretics... and then these that *we* call heretics be gone out of the known Catholic church in such wise that they be the very church.

And therefore, since he hath first brought his process to a blind conclusion, and then hath at last declared his conclusion thus, and hath finally brought all unto this pass in the end: let us a little examine his words and consider them well... and ye shall, I warrant you, very well perceive that when his words be well sifted, men shall find little fine flour in them, but all very musty bran not worthy so much as to feed either horses or hogs.

First, as touching the great part of his tale—his resembling of the Catholic Church to the synagogue, and the clergy to the

scribes and the Pharisees—I have answered him a little before, and also to the likening of himself and his fellows to Christ and his apostles. And there I showed upon all parts some such differences between them that I even there have sufficiently turned over all Tyndale's tale against his own purpose, as every man may see that list to turn a few leaves back and look thereon. 5

Now, since he goeth again upon that matter with Saint John the Baptist... he must first prove us that the Catholic Church that now is hath lost the faith of Christ. Whereof I have showed him the contrary, but if that he prove that all the old holy doctors and saints had lost it too. For the known Catholic church have still the belief of the same necessary articles that the old holy saints of every age agreed and consented in, against the sects of these heretics. Which is, as I have showed, the very cause wherefore these heretics cannot bear their honor. And then must Tyndale not only jest and rail upon the Church that now is, but upon all the Church that hath been this fifteen hundred years before. 10 15

Let us now come, then, to this new Saint John the Baptist; that is, to this new prophet whom God hath now sent at last to call the world to the right belief and the right living again: that is to say, Saint Luther, the foregoer of these new Christs, that is to wit, holy Huessgen and holy Zwingli, and such others. 20

I wot well when Saint John the Baptist came, he was prophesied of before, because the people should by these prophecies know him and give the better ear unto him. And now, the world being farther out of frame, and far longer walked wrong, than they were at the coming of Saint John... God would of likelihood, when he would send this new Baptist, Saint Luther, give the world warning before his coming, that his doctrine might be the better liked by that his person were by prophecy foreknown and marked. For else were there great peril lest the people that had through false doctrine so long been led awry, believing always to be saved well enough with such dissolute living as the world had through false doctrine continued so many hundred years together... were not now suddenly likely to give ear to the sore and strait and hard 25 30 35

doctrine of such a holy, spiritual man as holy Friar Luther is—so fully fastened all upon the spirit, and so far abhorring from all fleshly works, that he would never have wedded the nun, nor once have laid his spiritual hands upon her fleshly face, had he not first felt and found her, from the toe to the chin, turned all into fish. 5

And therefore if this young Saint John the Baptist—the foregoer of these new Christs, and all their new apostles, now sent by God... in so great a message, and for so great a purpose... likely to find the world so full of fleshly folk that such a spiritual man must needs find much resistance—surely God caused him to be prophesied of as the other, old Saint John the Baptist was. 10

And therefore... if Tyndale will have Luther taken now for a new Saint John... as of the old Saint John it was of old prophesied by the mouth of Isaiah that he should be a “voice crying in *Is 40:3* desert, ‘Make ready the way of our Lord; make straight the paths of our God in wilderness,’” so must Tyndale now tell us by what old prophet God hath prophesied that he would in the latter days, when the faith were sore decayed and charity greatly cooled, rear up a friar that should wed a nun, and from a harlot’s bed step up into the pulpit and preach. For but if he prove his authority the better, either by prophecy or by marvelous miracle... it will be long, of likelihood, ere ever any wise man ween that God would ever send any such abominable beast to turn the world to the right way and make a perfect people. 15 20 25

Now, where Tyndale saith, to make up his matter with, in this wise—“We depart from them unto the true scripture, and unto the faith and living thereof, and rebuke them”—in like manner he bringeth forth now for his part another manner thing indeed than ever he spoke of yet. For he said within three lines before, that *we* have the scripture of Christ and his apostles, and are, for all that, fallen from the faith and living of them, and are become heretics, and therefore have need of John the Baptist to convert us. Now, since we have, as Tyndale himself here confesseth us to have, the scripture of “Christ and his apostles”: whither will Tyndale go from us to seek the “true” scripture? Taketh he the scripture of Christ and his apostles for a 30 35

false scripture? He will of likelihood leave the Christian countries and the scriptures of Christ, and get him into Turkey and take him to Muhammad's Koran, and call *that* the true scripture! Or else hath Luther and he some other scripture in close, which he calleth here the true scripture.

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And surely so it seemeth they have. For I am very sure that by *our* scripture, which himself here confesseth for the scripture of Christ and his apostles, he shall never while he liveth be able to prove Friar Luther's lechery any good, lawful matrimony.

And where he saith he goeth from us to "the faith and living thereof"... he must needs mean some faith and living that is allowed by that same "true" scripture that he speaketh of... that is, as it seemeth by his words, none of Christ's scripture nor of his apostles'. And therefore, whensoever he lust hereafter to leave off our scriptures (that is, as he confesseth, the scripture of Christ and his apostles), and meddle no more with them, as it were well done he did not—and once, I ween, he will not indeed... but will for their false faith and filthy living lay forth some new scripture of their own, to which he saith they go now, and which he calleth the "true" scripture—we will then ask him whereby he can prove their newfound scripture more true than the scripture of Christ and his apostles, which himself confesseth to be with the Catholic Church... and which, as it hath always been therewith, so shall always remain therewith after Tyndale, and all that ever will, walk out thereof to seek themselves some new.

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Then saith he farther, "[and we] rebuke them in like manner"; that is to say that Saint Luther, Saint Hutchins, Saint Huessgen, and Saint Zwingli in like wise rebuke the Catholic Church as Saint John the Baptist rebuked the synagogue of the Jews.

But now must Tyndale remember, first, that though we were all as well worthy to be rebuked as ever was any of them... not for our living only, but for our belief also: yet were not these beasts such men as it might so well become in like manner to rebuke us as it might Saint John the Baptist to rebuke the Jews—both for that he was a holy man and faultless, and therefore meet to find and rebuke faults... and also because he was specially sent by God to rebuke faults; whereas these men be faulty and filthy themselves,

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and therefore unmeet to rebuke other men's faults... nor be not sent
 by God about the amending of men's belief or living, but specially
 sent by the devil to mar men's faith and all good living
 too, both with their false, poisoned heresies and with the example of
 their bold, open, defended lechery, so horrible and abominable 5
 before the face of God, whose holy sacrament of wedlock they
 defoul shamefully with their vow-breaking bitchery, that never was
 there beastly wretch before their miserable days so shameless yet,
 that ever durst for shame be seen to attempt the like.

And besides this, these folk rebuke us *not* in like manner. For Saint 10
 John the Baptist rebuked the vices of the Jews not with words only,
 but especially with the example of his own virtuous living; whereas
Mt 3:1-12; Lk 7:24-28 these rebukers of our living live themselves
 at the leastwise as evil as we.

Saint John also preached penance for sin... but these fellows 15
 keep still their own sins themselves, and call them virtue, and
 avow the break of their vow for well done, and their lechery for
 matrimony, and call evil good and good evil, white black and
 black white... and teach men to contemn penance, and make men
 abhor confession and think that little sorrow sufficeth, and satisfaction 20
 too, need none at all, but great sin to go about it.

This was not Saint John's manner.

Saint John showed another manner of penance, exhorting to
 confession and hearty contrition. And how a penitent should live 25
 he declared in his living—not that he so needed, but to teach with
 his deed that he preached with his word.

Saint John therefore lived in desert, and fasted and fared hard,
 and lay hard, and watched and prayed. These folk live in
 great towns, and fare well and fast not, no, not so much as the
Three golden Fridays three golden Fridays—that is to wit, the 30
 Friday next after Palm Sunday, and
 the Friday next before Easter Day, and Good Friday—but will eat
 flesh upon all three, and utterly love no Lenten fast nor lightly no
 fast else... saving *breakfast*, and eat fast, and drink fast, and
 sleep fast, and lusk fast in their lechery, and then come forth and 35
 rail fast. This was not the manner of rebuking that Saint John used.

And therefore Tyndale saith untrue when he saith they rebuke us after the same manner that Saint John did the Jews.

But now knitteth Tyndale all the matter up... and shortly showeth in the end of this chapter, even in a few words, the thing that he hath made us gape after all this while, since the beginning of his whole book: that is to wit, which is the very church. For lo, sir, thus he saith... 5

Tyndale

And as they which depart from the faith of the true church are heretics... even so, they which depart from the church of heretics and false, feigned faith of hypocrites, are the true church. . . . 10

More

Lo, good Christian readers, after long work, at last Tyndale hath here in few words showed you which is the very, true church: that is to say, as many as depart out of the church of heretics. 15

But hath not Tyndale now brought us even into the same doubt again? Hath not all our question been, all this while, “Which is the true church?” In which question is evermore included this question—“Which be heretics?”—considering that the question is asked for none other cause than only to know which be the heretics, that are the counterfeited churches. 20

And now giveth Tyndale such a counsel as if one that could no good skill of money, and were set to be a receiver, would ask him counsel how he should do to be sure always to take good money... and Tyndale would advise him to see well that he took no bad. And then if he said again, “Yea, M. Tyndale, but I pray you teach me, then, how I may be sure that I take no bad”... “Marry,” would Tyndale say again, “for that shall I teach thee a way sure enough, that never shall deceive thee if thou do as I bid thee.” “What is that, I pray you?” “Marry, look in any wise that thou take none but good.” 25 30

Such a good lesson, lo, did the tiler teach the maid, how she should bear home water in a sieve and spill never a drop. And when she brought the sieve to the water, to him, to learn it... he bade her do no more but ere ever she put in the water, stop fast all the holes. 35

And then the maid laughed and said that she could yet teach him a thing that a man of his craft had more need to learn. For she could teach him how he should never fall, climbed he never so high, although men took away the ladder from him. And when he longed to learn that point to save his neck with... she bade him do no more but ever see surely to one thing: that is to wit, that for any haste, he never come down faster than he went up. Now, such a good, sure lesson Tyndale teacheth us here. For now, to make us sure always which is *the* church, he telleth us that they be *the* church that “come from heretics”; whereas, the very, true church standing in question, “heretics”—that is to say, the counterfeit, false church—must needs stand in the like question, and be as doubtful as the other. And therefore hath Tyndale in this tale so assoiled all the doubt that he hath left all even in like doubt still. 5 10

Now if Tyndale will say that he hath already well and sufficiently showed who be heretics, in that he hath showed which was *once* the right church—that is to wit, Christ and his apostles—and that the Catholic Church that now is, is fallen from the faith and belief of that church that then was, and so be they the heretics; and therefore the church that was, showeth the heretics that be; that is to say, the church of Christ and his apostles, that was the church well known, do show the Catholic Church, that now is, for well-known heretics; and therefore Tyndale and Luther, and all their fellows, since they be a company well known to have gone out and left, for hatred of their false faith and heresies, this known Catholic church of heretics... it must needs follow that Luther and Tyndale, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, and their company, be the very church; and so this question surely assoiled by Tyndale, and openly and plainly, without any such doubt remaining therein as is spoken of before; and the tiler needeth not now to look to his feet at all—he cannot fall though he would... 15 20 25 30

Consider now, good reader, that if Tyndale make this answer (for as for other that he might make, as help me God, if I saw it I would myself make it for him as effectually as I could)—but as I say, if he make this—consider well, then, that the whole effect and pith of this answer is nothing else but that the known Catholic church, from which Tyndale confesseth himself that they 35

be gone as from heretics, and which known Catholic church *we* call the *true* church, be fallen from the true faith of Christ and his apostles, and be by that means become heretics.

And in this point though Tyndale, to blear our eyes with, use divers ways to draw our minds from the very point of the matter... and, to flatter the temporalty, turneth all his tale and his railing words against the clergy—yet in very deed, the whole body of the Church is the thing that he heweth at, and that he calleth the heretics. For of spiritualty and temporalty all is one faith; and of the whole Catholic Church hath from the beginning ever been our matter. 5 10

Then consider, I say, now, that where he saith that the Catholic Church now is fallen from the faith of the old church, of Christ and his apostles—we cannot deny but that Tyndale so saith. But then see we well, and so we say again and say therein very true, that when Tyndale so saith, he lieth. 15

For ye see yourselves that Tyndale proveth this tale but by his bare word in that we believe not as he doth—that good works are naught worth, and that the sacraments be graceless and but bare signs and tokens (and yet not so much neither, by Tyndale’s tale, but only “dumb ceremonies” that neither say nor signify), and that men do wrong to worship the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, and that there is nothing therein but very bare bread and wine, or starch instead of bread; and that friars may well wed nuns; and such other goodly things like. Which false articles to be true, he neither hath proved nor can prove while he liveth, nor all the heretics in this world, nor yet all the devils in hell. 20 25

Now have we well proved you that in all such points we have the selfsame faith that Christ and his apostles had and taught. And in these points we prove that the scriptures of them be on our part. And yet say we also that we be sure thereof by that that Christ and his apostles did deliver us these things by mouth besides the writing... by which we should also have been sure thereof although they never had been written... as we be by that means sure of some other things that were left unwritten, and only delivered by Christ to his apostles, and by his apostles to the 30 35

Church, and therein perpetually kept by the Spirit of God that
Jn 16:13 Christ, according to his promise, sent
 unto his church to lead it into all truth—
 and by his own perpetual assistance and presence with his church
Mt 28:20 forever, as himself promised also. Of 5
 which things well known and yet
 unwritten is, for example one, that we be bound to believe the
 perpetual virginity of our Lady; wherewith I have troubled Tyndale
 once or twice herebefore; and himself, while he labored to wind
 out, hath so enmeshed and entangled himself therein that he hath 10
 in the handling of that one matter alone utterly destroyed the
 foundation of all the heresies that they have in all their whole
 Ragman's roll.

Another example of the traditions without writing may be
 the putting of the water into the wine at the Mass... wherewith the 15
 King's noble Grace in such wise handled Luther that in answering
 thereunto, Luther fareth as one that were fallen frantic, and saith
 now this, now that, and wotteth not where he may hold him; but
 saith sometimes that the water may be left out or put in as the
 Church list to order... and then again he saith that it ought to 20
 be left out and not put in, forasmuch as it hath (saith he) an
 evil signification... that is to wit, that the pure Scripture is mingled
 and watered with men's traditions... and therefore they should, he
 saith, sing Mass and consecrate with only wine alone; and so by
 likelihood they do, therefore, such friars as wed nuns. 25

But holy Saint Cyprian, that blessed bishop and very glorious
 martyr... and a man one of the best learned that ever wrote in Christ's
Christ at the Consecration Catholic Church, writeth plainly, thirteen
put water into the wine. hundred years before Luther was born,
 that the water must needs in, and that 30
 Christ put water into it at his own Maundy, when he consecrated
 and ordained it himself.

And this blessed saint Cyprian thought himself bound
 both so to believe and to teach upon the traditions of
 the apostles beside their writings. 35

Thus writeth Saint Cyprian contrary to Luther's doctrine clear.

But I can let no man to believe now whither of them both they list. Howbeit, I see not greatly why Luther should be better believed than he, but if it be because Saint Cyprian would not wed, and Luther hath wedded a nun.

But, as I began to say, remember, good reader, that whereas *we* say that in the great variance of our faiths—the faith, I say, of the Catholic Church and the faith which these heretics profess to the contrary—we prove *our* faith by the scriptures; and they say nay, and affirm that *they* prove *theirs* by the scriptures, whereunto we say nay: all the question, for the more part, riseth, or hath at the leastwise ever hitherto risen, not upon the scripture itself, but upon the construction thereof; that is to say, not whether the words *were* Holy Scripture or no, that were for Scripture alleged, but what was of that scripture the true sense and right understanding.

For as for which was holy and authentic Scripture and which not, we have been a great while very well agreed... saving that Luther of late, and Friar Barnes after him, would fain put out Saint James' epistle, and saith it hath no smack of any apostolic spirit, because it saith that faith waxeth dead without good works, and hath a plain place also for the Sacrament of Aneling. And Frith would have out quite the Books of the Maccabees, because it proveth for purgatory and for the intercession of saints.

And now seemeth Tyndale to make a secret insinuation of some other scripture than Christ's and his apostles'... which other scripture he seemeth to call the "true" scripture... and saith that from the Catholic Church, which himself confesseth to have the scripture of "Christ and his apostles," himself and his fellows go now to the "true" scripture.

But now letting his other, new, true scripture alone till he rehearse us some thereof... ever hitherto all our debate and variance hath been about the exposition... each part laying to the other's charge false glossing of the true scripture.

Then, since the doubt between their faith and ours resteth upon

that point: consider, good Christian reader, that we prove that the consent of all the old holy doctors and saints, of every age since Christendom first began unto Friar Luther's own days, is upon our part against them.

And this have I proved—what say I, “This have *I* proved”?—nay, 5
 this have, I say, *themselves* proved, in that their head captain,
 Luther, proudly rejecteth and shaketh off the saints with his sleeve,
 like flies, by the whole hundred at once... and in one place in his book
 of *Babylonica*, speaking of the Canon of the Mass, wherein he confesseth 10
 that they stand all against him, he setteth not a rush by them
 all, but shaketh them off all at once, and saith the Scripture is plain
 upon his side though they say all the contrary.

And in this point all the rabble of them follow their master so
 far that they fall to blaspheming of saints, to take away their 15
 authority.

And yet if this proof will not satisfy them, but that they be so
 shameless as to say yet still that the old holy doctors and saints
 are against us with them: let them of so many tell us one that ever
 so construed the Scripture that a man professing once vowed
 chastity was, for all that, at his liberty to wed a vowed, professed 20
 nun. (I speak of professed *and* vowed, because of such as profess

<i>Profession without</i>	without perpetual vows, as is the
<i>perpetual vows</i>	religious house of Saint Gertrude at
	Nivelles, and other like in other places.)

Let them, I say, among all the old holy doctors, show so 25
 much as some one; of which, I wot well, they cannot find one
 among them all.

Then consider, good Christian reader, that since we have upon our
 part, against all their sects, all the old holy saints agreeing with 30
 us in belief (though we be not like them in living), there is no
 doubt but that in faith the common Christian people by all these ages
 agreed with us also.

For how can we know the faith that in every time hath been,
 but by the *writers* that were in every time, since we cannot now 35
 speak with the men?

Finally, good Christian readers, upon these things it followeth that

we prove well and sufficiently that there is *not* an “old” church, of Christ and his apostles, and another, “new” church now... but one, whole church from that time to this time in one true faith continued. And so is it plainly proved false, all the foundation of Tyndale’s whole tale.

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And as for anything that himself proveth... his words that he would were taken for so plain to show us which is *the* church leaveth us, as I said, in like doubt as we were... saving where they should prove him and his company *the* church, they prove now clearly with this—that he confesseth Christ and his apostles to have been *the* church—and then this, that we prove thereto, by all the holy doctors’ books of every age before... that the Catholic Church hath now the same faith still, and Tyndale and his fellows the contrary: Tyndale’s own tale, I say, with these things set thereto, prove Tyndale and all his fellows heretics, and the known Catholic church to be the very church of Christ.

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And here, ye see well, good readers, I might of his chapter make an end. But in good faith, Tyndale’s words well weighed have so many merry follies in them that I cannot yet hold my fingers from them.

For I require you for God’s sake once again consider his words well...

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Tyndale

... as they which depart from the faith of the true church are heretics... even so, they that depart from the church of heretics and false, feigned faith of hypocrites, are the true church.

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More

I have, in good faith, good hope that there shall not lightly so mean a witted man read his words here but that he shall marvel much where Tyndale’s wit was when he wrote those words. For every child may see, pardie, that these two things be not like; that is to wit, the going out of the true church of Christ, and the going out of the false church of heretics. For the true church of Christ is but one; and the false churches of heretics be many. And therefore, though every man that goeth from the faith, out of that one true church of Christ, must needs be a heretic, because he cannot so go out but by heresy... it followeth not that in like wise every man that goeth out of “the church of heretics” goeth into the true

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church of Christ by the true faith again... forasmuch as of many churches, he may go out of one into another—and so ye see well they do. And therefore Tyndale speaketh false English when he saith “the church of heretics.” For they neither be any one church nor have any one church over them all, so special that it may be, by a certain special preeminence in respect of the remnant, called “*the church.*” 5

Now, that a man may go out of a false church of heretics and yet not into the true church of Christ... Tyndale may well perceive by two examples of two special heretics of two contrary conditions: 10

Berengarius that is to wit, one heretic of old, called Berengarius, and another of new, called William Hutchins. Berengarius fell first into that false heresy against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, that he affirmed and held that there is not in it the very body of Christ, nor nothing but only very bread, and gathered his church of his heresy together. But afterward he better remembered himself, and revoked that heresy, and fell from that heresy into another... not fully so far in falsehood, but yet a false heresy too... that is to wit, that heresy that Luther holdeth now: that in the Sacrament though he confessed to be the very body of Christ, yet he held that there remained and abode still very bread too, therewith. 15 20

And thus in Berengarius may Tyndale well perceive that a man may go from a false church of heretics, and yet not straight into the true church of Christ. 25

Tyndale may also perceive this point well by the other, new heretic, William Hutchins, which first fell to the second heresy, that was of the twain the less evil; that is to wit, the heresy that Luther holdeth: that in the Sacrament is both the very body of Christ and very bread. But now, either because he longed ever to fall into the worst, as long as he might find any worse than other, or else because he favored Friar Huessgen, because his own name was Hutchins... he fell in that point from Luther’s heresy to his, and affirmeth now that there is in the Blessed Sacrament nothing else *but* bread... and jesteth and scoffeth upon it, and disputeth, in his blasphemy, that it should be but starch. 30 35

And thus, whereas the old heretic, Berengarius, began at the worst, and from that fell to less evil: this new heretic, Hutchins, goeth contrary way, beginning at the less evil and falling from that unto the worse. And therefore is much the less likely to follow the other in one point... in which I pray God he may. For Berengarius yet, after all this, revoked his later heresy too, and lived long after, and died, a holy, virtuous man. 5

But by these examples, I say, Tyndale may well perceive that though he go straight out of a church of heretics, yet it shall not follow that he shall go into the true church... since he may by the way step into another false church, of which there be so many besides. 10

For all the heretics be not gathered into one church... but as the church of Christ is but one, so be there of those a vengeable many... and be not comprehended under any one church, saving only that as the true church is the church of God, so be all the false called the church of the devil, which is king, as the Scripture saith, over all the children of pride; which pride is, as Saint Augustine saith, the very mother of heretics. 15
Job 41:34
Pride the very mother of heretics 20

Now, if it be true that Tyndale here saith, that the church which we call the very church—that is to say, if it be true that the Catholic, known church be, as Tyndale here taketh it, “the church of heretics”... and the faith thereof be, as he also calleth it, a “false, feigned faith of hypocrites”... and therefore, like as this church, because it is (as he saith) come away from the true church of Christ and his apostles, is the church of false heretics, so they that come away from this “church of heretics” and this “false, feigned faith of hypocrites” be the true church—then must it needs follow that *all* the sects which are sprung in Bohemia, and in Saxony, and in some other parts of Almaine, be the very, true church, and the true-faithful believers. 25 30

Now, since Tyndale hath brought it unto this, I would fain know one thing of him: since it is so that *all* those sects be the true church and very-faithful folk—how happeth it that each of them calleth other false shrews, and saith true in that point and in almost nothing else? 35

And since he hath brought it unto this... how can his final words also stand with this conclusion, with which words he would seem to prove his conclusion true? For thus he endeth this chapter...

Tyndale

Which thou shalt always know by their faith examined by the Scripture, and by their profession and consent to live according unto the laws of God. 5

More

Now consider, good reader, whether these tokens do make us know that all the sects that are departed from the Catholic Church be the true church. 10

How can their faith examined by the Scripture, or how can their profession to live according to the laws of God, make us perceive that all they be the true church because they come from the faith of ours which Tyndale calleth false and feigned... whereas they being departed from ours do among themselves neither in faith nor in profession of living any wise consent or agree? 15

For first in Bohemia—what a sort of diverse false faiths be there, and what diversity and contrariety in the profession of their living! 20

Then in Saxony and some parts of Almaine, what another sort is there of sundry manner sects, as well in articles of the faith and belief as in the unmannerly manners and lawless laws of living!—
W. Barlowe whereof ye may perceive a great many by the book of M. William Barlowe, that long was conversant in the country... which, detesting the abomination that he found among them, hath of a right godly zeal given us knowledge of them. 25

And now, by Tyndale's tale, they be the true church every one, and the law of God shall allow all their livings, as beastly as they be, and the scripture of God shall uphold and maintain all their beliefs, as dissonant and as repugnant as they be each to other, and as maliciously false as all the whole sort be, both one and other. 30

For all this, lo, yet shall we by the law of God, and by the scripture of God, compared with all their beastly livings and all their false, 35

repugnant faiths, well and clearly know, saith Tyndale, that all they be the very, true church of Christ, because they can be none other, forasmuch as they be come away from the “feigned faith” of ours.

And so ye may see that Tyndale affirmeth now not only those abominable heresies that he taught before, but all those also that the Anabaptists have added unto them since. And so now be the true church with him, and agree with Scripture and with the law of God, all those that say the baptizing of children is void, and they that say that there ought to be no rulers at all in Christendom, neither spiritual nor temporal... and that no man should have anything proper, of his own, but that all lands and all goods ought by God’s law to be all men’s in common, and that all women ought to be common to all men, as well the next of kin as the farthest stranger, and every man husband to every woman, and every woman wife unto every man... and then, finally, that our blessed Savior Christ was but only man and not God at all.

And in good faith, I never thought other yet, from soon after the beginning, but that when these folk fell once to these horrible heresies which Tyndale in his books hath taught us, they should not fail to fall soon after unto these others too... of which the very worst is not worse yet than divers of those that Tyndale taught us before... nor lightly can there none be worse, except only one, that were to say there is no God at all. And as help me God, I verily fear they shall fall unto that at last. And then reckoning neither upon God nor devil nor immortality of their own souls, but jesting and scoffing that “God is a good fellow,” and “As good a soul hath an owl as a cuckoo,” and “When thou seest my soul hang on the hedge, then hurl stones at it hardly and spare not”... and as Tyndale saith, “When thou speakest *with* Saint Peter, *then* pray him to pray for thee”: thus reckoning upon nothing but only upon this world, and therefore recking for nothing but only for the body, they shall at the last fall in a new rage, and gather themselves together—and shall, but if their malice be the better repressed, to make other manner masteries than ever they made yet... whereof the mischief shall fall in their own necks. But yet if they may be suffered once to rise... all

the mischief will not fall in their own necks alone, but much harm shall hap upon many good men's heads ere these rebellious wretches be well repressed again.

Besides all this, consider well, good reader, that if it be true that Tyndale here teacheth us for the final conclusion of all this chapter— that is to wit, if it be true that all they that go out of the Catholic Church be the true church—then, since the sects that are departed out of this Catholic church be companies known well enough, ye see now very well that here hath Tyndale suddenly destroyed and pulled down the church that all this while he went about to build up... which was, as from the beginning ye have heard, a church of unknown elects. For he hath, as ye now perceive, brought all to a known church—or, rather, to twenty known churches... of which every one is by all the remnant acknowledged to be known for false... and then, both in abominable false belief and brutish, beastly living, all the whole rabble such, that obstinately live therein, and devilishly also die therein, that every man may well perceive they cannot all be God's elects.

And thus hath he suddenly pulled here down to ground the “church unknown” of his only elects, that he hath, good Christian reader, all this while so busily gone about to set up.

Now if Tyndale, when he shall perceive how blindly the devil hath led him hereabout, and made him to fall in the ditch with his dosser, and break all his eggs, and quail thus all his conclusion, would for shame seek any farther shift, and say that I mistake his words, and that himself meant in them some other manner thing: I doubt not but every wise reader will consider well what he will say, and not be so far overseen as to believe him at his only word. One thing I am very sure: that I have in this chapter left never a word of his unwritten to hide his intent or deprave his purpose with... but have truly and plainly rehearsed them every one. By all which it appeareth plainly that he both saith and meaneth as I have showed you... and thereupon that these follies of his that I have declared you are plainly deduced upon his own words which I have rehearsed you.

Howbeit, if he will, for avoiding of the shame, surmise that he

meant some other thing—I cannot well imagine what it might be that he might devise to say that he meant. For if he would say that he meant not that *all* the sects that go out of the (Catholic) church which he calleth “the heretics” be the true church... but some *one* of them, which one we should perceive well from the remnant by their faith examined by Scripture, and by the profession of their living after the law of God—*this* can he *not* say that he meant... for he nameth no one sect of them all, but saith generally that they which depart out of “the church of heretics” (which he calleth the common-known Catholic church) be the true church. And therefore he cannot escape so.

He would also, if he had so meant, have specially commended some one. And also, there is not one of them all whose faith either agreeth with the Scripture, or the profession of their living with the law of God... but if Tyndale call (as indeed he doth!) a godly profession for friars and nuns to fall from the chastity of their profession... and, like as they professed before to serve God in chastity, so to profess themselves from henceforth to serve the devil in sacrilege, and make him a daily sacrifice of their own beastly bodies with incestuous lechery.

Finally, if he be so shameless as to say that he meant none of them all, but some such unknown as himself wotteth not whom, that is gone out of our church, that is to wit, the known Catholic church... and believeth not as we do, because we believe naught... nor liveth not as we do, because we live naught—nor goeth not into any of those other churches and sects neither, because they believe naught and live naught also, as well as we—but frame themselves some faith after the Scripture, and some kind of living after the law of God, by themselves... and that these be the very church and the very elects, and all unknown both who they be and where they be, saving only that always some such there be, and known only to God, that hath elected them, and every of them to himself by his “feeling faith,” which yet he many times feeleth nothing of (as Tyndale himself hath before confessed, in the chapter of the order of their election), and yet, for all that, always feeleth still that through the feeling faith which he once felt, he is one of God’s good children, even while he lieth with his

leman, or while he killeth a good man, and that in all that while that he doth such devilish deeds, he doth yet no deadly sin: if he can for shame find in his heart to say thus, this will be the most foolish thing of all.

For, first, the general manner that he useth where he saith, “They that go from the church of heretics [which he calleth us, of the Catholic Church] be the very church”—this general manner of speech, I say, that excludeth none, restraineth it not unto a few folk only uncertain and unknown, but extendeth it unto all folk that ever go forth from us. And therefore he cannot excuse his folly with saying that he meant it so. 5 10

Moreover, if he so had meant indeed... that had been yet the most folly of all. For what congregation were that which never were gathered together, nor never one part wittingly speak with other; of which if they met together, never one knoweth other? For though they know together as folk of acquaintance or kindred, or neighbors, peradventure, all of one town or street—yea, or of one house, either—yet can they not one know another as for a member of his own unknown church; that is to wit, for one of the true faith and right living, and for a penitent sinner, and, finally, for a final elect. And all these conditions, ye wot well, must those persons have that Tyndale taketh for the very church. 15 20

“Yes,” saith Tyndale. “Thou shalt always know them by their faith examined by the Scripture, and by their profession and consent to live according unto the laws of God!” 25

How is it possible to know by these means whether he be a final elect or not? While he may both lie and change, and say he believeth otherwise than he doth, or believe hereafter otherwise than he doth now?

But yet consider well here, good reader, that when ye see Tyndale here go about to teach *how* they may be *known*... he declareth himself that of reason *the* church must be a church known... and that it were a thing far out of reason to have the very church unknown. And in this he clearly declareth the madness as well of himself as of Luther and Barnes and them all, that would have *the* church a congregation unknown... and yet labor to devise us 30 35

marks, by all the means they may, whereby their “church unknown” might seem to be perceived and known.

Now when he saith, “Thou shalt always know them by their faith examined by the Scripture, and by their profession and consent to live after the law of God”—I would fain wit which “thou” he meaneth. 5

Thou learned, or thou unlearned? Well ye wot that among the learned, the very sense is in question... and upon the debating thereof, ariseth all the variance. Which “thou” meaneth he, then? Thou that art unlearned? Thou that canst scanty read it, or thou that canst not read it at all? When they that are learned cannot perceive it, then thou, pardie, that art unlearned shalt perceive it anon?—and examine and judge by the Scripture which of them say best for their faith of whom thou understandest neither nother... but the longer that thou hearest them dispute upon the Scripture, but if thou bring the true faith thither with thee, the less shalt thou there perceive! And in much more doubt depart shalt thou thence, than thou were in when thou camest thither. For as the prophet saith, 10

Is 7:9 “But if you believe, ye shall not understand.” 15

And therefore, for every man learned and unlearned, for so far as toucheth the necessary doctrine of true faith and living, and exposition of Scripture that appertaineth thereto, the very fastness and surety is to rest unto the church... which is, as 20

1 Tm 3:15 Saint Paul saith, the “pillar and sure ground of truth.” And that can be none unknown 25

church, which can neither learn nor teach, as they that neither can have preacher nor hearers—as well for that one of them cannot know another to assemble about election and choice, nor can have any by succession, since there can be no succession perceived among any such of which no part knoweth other... and also for that if they neither be of the Catholic Church nor of any known sect, they cannot be suffered to preach or live either among us or them. And if they be of either us or them... then are they of some known church. And if they be scattered among the Church and the divers sects, and neither live nor believe after the doctrine of none of them all... so long as they so do, none of them knowing other, so long be they a secret, unknown *sect*—but they neither be church nor have church, nor priest, nor preacher, among them. 30 35

And if they fall after in acquaintance together and flock together,
and each know of other's belief and living... then begin
they to be a known sect and a false known church, of heretics,
because they be gone out of the Catholic—some immediately and
part by a mean, as those that come together departing out of the
diverse, all which before departed out of our own. In which one of
ours—that is to wit, in the known Catholic church—the truth doth
only rest, since it well appeareth, as I have before plainly proved,
that the faith which was with Christ and his apostles hath ever
still continued with us... which is and ever hath been one church
still continued from the beginning. And therefore ever from the
beginning, those that have by profession departed out of this
church have ever been known, if from the society thereof, for
schismatics; if from the faith thereof, for heretics. For as that
glorious martyr holy Saint Cyprian saith, “Out of us be they all
gone, and not we out of them”; but ever from the beginning, as
heretics or schismatics have arisen, either have they by
profession departed out or the Church hath cast them out; and the
Church evermore hath as the very stock continued still and
remained... and the branches so cut off have first or last withered
away. And so shall all these at length,
when the Catholic Church shall abide and
remain and stand fast with God, and God
fast with it, according to God's promise, till the world take an
end; and ever miracles in it and in only it, to declare and make
open that the very faith, the very hope, and the very charity still
continueth therein... and that how sick soever it be, and how much
dead flesh soever be found in the sick and sore parts of the
same, yet alive is ever the body of this church, for in it is the soul
and the spirit; and *out* of the body of this known, continued
Catholic church—there is in the body of any *other* church, gone
out or cast out of this for their contrary belief and faith, or for
their rebellious behavior—there neither is, I say, nor can be among
them all, as all the old holy doctors and saints fully record and
testify, neither health, life, head, nor spirit.

And therefore, to finish at last this long chapter of his
solution... it is impossible for Tyndale, or all the world beside, to
assoil that one argument by which the known Catholic church
is proved to be the very church of Christ... in that that from the
beginning it hath ever still been, by ordinary course of succession,

kept and continued one... and the old faith from the beginning
(as by the books of holy saints of every age well appeareth) always
continued therein... and the old, right manner of interpretation of
the Scripture concerning the faith (as by the same saints' holy
books appeareth) always continued therein... and evermore glorious 5
miracles from the beginning incessantly persevering therein; and
that it was promised that it should ever continue till the world's
Mt 28:20 end, and God therein, without any other,
new church of God to succeed the
church of Christ in this world, as it was promised and prophesied 10
that the church of Christ should succeed and put away the
synagogue of Moses; and that all other churches and sects, of which
every one calleth itself the right church, be, some at one time, some
at another, arisen and reared themselves against this church, and therefore
both gone out and cast out of this church, and their so many diverse 15
faiths to the old, continued faith every one diversely contrary,
and all their interpretations of Holy Scripture concerning faith
and good living, diversely contrary to the doctrine and expositions
of all the old holy doctors and saints, as I have often declared
you—or else let Tyndale, as I have desired him once or twice, I 20
trow, already, tell us some one of all them that teacheth us with the
Scripture, or without Scripture, either, that friars may wed
nuns!

These things, I say, being thus—that the very church can be but
one, and must endure as long as the world lasteth, and can in this 25
world have no new church to succeed it, as the synagogue had...
and then that all these churches of these sects be arisen and gone out
of the Catholic Church, and it continueth still—it is impossible, I
say, for Tyndale or all the world beside to assoil the reason and
avoid it but that only this Catholic church is the very, true 30
church of Christ... and all the churches of sects at sundry times
gone out thereof be churches of heretics and schismatics and very
churches of the devil.

And thus, good Christian readers, have I plainly proved you that
Tyndale and his fellows and all these sundry sects, nor yet any one 35

of them all, be not, as he blasphemeth and scoffeth, to be resembled unto Christ and his apostles... as gone out of the Catholic Church in like manner as they went out of the synagogue, that then should have an end, to begin a new that while the world lasted should never have end, nor any church be true save itself; but that Tyndale and all his fellows and all their sects be so gone out and put out of this Catholic church of Christ as Lucifer and his fellows by pride first departed out, and by power was after put out, of the church of God in heaven. 5

And likewise also as Cain was by God put out of the church of good folk, for his obstinate malice in earth. 10

And likewise as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their fellows, made a sect of schismatics and bent away from the church of
Gn 4:4-16 Moses and Aaron in desert... for which
Numbers 16 they went quick under earth, and, as it seemeth, hell swalloweth them up. 15

And likewise also as the ten tribes of Israel departed with Jeroboam from their very king, Rehoboam, the son of Solomon... with which rebellious departing from their king, albeit they were not well handled with him, but were threatened and put in fear of oppression, yet was God, as Saint Cyprian by Scripture proveth, greatly displeased with them... and his very church most specially then remained in the smaller company, the two tribes only, from which the ten were gone. And these heretics be gone out of the Catholic Church in like manner as the great company of
Jn 6:60-66 Christ's disciples went from him when he was about to teach them the faith of his Very Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar... for which and from which Hutchins, Huessgen, and Zwingli be now gone away too. And yet as the very church remained in these few that abode and continued... so shall the very church ever abide and continue in these few that persevere in the stock, be it diminished and minced never so small... and always those that go therefrom shall be but withered branches and churches of heretics and schismatics, be they never so great nor so many. 30 35

These heretics depart also from the Catholic Church in such

Jn 13:21–30; Mk 14:43–45 wise as Judas departed from the church of
 Christ at the Maundy Supper, when he
 went to betray the Head of that church, and utterly to dissolve the
 body. And likewise do all these sects of heretics, which in that
 point do more than verily represent the scribes and Pharisees whom 5
Mt 3:7 Saint John called the “generation of
 vipers.” For as the young viper serpents
 gnaw out their mother’s belly, and those scribes and Pharisees did by
 their false doctrine labor to destroy the very, true doctrine of the
 synagogue, whereof they were engendered: so do all these accursed 10
 serpentine sects of heretics both with their false errors and
 heresies labor to destroy the true doctrine... and also with sowing
 of dissension and seditious schisms go about to gnaw out the
 very belly of their mother the Holy Catholic Church. And therefore
 will they, but if they do (as I pray God give them grace to do) repent 15
 their malice and amend, else undoubtedly have their part with
 Judas, and with such others, as I have showed you, that departed
 from the true church before, and with such other heretics as
 departed also from the Church in the time of the blessed apostles
 after... as were the Ebionites, that said Christ was but only man 20
 and not God, against whom Saint John the Evangelist wrote his
 holy gospel... and the Nicolaitans, which would have all women in
 common, against whom God speaketh himself in the Apocalypse;
Rv 2:6 which both heresies be now begun to
 be brought up again among the 25
 sects of these new heretics in Almaine... which sects Tyndale
 calleth the very, true church of Christ, because they depart only
 and go from ours... whereas he seeth well, by the old books, that we
 have the same faith that the apostles had... and heareth with his own
 ears that they have the same heresies which the apostles damned. 30
 So see you, good readers, that the many sects are come out of the
 one church—the naughty out of the good, the false out of the true.
 And Tyndale argueth the contrary way... and thereby would make us
 ween that the good cometh ever out of the bad, and leaveth the
 naughty behind. And by that way shall not only Luther’s lecherous 35
 church be better than the Catholic church of Christ... but also
 Lucifer’s church of devils in hell be better than the church of

God and his good angels, that Lucifer, when he fell from thence,
left still with God behind him in the glorious bliss of heaven.

And thus end I, good Christian reader, this book... in which every
child, almost, that advisedly readeth it may well and clearly
perceive that Tyndale's solution is not worth one rush; but the
reason that he would have assoiled is, and abideth still, so mighty,
strong, and invincible... as a reason before me made by the strong
and mighty champion, the invincible martyr, Saint Cyprian...
that by that one reason alone it is, I dare boldly say, well and
plainly proved that this known Catholic church, which
Tyndale would impugn, disprove, and destroy, is alone the very,
true church of Christ, which all the devils in hell shall never
be able to pull down... and that these hundred sundry sects which
Tyndale would have taken for the very church of Christ be very
false heretics all the whole rabble, and synagogues of Satan, and
very churches of the devil, already dead and utterly destroyed in
spirit... and but if they return to the Catholic Church again,
will else with Judas be buried and burn in hell.

Thus endeth the Sixth Book.

The Seventh Book

Here beginneth the Seventh Book, in defense of the
second reason proving the known
Catholic church to be the
very church of 5
Christ.

Which second reason is that we know not
which is the Scripture but by the
known Catholic church.

The Defense of the Second Reason 10

Tyndale

Another like blind reason they have wherein is all their trust:
As we come out of them, and they not out of us... so we receive the
Scripture of them, and they not of us. How know we that it is the
scripture of God and true, but because they teach us so? How can 15
we *that* believe, except we first believe that *they* be the *church*
and cannot err in anything that pertaineth unto our souls'
health? For if a man tell me of a marvelous thing whereof I can have
no other knowledge than by his mouth only... how should I give
credence except I believed that the man were so honest that he 20
could not lie or would not lie? Wherefore, we must believe that they
be the right church, that cannot err, or else we can believe
naught at all. This wise reason is their sheet anchor, and all their
hold, their refuge in flight, and chief stone in their foundation
whereon they have built all their lies and all their mischief that they 25
have wrought this eight hundred years.

More

This reason, good reader, which Tyndale would here so fain
answer and assoil, is the thing wherewith the King our sovereign
lord, as a most erudite prince, in his most famous book of the 30
Assertion of the Sacraments, strained Luther so sore that hitherto

neither himself nor any companion of his durst ever once attempt any answer thereunto... till Tyndale, now perceiving the King's argument in that point so strong that every man much alloweth it and feeleth it for invincible, waxeth for anger so stark mad at last... that he maketh his assays and assaults here thereat... and loseth not only his labor in the end, but also, by some of his own arguments wherewith he would impugn it, maketh it rather more strong and proveth it plain inexpugnable. 5

But Tyndale, albeit that he rehearse the reason in such wise himself that he assoileth it not afterward so surely as he rehearseth it... nor never were like while he liveth, although the reason had no more than he rehearseth—yet doth the King's Grace against Luther, besides all this that Tyndale rehearseth, put another piece or twain of pith and strength therein. 10

For whereas in the time of holy Saint Augustine, such heretics as then were, played as these do now, denying the common-known Catholic church to be the very church of God, and the doctrine thereof to be true: that blessed doctor, among many other things with which he plainly confuted that foolish heresy, said and affirmed plainly that himself should not have believed the Gospel but if the authority of the Catholic Church compelled him thereunto. 15

This saying of Saint Augustine, Luther himself alloweth. For though he will in no wise agree that the whole Catholic Church gathered together in a general council hath any authority or power to make any laws at all—yet he granteth that the certainty by which we know and be put in surety which is the very scripture of God and which not, a man hath his learning and teaching of 25

The church of God "can judge and discern the words of God from the words of men." that point by the church of God, for "the Church hath," saith Luther, "according to the saying of Augustine, this thing given it of God: that it can judge and discern the words of God from the words of men." 30

Then laid our said sovereign lord Luther's own words against Luther's own heresies, for the faith of the Catholic Church, in diverse places diverse ways. For since Luther confessed that the Church hath that gift of God that it can discern the word 35

of God from the word of man—it followeth, saith His Grace, that those things which the Church saith is the word of God unwritten and traditions of the apostles (of which Luther would none believe, because they were not written) be the very word of God as well as those that be written.

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And in that reason His Grace gave Luther and Tyndale and all their whole sect such a sure fall that they shall never well arise and walk upright, while they live, again. For, as His Highness laid unto him, since Luther cannot say nay but that he must believe the Church when it telleth him that “these things God caused his apostles to write,” wherefore must he not as much believe it when it telleth him, “These things God caused his apostles to tell and teach by mouth”? Then laid His Highness unto Luther further his own words against himself, thiswise...

10

Luther himself confesseth that God hath given the Church that gift that it can discern the words of God from the words of men. And wherefore hath he given the Church that gift, but because he will not suffer his church to fall into such a perilous error as to take the words of men for the words of God—whereby men might fall to some evil opinions as well in faith as other virtues? But so is it that by the error of wrongly taking the *sense* of God’s words, men may fall into the like peril, and also to a great deal greater. For the writing of man taken for the scripture of God might, either by some convenient commentary devised upon the truth written in men’s hearts... or by the plain persuasion and confession of our own ignorance, that the sentence were not sufficiently perceived and understood—might, I say, be contained and kept from doing any great harm. But the scripture of God taken as it is—for his own words—and then understood falsely... must needs cast the people into a very false error instead of very, true faith.

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Now, thereupon it very well followeth that God never will permit and suffer his church to fall in any damnable error through misunderstanding and wrong declaration of the Scripture... forasmuch as by the taking, in necessary points of faith or virtue, the false sentence for the true, must needs grow much more peril and harm than by the taking of man’s false writing for the true scripture of God.

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By this argument, lo, the King’s Highness utterly confuted Luther upon Luther’s own words... and proved him that he may never say

nay, for shame, but that in all necessary points the very, true sense and exposition of the Scripture is in the Church and the holy doctors

The true sense and exposition of the Scripture is in the Church and holy doctors. thereof. Whose expositions, as by their books appeareth, openly reprove such expositions thereof as all these heretics have devised for the maintenance of

5

their heresies.

Then laid His Highness unto Luther his own words aforesaid, yet again in this wise...

Since God hath, as Luther confesseth, given the Church that gift that it discerneth the words of God from the words of man... 10

Luther well showeth himself such as he is, while he calleth the Epistle of Saint James the word of man, which the Church hath so long discerned and judged for the word of God.

Finally, the selfsame words of Luther, as the King's Highness handleth them, fully do conclude Luther and Tyndale both, in proving the known Catholic church to be the very church; which is now, as ye know well, all our whole matter. 15

For since Saint Augustine saith, and Luther also confesseth, that "the Church" hath "this gift of God that it discerneth the very scripture of God from the writing of man"—and in those words, both Saint Augustine and Luther both spoke of the known Catholic church, and not of an unknown church—it appeareth plainly that both Saint Augustine and Luther affirm, confess, and agree that the known Catholic church is the very church... and not that any church of heretics is *the* church... for to none of them God never gave that gift of discretion. For no man ever took the Scripture because any of *them* said so; but all they, as they have come out of the Catholic Church, so have of the Catholic Church received the Scripture... 20

and upon the credence of *that* church have they all believed it; as Tyndale cannot deny, though these new heretics be now, for defense of their heresies, fain to forsake some part of the Scripture too. 25

Now, good Christian readers, consider well, I require you, these effectual points which our sovereign lord so substantially laid unto Luther upon his own words... and I doubt not but yourselves shall easily perceive and see that the same things shall stand 30

35

Now, good Christian readers, consider well, I require you, these effectual points which our sovereign lord so substantially laid unto Luther upon his own words... and I doubt not but yourselves shall easily perceive and see that the same things shall stand

strong and sure... and, over that, answer and overthrow all the substance of Tyndale's solution here. Whose words let us now look on again and examine.

Tyndale

This wise reason is their sheet anchor and all their whole refuge,
and chief stone in their foundation... whereupon they have built
all their lies and all their mischief that they have wrought these
eight hundred years. 5

More

This reason Tyndale here maketh very light, and saith that "these
eight hundred years" the Catholic Church hath built so many lies
and so much mischief thereon—by all which time of eight
hundred years, if the whole Catholic Church have been in errors
and heresies, as Tyndale here saith and his master Martin Luther
before him, then hath Christ broken all his promises by which 10
he promised to be with his church all days to the world's end. 15

For by all this eight hundred years hath Christ had none other
church continuing, that any man can tell of... but if Tyndale will
say "Yes"—and when he can neither tell which nor where, will
yet say still "Yes," and nothing but "Yes," and look that we should,
against our own experience, upon his bare word, believe him, 20
because he saith still "Yes"... with as much proof in his "Yes" as a goose
hath in her hiss.

Tyndale seeth well also, as ye shall after perceive though he
dissemble it now... that when he saith "this wise reason is their
sheet anchor," this reason that he mocketh is not only theirs whom he 25
would seem to mock, that is to wit, the Catholic Church of this
eight hundred years... in which time have been men of such holiness and
virtue (and now holy saints in heaven), whose faithful, holy writings
condemn his faithless heresies, that every good man, I dare say, 30
will think them fully unmeet to be mocked and jested upon by
such a foolish fellow as this is... which while he setteth so little by
Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Bernard, Saint Anselm,
and all such other men as have written in the Church this eight
hundred years—he seeth yet well enough that the reason which he 35
mocketh was made by the holy doctor Saint Augustine four or

five hundred years before that... and that the same holy man built
 thereupon the selfsame building that the Catholic Church
 repaireth and keepeth up now... and which building these
 heretics would now pull down... that is to say, that God teacheth his
Jn 16:13-15 church the truth, and leadeth it into all 5
 truth, as he promised, and will not suffer
 it damnably to err, and for that cause will not suffer it to be
 deceived in mistaking of the very scripture, nor, consequently,
 for the same cause, for such mistaking of the right sense and
 understanding thereof whereby they should fall in any damnable 10
 error through the false belief in any manner point whereof God
 would have them to know and believe the truth.

These are the things that holy Saint Augustine made that reason
 for, against such heretics as Luther and Tyndale be now. Which 15
 others did then as these do now: labor to make folk believe that
 their church of heretics were the very church, and the Catholic
 Church were a church of heretics. Against those heretics, I
 say, and with them against these heretics, too, did that holy
 doctor Saint Augustine—not only eight hundred years ago (which
 were yet a longer time, by almost half, than ever had any sect of 20
 heretics any continuance yet), but longer before eight hundred
 years than almost half eight hundred again—make this invincible reason
 which now this worshipful wild goose so comely scoffeth and
 scorneth... by which, for all his goodly scoffing at Saint Augustine's
 reason, he shall never while he liveth avoid it but that Saint 25
 Augustine hath by that reason alone, although he never had made
 more (whereas Tyndale well knoweth, though he would have it seem
 nay, that Saint Augustine made for that purpose many more)... but though
 he never had, I say, made more for that purpose than that one: yet
 had that one, against Martin Luther and William Tyndale, too, and 30
 against all the heretics that ever have been, are now, or ever
 shall be hereafter, well and clearly proved that their “church” be all
 the many false, and only the known Catholic church the very,
 true church of Christ.

And now, since this reason that Tyndale here setteth so light was, 35
 as himself after confesseth, made by Saint Augustine himself so
 many hundred years ago, and hath been well liked and allowed of

every good, wise man since: let us now see with what substantial answer Tyndale can scoff it out.

Tyndale

And this reason do the Jews lay unto our charge this day. And this reason doth chiefly blind them, and hold them still in obstinacy.

5

More

O good Lord, what great pity it was that Saint Augustine had not had as much wit as William Tyndale, that he might have seen that his argument would so soon be assoiled... and that it was no better for the Church against heretics than for the Jews against Christendom... but even the selfsame reason that maintaineth them in their obstinacy and keepeth them from Christendom!

10

But surely Saint Augustine, good man, saw not so far. For since he never found in all his days neither Jew nor heretic so mad to make him that answer which might so soon be voided... he trusted well, good man, that there would never none be so foolish in such wise to assoil it after.

15

Howbeit, if Saint Augustine had had no more to say to the Jews for the defense of his reason than the heretics had to say to him in the assoiling of his reason, then might the heretics well have mocked Saint Augustine as Tyndale doth now, and assoiled his reason in the selfsame fashion; and so would they soon have done, ye may be sure, had they not seen full well that they should have won themselves nothing but shame thereby. For if any heretic would so have said unto Saint Augustine—that the Jews might say the same to the Christian people... “You know not the scriptures of God but by us, because we tell you so; ergo, we be the very church of God... and us ye must believe as well in the understanding of the Scripture as ye believe us in the knowing which *is* the Scripture”—Saint Augustine would soon have said again that Christian people might answer the Jew and say, “We neither receive the Scripture of you nor know the Scripture by you, nor yet believe you, neither, in the declaration thereof. For if we did... then must we grant the Gospel were no Scripture; nor nothing that any of Christ’s apostles wrote; nor some

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books, neither, which were taken out of your own Hebrew tongue. And therefore we know never a book of Scripture by your teaching, but *mistrust*, rather, every book of Scripture that cometh out of your hands. For the synagogue of Moses, which was, while it lasted, the church of God, is now ended and is his church no longer; but our Savior Christ hath begun and continued *his* church—this known Catholic church, gathered of Jews and Gentiles both, together. And *he* took not the old scriptures of you... nor of you, neither, learned to know them, nor of you to understand them... but he *made* them all, and by the writers thereof himself indited them. And he delivered unto us, that church, both those old and also some others new, and yet divers other instructions of his pleasure in things that he would have believed and done whereof he caused no part to be written. And then he taught, and ever teacheth and ever shall teach, his Catholic church to know as well those holy writings as those other holy things unwritten—with all necessary *understanding* of those holy writings, too. And all this he teacheth his church by himself and his own Spirit according to his own promise evermore abiding therein to lead

Mt 28:20; Jn 16:13 it into all necessary truth... to the intent
1 Tm 3:15 that his Catholic church may be, to every man that will learn thereof and give credence thereunto, as himself commandeth every man to do, a very sure ‘establishment’ and a strong ‘pillar of truth’... as well in perceiving which *is* the true scripture, as the necessary learning of the true *understanding* of the Scripture... and, over that, of every other thing that God will have done or believed beside the Scripture. Which scriptures, ye Jews, nothing now belong unto you, since ye be no longer the church for whom they serve... and as much of them as ye can catch in your hands, ye use to miswrite and corrupt, and change the very text in such places as the true text maketh for our Savior Christ, and for the Catholic faith taught by himself and his Holy Spirit unto his Catholic church.”

Thus, lo, with yet many better things more than either my poor wit or learning can devise, could Saint Augustine have answered any

such heretic that would have assoiled his reason with the Jews' argument, as Tyndale now doth here.

And farther then might Saint Augustine have said to that heretic, as we may say to this heretic, that "whatsoever the Jews would jabber or jangle again, ye that are Christian men and falsely profess Christ, which falling from his faith still pretend his name, ye cannot say but that the *Jew* is truly and reasonably answered." 5

And therefore may we say to Tyndale that he cannot say, for the maintenance of his solution, any such thing against the reason of Saint Augustine as Saint Augustine might have said against such other heretics. For Tyndale cannot say that the church of Christ is at an end, as the synagogue of the Jews is; nor cannot deny but that *he* took the Scripture of the *church*, and learned to know the Scripture by the teaching of the *church*—and that, none other church but the known *Catholic* church, unto which God hath given the gift to discern and know the Scripture from all other writing... as Tyndale's own master Martin Luther, as false as he is, could not yet, for shame, but confess. 10 15

And thus, lo, good Christian readers, here ye clearly see that Tyndale's example and similitude of the Jews, whereby he would shake off Saint Augustine's reason made against heretics to prove the Catholic Church the very church, is well and clearly voided and proved far unlike; so that Tyndale must seek himself a new solution for this. And so ye shall see him do anon; but ye must give him leave to rail a little first. 20 25

Tyndale

Our spiris first falsify the Scripture, to establish their lies.

More

Lo, good readers, I told you ye must give him leave to rail a little; yea, and to lie a little, too... for else he cannot speak. But yet, God be thanked that his goodness hath made it well perceived and known that only the sects of heretics departing out of the Catholic Church have used ever that craft, not only to refuse for Scripture some part of the very scripture indeed... but also for 30 35

favor of their false heresies to change, corrupt, and of purpose to falsify, with erasing and false writing, the true text of those books that themselves take and confess for the very scripture indeed.

Let Tyndale tell us any one piece of Holy Scripture that the Catholic Church refuseth. He cannot, for shame, say it; whereas these heretics refuse and reject divers parts of the Epistle of Saint James, and some other pieces too now and then, when they list. 5

Let Tyndale tell what one text, what one word, the Catholic Church hath gone about to corrupt or change to make the text *An old prank of heretics* the more meet for their matter. Now hath it been an old prank of *heretics* to use that fashion of malicious corrupting the books of the Holy Scripture in their hands... as ye may read, in authentic stories, that the Arians did and were shamefully taken with. 10

Of this falsifying we have also a fresh, new example given us by Tyndale himself in his translation... wherein he falsifieth the true text of the testament of Christ, and putteth out both "penance," "priest," and "church," with "charity," "grace," and all... turning them into other words, for the setting forth and advancing of his false, factious heresies. 15 20

Of this falsifying have these heretics also given us good example in the books that they have put forth, and in the calendar of the saints have put out Saint Polycarp, that holy man, the twenty-third day of February, and set in in his place a stark, wretched heretic lately burned at Maidstone and now burning in hell, called Thomas Hitton, whom they call in their calendar "Saint Thomas of Kent." 25

Such purpensed falsifying of books use always these heretics, and none at any time *but* heretics.

Thus do they falsify the books of the old holy doctors and saints, such as they either do translate or cause to be put in print, as doth in divers places appear, and may be clearly proved. 30

And lately have they played that pageant in falsifying the very text of Scripture, in such wise that they show therein their honest plainness and their substantial truth. 35

For have not some of Tyndale's holy elected sort changed the

<i>1 Cor 6:9</i>	Latin text of Saint Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians? For where the old translation hath this word <i>fornicarii</i> , and the new translation <i>scortatores</i> , which signifieth in English “whore hunters”... they have put in this word <i>sacerdotes</i> , that is to say, “priests.”	5
	And even as they have handled the holy Scripture of God, so have they used themselves in other writers that expound and declare the Scripture. For the Lutherans put certain words of their own into a book which is ascribed unto Saint Chrysostom, to make it seem that in whomsomever were faith, he could not be possibly without good works.	10
	And Huessgen also, in his translation of the cunning bishop Theophylact upon Saint John’s Gospel, left out in the exposition of the twenty-first chapter not a few lines. And lest if it were perceived it might be laid to his charge... he said that his book lacked somewhat in that place—whereas other men’s books lack it not.	15
	And holy Saint Thomas allegeth in his book called <i>Catena aurea</i> the words which Huessgen would have seem that they could not be found in the work. But for what good intent and purpose he so said, the place itself, whosoever look thereon, shall very well show.	20
	How may Tyndale now, good Christian readers—considering this false, shameless fashion of falsifying so daily found in his fellows and himself too, as well as in other heretics, of old time—be now so bold as in his railing against the Catholic Church to name once the name of “falsifying the Scripture”?	25
	But now goeth he forth and saith that they falsify the <i>sentence</i> of the Scripture...	
	Tyndale	30
	And when the Scripture cometh to light, and is restored unto the true understanding, and their juggling spied, and they likely to suffer shipwreck—then they cast out this anchor: They be the <i>Church</i> and cannot err, their authority is greater than the Scripture, and the Scripture is not true but because they say so and admit it. And therefore, whatsoever they affirm is of as great authority as the Scripture.	35

<i>Mt 16:27</i>	of Man shall come in his Father's glory with his angels, and then shall he reward every man according to his deeds." And by the mouth of Saint	
<i>2 Cor 5:10</i>	Paul, "We must all be brought before the judgment seat of Christ, that every man	5
	may receive the works of his own body, according as he hath	
<i>Rv 2:23</i>	done, whether it be good or evil." Also in the Apocalypse, "I shall reward every one	
<i>Rv 22:12</i>	of you according to your deeds." And	
<i>Jn 5:28-29</i>	again in the twenty-second chapter, "Behold, I	10
<i>Ps 62:12-13</i>	come shortly, and my reward is with	
<i>Lk 16:9, 19-31</i>	me to give every man according as his	
<i>Mt 25:31-46</i>	works shall be." And in many plain places of Scripture more.	
	All these texts, lo, do Luther and Tyndale say that the Catholic Church juggle from their true sense, because they teach them as God and the Holy Ghost hath spoken them, and verily meant and intended by them.	15
	And all these texts do these holy sects so restore again to their right sense and understanding that they clean destroy them, and construe them clean contrary both to the plain words and meaning... and would with their evil glosses make men believe that all the good works were right naught worth at all, and that nothing shall be rewarded but only faith, nor no man for anything damned but for only lack of belief.	20
		25
<i>A horrible opinion</i>	And therefore saith Saint Luther, inspired with the spirit of Lucifer, that a good man when he doth any good deed, he doth sin... and that there can nothing damn a Christian man as long as he will believe. For what sins soever he do beside, if faith either stand still with him or come again unto him, his faith doth then sup up in a moment all his sins at once, without any penance at all. He weeneth he were supping up of a rare rotten egg, without either bread or salt... for there needeth none other penance, ye wot well, thereto, but even drink well to it!	30
		35
	With this goodly gloss, lo, restore these men these texts of Scripture unto the right sense again.	

Then when we tell them that good works, by which they set
so little, God setteth so much by... that by the mouth of his blessed
Jas 2:14–26 apostle Saint James, he giveth all the world
warning that the belief wherein they
put *all* the life is, without good works (in him that may 5
work a thing), as touching any life of grace or glory, clearly
destitute and dead—when we tell Luther, Tyndale, or Barnes
this tale, then wrestle they with that text, and writhe it and
wrest it about, and fain would wind themselves out with juggling
“faith alone” into faith, hope, and charity. But perceiving 10
that foolish juggling to be so fond a point that all that look
thereon laugh thereat... they shake off that text another way, and the
whole epistle therewith, because of other plain words that Saint
James hath therein for the Sacrament of Aneling. For which—to
Jas 5:14–15 rid themselves of both the businesses at 15
once, and of many sore words also
wherewith Saint James doth in the same epistle as plainly preach
against these heretics, and as surely describeth them as though
he had long been conversant and in company with them (as the
King’s Highness excellently well marketh and rehearseth)—Luther 20
letteth not upon the boldness and authority of his apostasy to
reject and cast out as no Scripture that whole epistle of Christ’s
blessed apostle... saying that wise men affirm it to be none of his,
and that it hath no smack of any apostolic spirit. And yet
blasphemeth farther and saith that if it were his indeed, he would 25
not let to tell him that in some things there the apostle took more
upon him than might well become him.

Then concerning the sacraments, all such as themselves deny—
that is to wit, five of the seven—all such texts as in the Scripture
speak of them... those they gloss as it pleaseth them. As in the sacrament 30
of priesthood, the words of Saint Paul unto Timothy by which
he plainly speaketh of grace given unto Timothy by the putting
2 Tm 1:6 of his hands upon him—that, Tyndale
saith, was but as a man layeth his
hand upon a boy’s head when he calleth him “good son.” 35
In the Sacrament of Matrimony, whereas Saint Paul saith it

is a “great sacrament”... those words glosseth Luther, and saith that Saint Paul peradventure said that of his own head.

Mt 26:26

In the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar,
whereas our Savior said himself

“This is my body”... there glosseth Luther his words, and saith it is 5
as much to say as “This is bread with my body.” And Friar Huessgen,
Tyndale, and Zwingli gloss it and saith that these words “This
is my body” be as much to say as “This is nothing, and but only
signifieth my body, and is not my body at all.”

And as concerning holy vows, where the Scripture saith 10

Ps 76:12

“Pay your vows”... Friar Luther, Friar
Huessgen, Zwingli, and Tyndale so

gloss it that they conclude that every friar may set his vow at
naught and wed a nun when he will.

And thus, lo, good Christian readers, do these holy folk bring the 15
Scripture to light, and “restore” it to the “true understanding”... and
“spy” out the “juggling” of the Catholic Church, that would juggle
away such good glosses.

Now, where Tyndale saith that we say that the authority of the 20
Church “is greater than the Scripture”... and that “the Scripture is not
true but because [the Church saith] so and admit it”: in this he
saith his pleasure, as him listeth to jest; for he heareth no man so
mad to say so; for the Scripture were true though never man

Note

looked thereon. But this indeed we say: that
the Church hath the gift of God to 25

discern which is the very scripture and which not. And that
we say true in this... not only Saint Augustine, pardie, but holy Luther
himself also, Tyndale’s own master, beareth us against Tyndale
good and substantial witness. And we say that thereupon followeth
it, though Tyndale and Luther both say nay, that the same church 30
is the very church. And so we say yet again that Tyndale is concluded
in the principal point.

And where he saith that we say that everything that the Church
saith “is of as great authority as the Scripture”—we say that God 35
shall never suffer, in matter of salvation or damnation, the Catholic
Church to say but the truth... because of his promises made
which we have often rehearsed, and because he will have the

Catholic Church to be, to such as will learn, the “pillar and sure establishment of truth,” as well in doctrine of faith as of manners. And thereupon we very truly conclude that the whole Catholic Church of fifteen hundred years is better to be believed than Luther, or Tyndale either, in the understanding of Scripture; and that we therefore rather ought to believe the Catholic Church, that by the understanding of Scripture hath told us this fifteen hundred years that it is abominable for a friar to wed a nun, than to believe William Tyndale... which in defense of Martin his master—or Friar Luther himself either, which for the defense of his own shameful sin—by the false glossing of the Scripture affirmeth that friars to wed nuns were well and virtuously done. 5

And thus ye see to what good effect Tyndale’s solution is come... wherewith he would answer Saint Augustine’s reason by fearing him that the Jews might lay the same reason for them. 10 15

But now goeth Tyndale well-favoredly forth with a great face of another full solution... and at a great length telleth us in effect none other manner thing but the selfsame tale again... and yet hath he told it us once, every deal, in his other solution—of the first reason—before... which solution I have assoiled, and from all wit and reason assoiled, in my last book before. 20

Tyndale

Notwithstanding, as I said, the kingdom of heaven standeth not in words of man’s wisdom, but in power and spirit.

More

This is very well said; and in his solution of the first reason he said, ye wot well, the same. And now see ye well that for the Catholic Church both the reasons be first brought forth by very spiritual men: the first reason by Saint Cyprian, the second by Saint Augustine. And it hath such power that it forced Luther himself, Tyndale’s own master, to consent and agree thereto. And the Catholic Church hath also for her part the great power of the Holy Spirit of God, that in this Catholic church, from the beginning unto this present day, never hath ceased yet, nor never shall, I trust, to show many marvelous miracles. Whereof let us now see whether 25 30 35

Tyndale, speaking so much of “spirit” and “power,” can tell us of any spirit at any time assisting any of all the churches of so many sects of heretics... that ever had the might and power to show so much as any one miracle this fifteen hundred years among them every one. But what? Instead of such spirit and such power, ye shall hear now that this high spiritual man shall make you some strong, potent *reason*... 5

Tyndale

And therefore look unto the examples of Scripture, and so shalt thou understand. And of a hundred examples between Moses and Christ, where the Israelites fell from God and were ever restored by one prophet or other, let us take one: even John the Baptist. John went before Christ to prepare his way—that is, to bring men unto the knowledge of their sins, and unto repentance, through true expounding of the Law; which is the only way unto Christ. For except a man acknowledge his sins and repent of them... he can have no part in Christ. Of John, Christ saith (Matthew 17) that he was Elijah, that should “come and restore allthing.” That is, he should restore the Scripture unto the right sense again... which the Pharisees had corrupted with the leaven of their false glosses and vain fleshly traditions. He made “crooked things straight,” as it is written, and “rough smooth.” Which is also to be understood of the Scripture, which the Pharisees had made crooked, wresting them unto a false sense with wicked glosses, and so rough that no man could walk in the way of them. For when God said, “Honor father and mother,” meaning that we should obey them and also help them at their need... the Pharisees put this gloss thereto out of their own leaven, saying, “God is thy father and mother. Wherefore, whatsoever need thy father and mother have, if thou offer to God, thou art wholly excused. For it is better to offer to God than to thy father and mother, and so much more meritorious as God is greater than they; yea, and God hath done more for thee than they, and is more thy father and mother than they.” As ours now affirm that it is more meritorious to offer to God and his holy dead saints than unto the poor living saints. And when God had promised the people a savior to come and bless them and save them from their sins... the Pharisees taught to believe in holy works to be saved by, as if they offered and gave to be prayed for. As ours, as often as 10 15 20 25 30 35

we have a promise to be forgiven at the repentance of the heart through Christ's blood-shedding, put to, "Thou must first shrive thyself to us, of every syllable; and we must lay our hands on thine head, and whistle out thy sins, and enjoin the penance to make satisfaction. And yet art thou but loosed from the sin only that thou shalt not come into hell; but thou must yet suffer for every sin seven years in purgatory (which is as hot as hell)... except thou buy it out of the pope." And if thou ask by what means the pope giveth such pardon... they answer, "Out of the merits of Christ." And thus at the last they grant against themselves that Christ hath not only deserved for us the remission of our sins, but also the forgiveness of that gross and fleshly imagined purgatory, save thou must buy it out of the pope. And with such traditions they "took away the key of knowledge, and stopped up the kingdom of heaven, that no man could enter in." 5

And as I said, they taught the people to believe in the deeds of the *ceremonies*, which God ordained not to justify but to be signs of *promises* by which they that believed were justified. But the Pharisees put out the significations, and quenched the faith, and taught to be justified by the work... as ours have served us. 10

For our sacraments were once but signs—partly of what we should believe, to stir us up unto faith... and partly what we should do, to stir us up to do the law of God—and were not works to justify. 15

Now make this reason unto John, and unto many prophets that went before him and did as he did; yea, and unto Christ himself and his apostles... and thou shalt find them all heretics, and the scribes and Pharisees good men, if that reason be good. 20

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More

Lo, good Christian readers, here have I rehearsed you his long process, not in pieces, but even as it lieth together... by which ye may see that Tyndale doth nothing here but tell us the selfsame tale that he told us before in his solution to the first reason. For there he told us the same tale of the scribes, and Pharisees, and synagogues, and Saint John the Baptist, and Christ, and his apostles... with his resembling of the scribes and Pharisees and synagogue to the clergy and to the Catholic Church... and himself, and his holy master Martin Luther, and Friar Huessgen, Friar Lambert, and Zwingli, and such 30

35

other holy heretics, unto Saint John and our Savior and his apostles, as prophets now newly come to begin the true church of God again by going out of the Catholic Church... in like manner as Christ and his apostles, and Saint John the foregoer, came to begin again the true church of God by calling men from the synagogue. 5

All this tale, as he told it there, so now, for a new thing, he telleth us again here. And all this tale, as I there answered it and clearly proved it naught, so shall I desire the reader to resort thither, and there to read mine answer... and then shall he find that likewise as this is but his old tale newly told, so needeth it none other confutation but even mine answer newly read. 10

For whereas he beginneth again here as he did there, with his hundred prophets that were sent between the days of Moses and Christ to call again the Israelites being so often in the meanwhile fallen from Christ unto idolatry—he can never prove that since Christ's days the Catholic Church hath once so done, nor that ever it so shall hereafter... but if he prove therewith all Christ's promises broken by which he hath promised to keep his church 15

Mt 16:18; Lk 22:32 therefrom... as when he said that the gates of hell should never prevail against his church... and that himself had so prayed for Saint Peter that *Jn 14:26; 16:13* his faith which he confessed should never fail nor be put out of his church... and that he would send the Holy Ghost therein to teach it all truth and lead it into all truth... and that himself would be therewith *Mt 28:20* all days unto the very end of the world. 20 25

By this it appeareth plainly that though they which fall from this church (that is to wit, such sects of heretics as go out thereof) may fall to idolatry, yet the Church itself (that is to say, the stock that standeth still and remaineth) God shall never suffer to fall from the faith, but if he break all these promises; which we be sure that the unchangeable truth of his own nature, being, as himself said, the very, natural *truth*, can never suffer him to do. 30 35

And so Tyndale can in this point never make the synagogue of

and Huessgen... or priests apostate from the Christian faith, as Pomerane, Zwingli, and Hutchins here himself. If he name you these... let him prove them once good men, or at the leastwise some one among them all; let him prove their doctrine agreeable, or at the leastwise obstinately not repugnant; let him that showeth any further thing than his fellows, by some manner means prove himself sent by God, or such a man at the leastwise as the people might have cause to reckon him, for his living, a man very likely for God in so great a matter to choose out specially and send forth on his errand.

But thus ye wot well—that of all these that are dead, the world heareth not a good word that ever there was one good of them, but openly condemned for false. And as for these that now live... we see well at our own eyes, they be stark ribalds all. And agreement in their doctrine, neither is there none now nor never was there yet. Miracles—as shameless as they be, they cannot, for shame, say that ever they showed any. So that *these* were never any of the holy men whom God hath sent to call home his church so often from idolatry to faith, as Tyndale saith that the hundred prophets a hundred times called home the Jews. And yet such must he show if he say aught to purpose.

And therefore if these heretics will now be resembled to Christ and his apostles and to Saint John... let Tyndale tell us which of them to which of these? If these be now sent to call the Catholic Church to the right faith from which it was fallen before, as Christ was and his apostles, with Saint John his foregoer, to call home the synagoge... then let Tyndale now tell us which of them he resembleth to Saint John, which to Christ's apostles, and which unto Christ himself. And if he liken Luther to Christ, then who was Luther's Saint John the Baptist and foregoer? Or else, whose foregoer and Baptist is Luther? To whom maketh he the way now as the other did to Christ? I ween, in good faith, to Antichrist, and so forth to the devil of hell.

Howbeit, of truth, holy prophets *hath* there been sent unto the world by God and into the church of Christ—more than a hundred since the death of Christ—to keep in the right faith, and call home

the people from sin, by the true doctrine of the Spirit inspiring them the right sense of Scripture, and whatsoever God would have known besides. Whose doctrine in the necessary points did agree together, and which were holy men—so known well while they lived, and so taken after their death—declared for God’s messengers by many a mighty miracle. 5

Of these men may I name full many of sundry times, as Saint Ignatius, Saint Polycarp, Saint Cyprian, Saint Basil, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Leo, Saint Hilary, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustine. 10

Now if Tyndale dare say that himself meaneth these... then say we that none of these called us to Tyndale’s faith. For none of them did construe the Scripture as Tyndale doth. And therefore his faith is not Christ’s faith, nor Tyndale’s doctrine agreeable and consenting to theirs. For if Tyndale dare say that his doctrine and theirs agree... let Tyndale then of them all name us now some one that ever called religious persons to the breach and contempt of their vows, and said that chastity was an unlawful vow, and would that monks and friars should run out and wed nuns. 15 20

Then, since that of his hundred prophets between Moses and Christ, Tyndale leaveth off fourscore and nineteen, and is content to take no more but Saint John, to show that himself doth go from the Catholic Church and rebuke the doctrine thereof as Saint John did from the synagogue and rebuked the doctrine of the Pharisees: he must show us, as I answered him in my Sixth Book, that—ere he prove Saint John and himself matches in that point, he must *prove* that—himself was prophesied upon to be the foregoer of some new Christ as good as ever was the old. He must also show us his living somewhat more like the living of Saint John than it appeareth yet. 25 30

Also, because *he* showeth no miracles... he must prove us that—his new *Christ*, to whom himself is the foregoer, must *do* such miracles as our old Christ did... and then bear witness of Tyndale, his holy Baptist, as our Christ bore witness of the other. And all this in his life, besides miracles many showed for him when he is dead. 35

Finally, if he will say—as he meaneth here, and plainly saith in his other solution, to the first reason—that he and his fellows do now rebuke the doctrine of the Catholic Church in like manner as Saint John the Baptist and Christ did rebuke the doctrine of the scribes and Pharisees: he must prove us that of those scribes and Pharisees which taught the doctrine that Saint John the Baptist and our Savior rebuked were holy men and saints. For else saith Tyndale nothing to the purpose... forasmuch as himself cannot say nay but that many of those that have taught the things that Tyndale and Luther now rebuke were holy doctors and saints, of every age since Christ's days to their own. 5 10

And thus ye see, good readers, that where Tyndale biddeth us look upon the old examples, and then picketh out specially Saint John the Baptist to resemble himself and his preaching to, and his demeanor against the Catholic Church unto Saint John and his demeanor toward the synagogue... is as unlike as are white and black. 15

Now shall ye well perceive that the persons of Saint John the Baptist and of Sir William Tyndale be not much more unlike—no, nor *so* far unlike, neither, not by a great deal—as are the things that Saint John reproveth in the doctrine of the scribes and Pharisees and the things which Tyndale reproveth in the doctrine of the Catholic Church. 20

Howbeit, Tyndale, to make them seem like, dissembling the greatest things and of most weight, picketh out a few things wherein he would make the matter seem somewhat like... and yet findeth he none very like. And, over that, where they seem like, he maketh them seem like with lying. 25

For first he beginneth, as ye have heard, with the false gloss of the Pharisees by which many of them, falsely construing God's commandment of honoring their father and mother, mistaught the people that what need soever their father and mother had, yet if they offered unto God, they did better than if they helped their father and their mother therewith. And when he hath told this of the Pharisees... then resembleth he the doctrine of the Church thereto, and saith, "As ours now affirm that it is more meritorious to offer to God and his holy saints dead, than unto the poor living saints." 30 35

Lo, good reader, here knoweth Tyndale well enough that he lieth to make the two things seem like... and yet he maketh them not like. For well ye wot, there is no little difference between the thing that Tyndale saith here the Church teacheth—to be more meritorious to offer to God than to give to a poor man—and the thing that he saith the Pharisees taught: that it was more meritorious to offer unto God than help his father with the money, were he in never so great need. For I am not like bound to help every stranger that is a poor man—that is to say, in *some* poverty—as to help mine own father, that were in extreme necessity. And yet, as unlike as they be, these two things doth Tyndale here liken together. Might he not here liken almost as well Paul’s steeple to a dagger sheath?

And yet in this likening, as unlike as they be, he letteth not a little to lie, to link them so near together.

For iwis Tyndale knoweth very well that no man teacheth so precisely as he rehearseth... that it is better “to offer to God and his holy saints dead, than unto the poor living saints”... but the doctrine of the Church is, as himself can tell full well if he listed not to lie, that which of those two things—offering, or giving in alms—is for the time more meritorious, dependeth upon the circumstances of the deed and the persons at the time. For it were not always true to say that I must help my father before a stranger, nor myself before another man. For my father may percase have some need and myself both... and yet not so much but that I were bound for the time to give from myself, and yet not to my father, but for the time to some stranger whom I never knew before—his necessity may be such.

And therefore the Catholic Church teacheth that both to give alms is good and to offer is good... and he that hath wherewith to do both, ought to do the one, and doth well to do the other. But where the one is better and where the other... is to be considered by him that doth it, upon the time and persons, and many other circumstances more than well can be comprehended and given men

in writing, under any such certain rules but that sometimes they may fail. But reason ruled by charity and devotion shall not need to fear but they shall do both full well, and perceive sufficiently where the one is to be done and where the other, if they follow not these heretics in contemning the one. 5

1 Cor 7:7–9, 32–38

The Church saith as Saint Paul saith—that virginity is better than the work of wedlock. Yet meaneth neither the Church nor Saint Paul that it so were if there were but one man with one woman left alive in all the whole world. 10

Mk 14:3–9; Jn 12:1–8

Saint Mary Magdalene was more allowed of Christ for bestowing that costly ointment upon his head, so fully and so freely that she broke the glass and all, to show that she would none spare for herself... than if she had sold it, as Judas would have had it, and given the money to poor men. 15

And yet did she it but to do him pleasure with, as men did then unto guests to make them cheer with... as folk do now cast damask water and burn pleasant perfumes. Albeit unawares to herself, she did indeed work a mystery therein, that did betoken his burying. But God, as I say, the thank that he gave her, he gave her not for that mystery whereupon she thought not... but for her devout mind that she bore toward him. And yet peradventure neither she would nor God would she should, have bestowed it so in case it had happened that there had lain a man so sick that without that ointment he should have died... and that she had well wist, or thought, that she might by that ointment save his life and by nothing else. 20

But albeit there were poor men very many whom she might have *refreshed*, and well wist there were so—yet since she neither knew their need for so great that required so sudden help, nor other men's devotion for so small but that they might be helped by other folk... she neither thought herself bound nor no more she was indeed, to follow the counsel of Judas in giving the price to poor men rather than, in witness and testimony of her good will and devotion, to spend it out in pleasure upon the 25 30 35

blessed body of Christ. And yet was he not ravished with the odor
of her ointment, but with the delight of her devotion... in which
Devotion delighteth God. he delighteth yet when any man doth the
like.

And therefore I say that though the Pharisees taught wrong, 5
whom Saint John reproveth and our Savior himself also, in
that they taught that it was better to offer the money to God than
honor and help their father and mother therewith were their
need never so great: yet the Church teacheth right. For it teacheth
plain the contrary thereof... and saith that the Pharisees taught 10
false... and teacheth only that to offer to God and his saints is *well*
done, and that to help poor men and give alms *must* needs
be done. And when and in what case the one is more meritorious
than the other, the Church teacheth many good and reasonable
rules... and yet can no man well tell so many but that, as I said, sometimes 15
the reason of the man, ruled with charity and devotion that
cometh and worketh with grace, must be his guide therein.

But now these new men begin to give a certain rule that (as they
say) shall put us quite out of all doubt when we shall do the one and
when the other. For therein, lo, thus they say: "Offering," say they, "to God 20
or to saints, and likewise building of churches, buying of copes,
Books, surplice, and chalice, be things voluntary, to the doing
whereof no commandment of God constraineth thee. But as for
giving of alms, is a thing necessary, whereunto God by his own
bidding bindeth thee. And therefore first, evermore, give thy money 25
to the poor men that need it, as long as there be any. And then, lo,
when there be no more poor men left that ye may bestow your money
upon... go to, then, good Christians, in God's name, and bestow the
remnant whereon ye will—even upon pilgrimages if ye
list, lo, and upon offerings, and building of churches, and buying 30
of Books, and copes, and crosses, and ships, and censers hardily too,
for me. And therefore say not now that we say that the voluntary
things be not lawful. For we say no more but that the necessary
things must needs be done first; and iwis, good Christians, ye
wot well yourselves that is very good reason." 35

Now, to the end that ye may, good readers, the better perceive while they teach in this manner, what their very mind is in the matter... ye shall understand that it happed myself to be upon a time present in a certain assembly of personages, both of great honor and also of great cunning... in which, among other things that were there treated of, one that had in sundry places preached after such manner fashion as I have here rehearsed you, was demanded and asked whether it were enough, before a man bestow his money upon such kinds of “voluntary,” to help first such poor, needy folk as he happened to hear of unsought, or else that he must besides that, before he bestow any money otherwise, seek and search about whether he may find any more. Whereunto he answered well and plainly that we be first bound to seek and search and be sure thereof... namely because of such as cannot come forth, but lie still bedridden at home... and some that be peradventure ashamed to offer themselves and beg. 5 10 15

Then was he demanded farther, since it was not enough to give poor men when they asked, nor where we found them by hap... but we were further bound, before we bestowed aught upon “voluntary,” to seek and search out such necessary—whether it sufficed then to take for our part those needy folk that were found in our own parish, or else that we must extend our alms farther, to the whole town. Whereunto he answered that neither sufficed our parish nor our town; no, nor all our own whole country, neither; but wheresoever there were any poor, needy men, we were bound to help them all before we should anything bestow upon such kinds of “voluntary”; so that finally the man was fully minded rather to send us all to Rome to seek and search out some poor man and bear him a penny thither, than to suffer us spend a halfpenny, either out or at home, upon any offering either to God... or saint or building of church or garnishing thereof, or buying of any ornament therefor. 20 25 30

Jn 12:8 And surely if these folk say well... then Mary Magdalene did not well, but was much to blame. For I am very sure, and our Savior himself shall bear me record, that if she would have sought and searched, she 35

might have found in Jerusalem, even at her hand, poor, needy men enough to have received twice as much money as all that ointment was worth.

Mk 12:41-44

Christ blamed not those that offered into the treasury of the Temple, nor said that they offered too much... but rather, by praising of the poor widow that offered somewhat of her poverty, rebuked the rich folk for offering too little... albeit that, as the Gospel saith, many offered much. And yet, as I said, of this am I very sure: that they might have had poor men enough to bestow that money upon, in relief necessary, that they there spent upon the Temple—a thing, as these men call it, “voluntary.”

Howbeit, I marvel why they should call it all “voluntary”; for some of it be things that must needs be done. For churches, at the leastwise, must we needs have—and yet thereto say some of these folk nay.

But holy Saint Chrysostom calleth upon folk to build churches thereas it seemed necessary... and that so far forth that rather than to leave that work undone, he would they should give the less to poor folk, to do the other with. And then dare I say that he would have men buy both Books and chalices and other ornaments thereto.

And thus may we soon see that these new sects of Tyndale’s sort be far from Saint Chrysostom’s mind. For ye may well perceive, by their doctrine, that when they would have all poor men sought out ever and served, and every man’s necessity done, before any of the other things that they call “voluntary” should be by any man begun... what other preaching is this but utterly to *forbid* them?—not with plain words, but with worse than plain words: with blasphemous mockery, knavish derision, and scorn.

And surely that word of Tyndale in which he calleth the saints that are departed “dead” saints... albeit that there were none harm therein spoken by a good man’s mouth, yet hath it a shrewd signification spoken out of his... since Luther and he ween that there were not one of them all in heaven, but that they lie all in a sleep still, no man wotteth where... and therefore Tyndale bade us pray to them when we speak *with* them; so that till then, he would we should let them alone.

And thus, good Christian readers, for conclusion of this point, ye

may clearly see that concerning offerings to God or his saints,
 or money bestowed about those good works that these folk call all
 “voluntary,” the Church teacheth right... as appeareth well by plain
 and evident Scripture; and that the doctrine of the Pharisees
 which Christ reproveth, the Church reproveth also and thereof 5
 teacheth the contrary. And so the doctrine of the Church and the
 doctrine of the Pharisees, in this point wherein Tyndale resembleth
 them together and lieth, too, to make them like... be no more like
 together than is chalk to coals.

Now is all the remnant of his process, as ye have heard, 10
 nothing else but railing upon the doctors of the Catholic
 Church, for believing that the sacraments be not bare signs and
 tokens, and because of the belief of purgatory.

Now am I very glad that ye see so clearly that those whom this
 new Saint John the Baptist calleth “Pharisees” be all those old holy 15
 doctors and saints that have been in every age this fifteen hundred
 years. For all they have believed in the same sacraments that we do,
 and the same things that this new Baptist rebuketh.

And in like wise of purgatory Tyndale cannot say nay. For I 20
 have in my Third Book of his confutation laid him plain
 words of divers of the eldest and most holy doctors... and among
A notable saying others, Saint Chrysostom writing that
 the apostles themselves prayed for souls
 in their Masses.

And now see you plainly that Tyndale calleth them all “Pharisees” 25
 therefore... and is come as a new Saint John the Baptist to show us
 that, by name this eight hundred years, but by his declaration this
 fifteen hundred years, the “Pharisees”—that is to wit, all the holy doctors
 and saints that have been all this while in Christendom,
 from Christ himself hitherto... the truth of whose faith, and the 30
 holiness of whose living, our Lord hath illustrated and set out
 unto the show with many a thousand miracle—have made the
 Scripture “crooked” and “rough,” “wresting” it with false glosses...
 making men believe that there were purgatory, and that men should 35
 kneel to Christ’s cross and kiss it, and worship Christ’s Holy Body
 in the Blessed Sacrament, and keep the chastity that they have vowed
 to God... till now, lo, that this new Saint John the Baptist is sent down

to prepare the way for Antichrist, and make the rough smooth and the crooked straight, and to turn the hearts of the fathers unto the children, with making the world now to be of the same heart and mind that the “old” holy fathers have been of, in “old” time.

And how will this holy Baptist do all this gear, and thus turn the hearts of the children and the fathers all into one? Surely by teaching the children, as well in faith as living, the very clean contrary of all that ever their old holy fathers this fifteen hundred years have taught them... and with telling us that all the old fathers were like the false Pharisees, and corrupted the Scripture, as Pharisees did, with false glosses... teaching good works and sacraments, and keeping of holy vows, and such other sinful superstitions. And therefore doth this holy new Baptist, to purge and purify the people, bid us now believe that to break the vow of chastity is a good work and well done... and that all other good works be naught worth... and Baptism as little worth, because the priest speaketh to the child in Latin, a language that the child understandeth not—as he should full well, ye wot well, if the tale were told him in his mother tongue.

Then teacheth he us that confession is the devil’s invention, and absolution is but whistling. Satisfaction, great sin to do any.

The sacrament of wedlock, he saith, is such that he could make as good a sacrament of an old net... saving only when friars wed nuns; for then is it holy, in such holy folk.

The Sacrament of Holy Orders he jesteth upon, with “shaven” and “shorn” and “oiled,” and “wagging” of the bishop’s hand... and Saint Paul’s hand laid upon Timothy but like a man’s hand laid on a boy’s head and call him “good son.” The Sacrament of Extreme Unction he calleth but “greasing” the sick man. The Sacrament of Confirmation he calleth but “smearing” of the child’s face, and “buttering” of the boy’s forehead.

The holy, blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the very, precious body and blood of our Savior himself... this holy new Baptist forbiddeth to have any honor done unto it... but only take it for a memorial of his Passion. And then he jesteth thereon himself, and saith that it is nothing else but wine and “cakebread,” except it be peradventure “turned into starch.”

Lo, good Christian readers, here is the doctrine of this new Baptist... not Saint John the Baptist, but Sir William the Baptist—this holy William Tyndale, otherwise called Hutchins, scholar to Friar Huessgen—which hath here made you of the synagogue, scribes, and Pharisees such a goodly painted process as he hath now told you twice... and served you with a Jack of Paris, an evil pie twice baked, to declare you twice the great fruit and profit that the world may now take, if it will, by his holy coming into it to preach and rebuke the pharisaical doctrine of all the old holy saints and teach his own godly, Christian heresies, such as ye now have heard. 5

And, now, if this gear be good... then have we surely great cause to thank God. For then can we lack none holy Baptists to preach us. For there is not, I ween, so poor a village in Christendom, in which there is dwelling any one villainous knave, but he may be within three days (if he be not already) such another Baptist as this is... and rebuke all that is good with such abominable blasphemy as now Tyndale doth, if any Christian man's ears can abide the hearing. 15

But yet remember, good readers, that in the conclusion of all that tale... he knitteth it up with a fresh, lusty point, and assoileth all the reason in this wise... 20

Tyndale

Now make this reason unto John the Baptist, and unto many prophets that went before him and did as he did; yea, and unto Christ himself and his apostles... and thou shalt find them all heretics, and the scribes and Pharisees good men, if that reason be good. 25

More

This point is, lo, the old point which, here and in his solution to the first reason, he hath put forth four or five times before... saving that he giveth always his old point, at one end or other, some new aglet. But when all his cost is done thereon... it is not all worth an aglet of a good blue point. For I have in my Sixth Book, answering his solution to the first reason, showed you many answers that Saint John, and Christ, and his apostles, and other, poor folk too, very far under them, might say for themselves 30 35

against the scribes and Pharisees... which things neither Luther nor Tyndale, nor none of all their sects, can say for themselves against the Catholic Church. And yet more shall I show you of the same sort, when ye have heard what Tyndale can here say for himself. After all which thing heard and well weighed... ye shall well and clearly perceive that for Tyndale's tale the reason of Saint Augustine that Tyndale here speaketh of, being made by the Jews against Saint John and Christ and his apostles, shall have no strength at all, neither to prove them evil nor the Pharisees good—and yet the same reason being by the Catholic Church made against Tyndale and Luther, and Huessgen, and Zwingli... must needs prove the Catholic Church to be the very church of Christ... and that Luther and Tyndale and all they, with all those that believe them, be plain, undoubted heretics.

And therefore let us first see with what evasion Tyndale will avoid this reason for himself and his own sects. And then what Christ can say more for himself and his company, we shall see somewhat after.

Tyndale, lo, teacheth his disciples to answer the reason thus...

Tyndale 20

Therefore thiswise thou mayest answer: No thanks unto the heads of that church that the Scripture was kept, but unto the mercy of God. For as they had destroyed the right sense of it for their lucre sake... even so would they have destroyed *it* also, had they could, rather than the people should have come unto the right understanding of it... as they slew the true interpreters and preachers of it. And even so, no thanks unto our hypocrites that the Scripture is kept, but unto the bottomless mercy of God.

For as they have destroyed the right sense of it with their leaven, and as they destroy daily the true preachers of it, and as they keep it from the laypeople, that they should not see how they juggle with it... even so would they destroy it also, could they bring it about, rather than we should come by the true understanding of it, were it not that God provided otherwise for us. For they have put the stories that should in many things help us, clean out of the way... as nigh as they could. They have corrupted the legend and lives almost of all saints. They have feigned false books, and put them forth, some in the name of Saint Jerome, some in the name of

Saint Augustine, in the name of Saint Cyprian, Saint Dionysius, and other holy men. Which are proved none of theirs... partly by the style and Latin, and partly by authentic stories. And as the Jews have set up a book of traditions, called Talmud, to destroy the sense of the Scripture... unto which they give faith, and unto the Scripture none at all, be it never so plain, but say it cannot be understood save by the Talmud: even so have ours set up their dunce their Thomas, and a thousand like draff, to establish their lies through falsifying the Scripture... and say that it cannot be understood without them, be it never so plain. And if a man allege a holy doctor against them, they gloss him out as they do the Scripture; or will not hear; or say, "The Church hath otherwise determined."

More

Now, good Christian readers, here have you heard one of his answers, which how it maketh anything to the purpose, surely that see not I. For whereas the reason of Saint Augustine is that men may perceive that this known Catholic church is the very church, in that that God hath unto this church given his gift of discerning the very scripture of God from the counterfeit, and to receive the one and reject the other... and that he hath so given that grace unto this church only, that no man can (ordinarily) be sure which writing is Holy Scripture, and which is not, but by the tradition of this church and credence given thereunto; for if he took it of a company of heretics, yet evermore those heretics, like as they came out of this whole church, and their authors and beginners were once a part thereof... and *then*, of *this* church, received the Scripture, *before* they departed out thereof: so doth evermore the credence whereupon the knowledge of the true scripture dependeth—that credence, I say, resorteth ever up to this whole Catholic church... unto which without credence had been given, none heretic had known which were the very scripture. For the proof whereof, we yet see that these heretics in so far forth as they believe the Church, in so far forth they know which is the Scripture; and in so far forth as they believe not the Church, they perceive not which is the Scripture, though they have it in their hands and read it. As ye may see by the Epistle of Saint James... which epistle Luther and Friar

Barnes let not to reject and set aside for naught. And thus evermore heretics, all the Scripture that they know, by the Catholic Church they know. For to this only church, as Tyndale's master confesseth, hath God given that gift to discern the true scripture from the false. And since that God hath given this great spiritual gift only to the Church, which gift is a beginning of spiritual-lifely doctrine... it thereby well and clearly appeareth, to any man that will not willfully wink, that this church is the very church, of which God will have men learn. 5

Now, good Christian reader, this being the reason and purpose of holy Saint Augustine... and having in itself such strength that Luther could not himself say nay thereto, notwithstanding that the confessing thereof must needs overturn his heresies: now biddeth Tyndale *his* disciples that *they* shall answer thereto that "the Catholic Church is not to be thanked for the Scripture that we receive thereof, but the bottomless mercy of God"—and here is all this whole answer to the reason; for all the remnant is nothing else but railing against the Church. 15

Now what goeth this answer to the purpose? Who biddeth him give the thank to the Church? Let him, like as he believeth the Church that the gospels of the four evangelists be the true Gospel of Christ, so know thereby and believe that the same church by which he knoweth that point, and which in that point he believeth, is here in earth the very church of Christ; and then let him give the thank to *God*, without whose grace working with him, he could not believe the Church neither in the one point nor the other... and for lack of whose grace, which grace he lacketh not but in his own default, he now believeth not the one point as he doth the other, except he lack so much that for his malice he believe neither nother. I pray God give him once the grace to believe both; and when he so doth, then shall he have the grace therewith to perceive that he hath, for the knowledge of the true scripture from the false, great cause to give thank to both. First and principally to God, that gave that gift unto his church, and wrought with him to believe it; and after to the Church, that was a means and minister in bringing that grace unto him... and cause also to be glad a great deal in himself, that he resisted not God and his church, 20 25 30 35

but followed and went with them in calling him home again to the belief of God and his church, from the damnable ways of his malicious errors.

And now that ye plainly perceive that this answer of his nothing toucheth the purpose... I would very fain pass over his foolish railing, saving that it seemeth necessary that the folly and lies of such false, frantic heretics may be well known, lest some good simple souls may ween them wise and true therewith, and thereupon be deceived and believe them. 5

First he raileth upon the doctors of the Catholic Church, and saith that they have “destroyed the right sense of [the Scripture] with their leaven.” Now all this, ye wot well, he meaneth in that they teach that *The “leaven” of holy doctors* folk should not trust in only faith, without good works of charity and of penance, and that they teach that friars should not wed nuns, and that Christian men should pray for all Christian souls, and should have Christ’s holy sacraments in reverence, and especially the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the Precious Body and Blood of Christ himself, and other such things like. 10 15

This is the “leaven” for which Tyndale doth now damn here the doctors of the Catholic Church. But every man well wotteth, and himself too, though he say nay, that this doctrine is of that leaven wherewith the woman of whom Christ speaketh in the Gospel of Saint *Mt 13:33* Matthew did leaven all her whole dough and meal; that is to say, of that leaven with which not only all the old holy doctors, but also the blessed apostles themselves, and our Savior Christ also himself, leavened the bread of their doctrine which either in words or writing they taught unto the Christian flock. All which leaven Tyndale would now take out, and leave us “the Scripture” unsavory. 20 25 30

Then raileth he forth on and saith “they destroy daily the *true* preachers of it.”

Here let him name which... and then shall he name you such as would destroy the leaven that I now rehearsed you, which Christ hath himself put in our bread; such as (for the more part) would take his own Blessed Body out of the sacrament, and leave there for our souls nothing but unsavory bread, or as Tyndale argueth it, 35

starch instead of bread. I would he would name them all that have now been burned here in England by the means of his own books. As Bainham the Jangler, and Hitton the Joiner, and Tewkesbury the Purser, and Bayfield the Apostate—a worshipful sort of preachers. And yet shall Tyndale find none of all these, or any other that I have heard of here, but that he either, though he held some of Tyndale’s, yet he forsook as false some part of Tyndale’s... or held as true some such thing besides, as Tyndale would, I wot well, if himself were apposed, affirm to be very false. And of this, if Tyndale dare deny it... I shall plainly prove both the parts. And therefore let Tyndale, of those that have been burned here, choose which he list... and name of them all some one that he will call a “true” preacher... and then shall I prove you shortly that if that preacher be true, Tyndale shall even by that preacher, whom himself will name for true, be plainly proved false.

Then railleth he further on and saith, “They keep [the Scripture] from the laypeople, that they should not see how they juggle with it.”

I have, in the book of my *Dialogue*, proved already that Tyndale doth in this point falsely belie the clergy... and that of truth, Wycliffe and Tyndale and Friar Barnes and such others have been the only cause for which the Scripture hath been of necessity kept out of the laypeople’s hands—and that, of late, specially by the politic provision and ordinance of our most excellent sovereign the King’s noble Grace, not without great and urgent causes manifestly arising upon the false, malicious means of William Tyndale... for which all the laypeople of this realm, both the evil folk that take harm by him and the good folk that lose the profit by him, have great cause to lament that ever that man was born.

Then forth he goeth on further in his lies and saith, “They have put the stories that should in many things help us, clean out of the way as nigh as they could.”

How proveth Tyndale this lie of his to be true? Let him prove his lie true in some one story that the Church hath put away... and then tell us this tale again. For they never put any away but such as were feigned gospels and fables... which the Church by the Spirit of God (whose gift Luther confesseth it to have in that

point) did evermore considerately reject and avoid... as it partly appeareth by Saint Jerome concerning the *Book of the Infancy of our Savior*. But fain would Tyndale have some such false and feigned stories remain and taken for Scripture, to the end and intent that as his heresies be by the very scripture confuted and reproved, so they might be by some such false scripture maintained again and allowed. 5

But then railleth Tyndale further yet, and lieth again against the Church and saith, "They have corrupted the legend and lives almost of all saints." 10

Who hath corrupted these legends? Let him name someone and prove it, or else let him leave off his lying.

The legends of saints' lives were written in diverse times, as the saints in diverse times lived, and in diverse died... of whose lives the Church none other knoweth but as they find written or heard by good folk that knew them... saving that the Spirit of God, by which it knoweth and discerneth (as Saint Augustine saith, and Luther himself alloweth) which is the very scripture, shall not suffer it (as that *holy doctor* Saint Thomas saith) to err and be deceived in taking for a saint any damned person, and thereby give to God's enemy the honor due to his friend. And by this Spirit, whatsoever be written in the legend of any saint, the Church discerneth if anything were at any time in the good man amiss... and so taketh it as a fault for the time and afterward amended... as we read of some of Christ's own apostles, reported in the very Gospel. 15 20 25

And the Church also doth not precisely bind any man to the belief of everything written in a legend, as though every saint's legend were part of the scripture of God.

But the thing that Tyndale is offended with is this: that the legends of saints testify their holy living and miracles that God showed for them... whereof we find no legend like, that ever was written for any "saint" that in obstinate heresies departed and died out of the Catholic Church. 30

Now confesseth Tyndale that *all* the saints' legends be not so corrupted, but he saith "almost" all. In which word he saith enough for us against himself. For let him leave never so few, and tell us which they be... and I doubt not then, in good faith, but that we shall in that few find things enough to prove his heresies false. 35

Yet goeth he further against the Church and saith, “They have feigned false books and put them forth, some in the name of Saint Jerome, some in the name of Saint Augustine, and in the name of Saint Cyprian, Saint Dionysius, and other holy men... which are proved none of theirs, partly by style and Latin, and partly by authentic stories.” 5

Here would he fain, good Christian readers, bring us all in doubt of *all* the old holy doctors’ works... because he were loath, by his will, that *any* were, of them all, believed!

But what great harm and loss were there in the matter though it sometimes happed the book of one good, holy man to be named the book of another... as a book of Saint Augustine to be taken for a book of Saint Ambrose? There were in such a matter no very great hurt if it so happed indeed. 10

But to the intent that ye shall plainly perceive that this tale of Tyndale wherewith he would fain blind us shall nothing serve for his purpose... let him take the books of which himself nothing doubteth, and even by the selfsame shall he find his opinions proved plain heresies. Or else let Tyndale find us in some of their true books which he doubteth not to be their own indeed—let him prove, I say, by them, that all those books be falsely put out in their names... in which books he findeth if they be true, all holy saints agree against himself that good works are meritorious, and that folks do well to honor saints and their relics, and go in pilgrimages, and to pray for all Christian souls, and to honor the Blessed Sacrament, and that it is abominable for friars to wed nuns, and such other things like. Let Tyndale, I say, find us the contrary of these tales taught us in their true books... or else let him tell us no more of his own tale, but leave off his lies like a fool. 15 20 25

And first, for the meanwhile, the book in which Saint Augustine maketh this reason that we now talk of for the Catholic Church... Tyndale doth himself confess to be the very book of Saint Augustine. And then doth this reason alone plainly and perfectly prove this known Catholic church to be the very church of Christ... and consequently thereby proveth Tyndale, that teacheth the contrary, to be—in the greatest point that any man lightly can fall in, and on which point most heresies do depend—a very plain, open heretic. 30 35

into draff, as the hogs of hell shall feed upon and fill their bellies thereof.

But when the beast hath thus blasphemed them all... then would he wind out with a wile, and make men ween that he meant but the doctors of these last eight hundred years... which were yet enough to lay such a railing knave eight hundred miles deep in hell. 5

But since he saith “a thousand like” unto Saint Thomas... he cannot so escape as though he meant but Saint Bernard, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Anselm, and such other holy men of these eight hundred years past last... but he must needs take into them all the old holy saints as the seven hundred years before—as many as in such things as Tyndale findeth fault with, expounding the Scripture against the mind of Tyndale likewise as Saint Thomas doth. But now, to color his blasphemy... those would he should seem were none. And therefore, lo, thus he saith... 10 15

Tyndale

And if a man allege any holy doctor against them, they gloss him out as they do the Scripture; or will not hear; or say, “The Church hath otherwise determined.”

More

Lo, good Christian reader, this false pageant playeth Tyndale in more places than one... making as though that in the matters of his heresies the new doctors only were against him. And yet calleth he the new, the doctors of eight hundred years old; and such a new coat I would he got him, and wear out his old the while. 20 25

And then maketh he as though the “old,” of the other seven hundred years before, were upon his part, all the whole meinie, and construed the Scripture as he doth, and condemn these expositions that the new doctors, of eight hundred years old and under, have made since.

And he saith that against *all* holy doctors, when he layeth “any” one against us, we “gloss him out,” or “will not hear” him, or say, “The Church hath otherwise determined.” Here must Tyndale understand that we never bind him to anything of necessity upon the saying of any one doctor, be he old or young... but either by the common, fast faith of the whole Catholic Church—grown (as it ever 30 35

Ps 67:7 (Vulgate) doth) by the Spirit of God, that maketh
 men of one mind in his church—or by the
 determination of the Church assembled for such causes in the general
 councils. And then the common faith of old times before our
 days, we presume to be such, of likelihood, as we perceive by the old
 holy saints' books that they were of themselves. For otherwise than by
 books can we not know what the people believed a thousand years
 ago... but if we might talk with the men themselves and ask them. 5

Now, if Tyndale *could* lay us for his purpose peradventure a
 word of some one holy man... it were no reason to bid us believe 10
 that one before the consent of many, nor against the common
 belief of the Catholic Church secretly grown to consent by the
 Holy Spirit of God, nor against the consent of the Catholic
 Church defining that point in a general council through the
 same Spirit. 15

Now, when we thus do... Tyndale cannot say that we refuse to hear
 that one holy man whom he shall peradventure allege us for his
 purpose. For in thus doing, we *do* hear him, and follow him. For
 every one of all the old holy men did ever submit his own mind
 to the determination of the Catholic Church, and bade every 20
 man do the like.

And of them all, we wot well Tyndale findeth not one that saith
 contrary to this. Howbeit, thus much have I showed you rather to
 tell you somewhat of the authority of the Catholic Church above
 any one holy man, than for any holy man that ever I think Tyndale 25
 shall be able to bring forth for the confirmation of his heresies.

But now, to put this matter out of all doubt and question, and that
 every man may see whether Tyndale speak here in earnest, as he
 thinketh, or else saith all this but for a shift... let him now stand
 well to his tackling, and stick stiffly thereto. Let us, concerning 30
 the right construction of Scripture or corrupting the true sense
 thereof, consider some one heresy of his, for which the Church
 calleth him heretic. Let us see now...

We say that it is abominable for a monk or a friar to wed a
 nun; Tyndale saith we say wrong, and that a friar to wed a 35
 nun is very well done and lawfully. When we forbid it, we lay

the scripture for us, “Vow ye and pay it.” And Saint Paul, speaking
Ps 76:12; 1 Tm 5:9–12 of the widows which after their chastity
vowed unto God would fall then again to
marriage, saith that they had their damnation, because they
1 Cor 7:9 therein broke their former faith. Tyndale 5
saith we construe the Scripture wrong...
and layeth Scripture for his part: the words of Saint Paul, “Better it is
to wed than to burn.” We say he construeth wrong. If we would
allege for us the exposition of Saint Thomas, or Saint Anselm,
or Saint Bonaventure, or Saint Bernard, or a thousand suchlike 10
together that were alive at any time this eight hundred years...
Tyndale would call it our Talmud, and say they were all but draff.
But then he saith, again, that when *he* will allege any holy
doctor for *his* part against *us*, we will “gloss him out,” or else we
“will not hear” him, or else we will say that “the Church hath 15
otherwise determined.”

Lo, good readers, here are we come together, Tyndale and we, to the
very point; where you shall see now how courteously I shall handle him.
Let him lay forth for his part some one holy doctor, and I will
hear him, and I neither will gloss him out nor say the Church 20
hath determined otherwise. For I ween the thing was never taken
for so doubtful that ever the Church should have needed. But though
it have determined it... yet will I wink thereat and dissemble it,
and will not say, “The Church hath otherwise determined it.”

And therefore I will allege no such thing. But let Tyndale lay 25
forth any one holy man for his part... and ye shall see what I shall
yet more do for him. This will I, lo, do for him. Albeit that I have
for my part not only all the holy doctors of these eight hundred
years, all whom Tyndale taketh for draff; and albeit that I have 30
also for my part holy Saint Gregory, holy Saint Augustine, holy
Saint Ambrose, and holy Saint Jerome, four the special doctors
of Christ’s church; and besides them, a great many that I
could name—holy doctors and saints, some of a thousand years,
some of twelve hundred, and some thirteen, and some very far
above, and the youngest above nine hundred at the least—let Tyndale, 35
I say, for his part in the matter, lay me forth, of all the whole

doctors and saints, no more but even some *one*... and I shall be content this once, for Tyndale's sake, to believe that one against all his fellows; which I will never do for no man's pleasure, I promise you, but even only for his.

But, now, on the other side, if he cannot bring so much as one, as I wot very well he cannot... and we can against him bring so many as himself can tell well enough: let him then for very shame confess that he belieth the Church when he saith we will believe no holy doctor. And then let him also for very shame confess that in this one point at the least, both Luther and himself, and all the shameless harlots of their sect, do shamefully misconstrue the Scripture... and with some new Talmud of the devil's device and theirs, do corrupt and falsify the very, true gospel of God. 5 10

This, lo, ye see well, Tyndale must grant at the last; which if he be so shameless as to deny it still, then will every man that wit hath, grant and agree it for him. And then must it needs follow further that all their whole doctrine is but plain frantic heresies... and that themselves, being so shamefully shameless, unreasonable, railing ribalds, be men full unmeet for God to send on his message... in so great a matter, namely, as to turn the world with ribaldry from sin. 15 20

To this goodly pass hath Tyndale brought this process, and showed us here two solutions... both one, and both such as ye see.

But now shall ye see him play the man in the third. For thus, lo, he teacheth his disciples yet a third answer, because he seeth well that the other twain were naught... 25

Tyndale

Now, therefore, when they ask us how we know that it is the scripture of God... ask them how John the Baptist knew, and other prophets which God stirred up in all such times as the Scripture was in captivity under hypocrites. Did John believe that the scribes, Pharisees, and priests were the true church of God and had his Spirit, and could not err? Who taught the eagles to spy out their prey? Even so, the children of God spy out their father... and Christ's elects spy out their lord, and trace out the paths 30 35

of his feet and follow; yea, though he go upon the plain and liquid water, which will receive no step. And yet there they find out his foot; his elect know him, but the world knoweth him not (John 1). If the world know him not, and thou call the world pride, wrath, envy, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, then our spirituality know him not. Christ's sheep hear the voice of Christ (John 10), whereas the world of hypocrites, as they know him not—even so the wolves hear not his voice, but compel the Scripture to hear *them*, and to speak what they list. And therefore “except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us seed... we had been all as Sodom and Gomorrah,” said Isaiah in his first chapter. And even so said Paul in his time. And so even say we in our time: that the Lord of the Hosts hath saved him seed, and hath gathered him a flock to whom he hath given ears to hear . . . and eyes to see that the blind leaders of the blind cannot see... and a heart to understand that the generation of poisoned vipers can neither understand nor know.

More

Lo, good Christian readers, here may ye clearly see what a strength this reason of holy Saint Augustine hath, against which these heretics are fain to find so many shifts, and ever the later the lewder. For in this answer Tyndale is yet further fallen in folly than in any of those two that he made before, as fond as they were both.

The effect of all this answer is that himself and such others, his fellows, as take opinions against the known Catholic church, need not to recognize and acknowledge the known Catholic church for the very church... and that the reason that Saint Augustine made therefor is not sufficient: that is to say, that saving for this Catholic church, they should not have known any truth at all, not so much as which were the true gospel and which not... and therefore should not have believed the Gospel save for this Catholic church.

“This reason,” saith Tyndale, “is nothing worth. For we that are elect,” saith he, “and therefore are the *very* church, do *not* know by the Catholic Church which is the very gospel and the true scripture... no more than did Saint John the Baptist, and the other holy prophets before him, know which was the true scripture of

God by the scribes and Pharisees and the high priests; whom they did not acknowledge for the true church, nor for those that had the Spirit of God and could not err.” But his fellows and he, since they be God’s elects and therefore the *very* church, do know, he saith, which is the Gospel, and which is the very scripture, by the same means by which Saint John the Baptist and the other holy prophets before him knew the very scripture of God: that is to wit, by the secret, inward teaching of the Spirit of God... even in like wise as the eagle without the teaching of any other spieth, perceiveth, and knoweth which beast or bird is meet for his meat, and convenient for his prey, by the secret, inward motion and instinct of nature. And therefore by this answer is that reason of Saint Augustine avoided.

Here is, lo, good Christian reader, all his answer and his goodly solution—nothing left out that hath any strength or force toward the purpose, but laid yet more directly for his purpose than Tyndale layeth it himself... save for leaving out of the railing, whereof we may peradventure somewhat touch by the way.

But first consider what blunt subtleties and what foolish fallacies he bringeth in this answer. He would bring us from the point with likening the whole Catholic church of Christ—that is to wit, the whole multitude of all true Christian people, of which our matter is—unto the scribes and the Pharisees and the high priests... as though they alone had been the whole church of the Jews... or the high priests of one town, the whole universal synagogue.

This subtlety of Tyndale is as blunt as a block, and too great for any man to stumble at that hath any eyes in his head.

Nor I need not for this matter to defend that the whole synagogue could not err in the choice of the scripture, nor that the whole synagogue was until Christ’s coming the very church of God, neither; nor to admit, as Tyndale here maketh it, *everything* to go like between the whole synagogue of Moses and the Catholic church of Christ—between which twain, albeit that the other *was* for that while the very church indeed, there is yet, in manner, as great difference as is between the figure and the thing, the shadow and the body... as by many manner things far different I might

well show you... and among others, no small difference between them in the thing that most properly pertaineth unto the point whereupon specially dependeth the matter that we have in hand: that is to wit, the keeping and preserving of the one or the other from all damnable error. In this point I say there is special dissimilitude between the synagogue and the Church... for the promises that Christ hath made unto the Church to send his Holy Spirit into it

Jn 14:16-17; 16:13 to lead it into all truth, and that it should
Mt 28:20 dwell therein forever, and himself be permanent also therein forever.

And therefore, since all these infallible means of teaching of the truth, and preservation of the truth, hath been made unto the church of Christ by him that is himself Truth and therefore *cannot* lie... which promises were never made alike unto the Jews: I need not here, as I say, no more answer Tyndale (though indeed I have done and will) than I need, in a manner, if he would put his examples by some other that were a false church and were deceived, and had false scriptures indeed. For it is enough to me that the church of Christ hath that gift of God, by his great promises, that it shall ever be by him and his Spirit led into every necessary truth... of which one of the most necessary is to know which is the true scripture. And it is enough against Tyndale that his own master Luther saith that this Catholic, known church hath that gift. And it is a clear thing to me and all Christian men that none other church hath that gift but the Catholic Church... since every man seeth that the thing is true which Saint Augustine saith: that he had not known which had been the very gospel, and therefore had not believed the Gospel, save for the Catholic Church.

And as that holy saint saith of himself... so may every man well say of himself: that by the Catholic Church he knoweth the Scripture; which no man can reckon himself surely to know by any other folk than those whom he reckoneth surely to be the very, true church and the messenger of God to tell it him. For else may every fool see that as he doubteth of the messenger, he must needs doubt of the message.

And therefore now let us look on this answer of Tyndale. "I learned not," saith he, "of the Catholic Church to know which is the

true scripture.” “Of what man, then?” say we. “Of no man,” saith he, “but even God himself”—“and so,” saith he, “do all my fellows that are the elect of God as I am. We learn it now of our Lord himself as did of old our other fellows that are gone before us, that were elected of God as we be: that is to say, Saint John the Baptist and the other holy prophets before him.” 5

Here ye see, good readers, for aught that ever I can do, Tyndale will be Saint John the Baptist’s fellow, and all his companions fellows with the old prophets and with Christ’s apostles, and in some places with Christ himself also. 10

But this will I promise you: that if Saint John the Baptist and the old prophets, each of the other prophets in their time, had had with the Jews the same things in question that we have with Luther and Tyndale and these other heretics in our time; that is to say, if the Jews had said that they had besides the Scripture some other tradition delivered them by Moses, and preserved from mouth to mouth without writing; or that they had varied together upon the right understanding of the Scripture... and then the Jews would have said, “Ye know not which *is* the Scripture but in that ye believe us; and then if ye believe us in that we tell you ‘Moses *wrote* us this,’ why should you not as well believe us when we tell you ‘Moses *told* us this’? If ye think we lie in the one, ye may think we lie in both, and then do ye know neither nother. And also, since ye believe us that God hath given us the true scriptures, and unto no man else so much as the means to know which it is but by us... why should ye not think that he hath given us the right and true understanding thereof, for as far, at the least, as shall be requisite and necessary?”—if these had been the variances between the Jews and Saint John the Baptist, or between the Jews and the prophets, as it is between these heretics and us... and that the Jews had then laid thus unto them; if that then Saint John and the prophets could have made no better answer to them for themselves than Tyndale doth to us now for himself—surely then, like as this answer is such that we may well laugh at him, so had it been such as the Jews would have laughed at them. 35

But neither were these points the questions then between them (though some of this was afterward in debate between Christ and the Pharisees), and therefore these examples of Saint John and the prophets be laid here to no purpose...

And also, if it had so been... Saint John and those prophets had other answers to have made them, such as I have showed you in my Sixth Book. 5

And finally, if *they* would have used this answer that Tyndale here maketh both for them and himself... then if the Jews had laughed thereat, and said, “How prove you that God hath taught you to know the true scripture without us?”—*they* had not only the known, approved virtue of their living, but also *miracles*, to prove them true messengers. And thus had every one of them... and Saint John both in his father before his conception, and then again at his birth, and the old prophets fulfilled in him, and the witness of Christ testified for him, and thereby did all Christ’s miracles bear witness with him. 10 15

These things had *they* for *their* answer, with which the Jews well might, and of reason must, have held themselves fully content and satisfied. 20

And now in like wise, forasmuch as I know well that God is at his own liberty, having his power absolute, free, and unbound unto any manner of his ordinary course... and therefore may, if it please him, by some secret inspiration teach Tyndale, and Luther, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, and all the rabble of those elect and specially chosen heretics, which writings be the very scriptures of God, without any teaching of the Catholic Church: therefore if Tyndale or Luther or any of all the remnant make by miracle any due proof that God hath so done indeed, and that he so hath sent him hither for such a new prophet to teach us, he shall have me pliable. For after that proof once made... let him tell me what he will, and I will believe him till Antichrist come. For until that time I trust heretics shall do no miracles. 25 30

But as for yet in the mean season, since I see none other man say so of himself as Tyndale saith of himself and his fellows, and holy Saint Augustine saith the contrary of himself: till Tyndale prove 35

it true that he saith of himself—that he knoweth the true scripture not by the Church, but by special inspiration of God inspired into himself, and some such other specially chosen elects, such as nowhere in this world, I ween, God could have chosen worse—Tyndale must of reason give us leave to laugh at his proud invented folly. 5
 And I shall find him four sureties, very good and sufficient, that at what time hereafter he prove himself a true prophet, I shall upon reasonable warning unlaugh again it all.

But yet, lest men should take him for a fool if he should set forth such a point so far unlikely, and therefore so far incredible, 10
 without any proof at all... he proveth it at the leastwise by the example of a very goodly bird and king of all fowls, the pleasant splayed eagle. For since that such a bird can spy his prey untaught, which he could never do but by the secret instinct of his excellent nature, to far exceeding all others: it must needs follow, pardie, 15
 that Tyndale and Luther in like wise, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, and such other excellent heretics—being in God’s favor as far above all the Catholic Church as an eagle, the rich, royal king of all birds, is above a poor penny chicken—must needs, I say, without any learning of any man, be taught to know the true 20
 scripture being their prey, to despoil and kill and devour it as they list, even by the special inspiration of God.

But now ye see well, good readers, by this reason, that Saint Augustine, in respect of these noble eagles that spy this prey without the means of the Church, was but a seely poor chicken. For he 25
 confesseth plainly, against such high-eagle heretics, that himself had not known nor believed the Gospel but by the Catholic Church.

Howbeit, it is no great marvel, since God is not so familiar with such simple chickens as with his gay, glorious eagles. 30

But one thing is there that I cannot cease to marvel of: Since God inspireth Tyndale and such other eagles, and thereby maketh them spy this prey themselves—how could it hap that the goodly golden, old eagle Martin Luther himself, in whose goodly golden nest this young eagle bird was hatched, lacked that inspiration? 35
 For he alloweth Saint Augustine’s saying... and denieth not but that *himself*

spied and perceived this prey of the true scripture of God by being showed it by the Catholic Church—but if Tyndale say that Luther therein lieth, and that himself with his “feeling faith” feel more in Luther’s faith concerning his belief of the Scripture than Luther doth himself.

5

Howbeit, iwis when our young eagle Tyndale learned to spy this prey first, he was not yet full-feathered, but scantly come out of the shell... nor so high-flickered in the air, above all our heads, to learn it of his father the old eagle heretic... but was content to come down here and walk on the ground among other poor fowls, the poor chickens of his mother this known Catholic church... of whom, when he hath all said, he learned to know this prey.

10

And now taking that for truth (as truth it is indeed, though Tyndale list to lie and tell us nay), when he had learned of the Church which was the Scripture... this wot I well: he reckoned not himself at that time to understand it by special inspiration. For I can prove that he read some commentators and holy doctors that write expositions upon it. And to what purpose did Tyndale read their books? To believe himself better than them all? If he so meant... then might he well have spared labor. For he might have believed himself and let them all alone.

15

20

Now, if he list to believe himself in things being yet but in question, where he seeth them vary and doubt—yet must he believe them better in things so plain and clear that he seeth them therein all of one mind agreed.

25

Now go me, then, yet again to Friar Luther his master, and his mistress the nun. Wherein he cannot say nay but they condemn him all; and then shall ye see for lack of other shift this fair eagle bird foully defile his nest.

But yet is it a world to hear what a goodly castle Tyndale buildeth in the air on high upon his eagle’s back. For when he hath told us once that the eagle of himself, without any teaching, spieth out his prey... then goeth he forth goodly with a high spiritual process, and saith, “Even so, the children of God spy out their father [and mother].”

30

35

He meaneth, of likelihood, God for the father. But what church
meaneth he for his mother? For he cannot spy out the unknown
church. And the known Catholic church, which is the spouse of
God indeed, and therefore by all the old holy fathers commonly called
the mother of all Christian people, he will not know for his mother. 5
And so I see well Tyndale meaneth for his mother some old Mother
Maud, some bawdy church of heretics.

But then goeth he forth with his flourish on this fashion: “And
Christ’s elect spy out their lord, and trace out the paths of his feet and
follow; yea, though he go upon the plain and liquid water, which will
receive no step. And yet there they find out his feet. . . .” 10

These words walk, lo, very goodly by the hearer’s ear, and they
make a man amazed, in a manner, and somewhat to study and muse,
when he heareth so strange a tale told, of such holy elects so
spying out the foot where the soil receiveth no footing, and 15
stepping after the steps of Christ in the liquid water, which
can no steps receive. . . . and therefore received the step of Saint
Peter so deep that he stepped in above the knees, and had stepped over
the head too, elect as he was, had not his master helped him. But
the water doth, of truth, receive and *keep* no steps of any man, 20
when the body passeth from it; but it receiveth *shortly* the steps
of every man—yea, and of every woman, too, but she get her on apace
with trip and go quickly and walk wondrous light.

But, now, if a man in the reading forget not himself with
musing, but consider what he readeth and examine it well. . . . he 25
shall not so much marvel of Tyndale’s far-fetched holiness as he
shall wonder in a man weening himself so wise, to see such
a foolish forgetfulness.

For whereas he saith now that all the elects search out and follow the
very steps of Christ even foot for foot, where never a step 30
appeareth—he hath himself showed us, in his other chapters before,
that the elects through the fault of their frail “members,” though
never into deadly sin, yet now and then, among, step into theft
and adultery, treason, manslaughter, and perjury, and other such
“horrible deeds.” And these things, lo, many right honest men reckon 35
not in their reason any following of the steps of Christ, but if

Tyndale's elect church have spied out any special gospel. For the Catholic Church in all the four evangelists spieth not that Christ stepped any such one step in all the days of his life.

Some men would here look that I should also lay to Tyndale the steps of Friar Luther into the nun's bed... whose steps, as their chief elect, other lewd elects follow, very far from the steps that Christ stepped on the Mount of Calvary. But let that pass for this once, and hear forth Sir William Tyndale's sermon... 5

Tyndale

... his elect know him, but the world knoweth him not (John 1). If the world know him not, and thou call the world pride, wrath, envy, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, then our spirituality know him not. 10

More

Those words of our Savior, saving for seeking of occasion of railing, Tyndale bringeth in here to very little purpose. But as he listeth here to rail upon the clergy of the Catholic Church, so if it like him now to turn the glass and look again upon himself and the holy spiritual heads of his own sects—Luther, Lambert, Huessgen, and Zwingli—with all the rabble of heretics under their rule... he shall find, by the same text and his own exposition thereof, that among all them, neither clergy nor lay knoweth Christ... but if rebellion be no pride, nor railing upon their betters none envy, nor manslaughter no wrath, nor robbery no covetousness, nor slugging abed no sloth, nor drunkenness no gluttony, nor friars lusing abed with nuns no lechery. But he liketh so well his railing that on he runneth therewith, and saith... 15 20 25

Tyndale

Christ's sheep hear the voice of Christ (John 10), whereas the world of hypocrites, as they know him not—even so the wolves hear not his voice, but compel the Scripture to hear *them*, and to speak what they list. And therefore "except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us seed... we had been all as Sodom and Gomorrah," said Isaiah in his first chapter. And even so said Paul in his time. And so even say we in our time: that the Lord of the Hosts hath saved him seed, and hath gathered him a flock to whom he hath given ears to 30 35

hear . . . and eyes to see that the blind leaders of the blind cannot see...
and a heart to understand that the generation of poisoned vipers
can neither understand nor know.

More

Now, good Christian readers, here hath Tyndale made the prophet 5
Isaiah and Saint Paul, and our Savior himself, as *his* servants
and instruments... abusing their holy words against the Catholic
church of Christ... which words they spoke against paynims,
Jews, and heretics.

Now, the “hypocrites” and “wolves” he calleth the Catholics... and the 10
“sheep” and lambs, those he calleth the heretics; in this is his
meaning very plain and open. But, now, the “seed” that God hath left
them, as he saith, with which the God of Hosts hath gathered
him this flock, he nameth not. But since ye know the *flock* that he
meaneth, ye may soon perceive the men of whose seed this 15
flock is fed. Now look, then, upon the seed with which the
flock of the Catholic Church hath been always fed from age to
age... and in that seed find ye Saint Ignatius, Saint Polycarp, Saint
Dionysius, Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Basil, Saint
Gregory Nazianzen, Saint Irenaeus, Saint Eusebius, Saint Athanasius, 20
Saint Hilary, Saint Cyril, Saint Sixtus, Saint Leo, Saint Jerome,
Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory the Pope, Saint Bede,
Saint Bernard, Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Anselm,
and many a holy man more, of every age since the apostles’ days...
which were all left by God for seed in the known Catholic church... 25
which known Catholic church they ever acknowledged for the very
church of Christ, and took always for heretics all that departed from
it. And all these expounded the apostles and evangelists against
Luther and Tyndale as the Catholic Church doth now. Wherein if
Tyndale dare say that I say false... I shall yet once again, like a 30
blind harper that harpeth all on one string, fall to my rude refrain
and sing him mine old song... wherein I have so often prayed him to
tell us then some one of them all that ever accounted it lawful, and
held it not abominable, a friar to wed a nun.

Now, the seed that hath all this while been sent unto this flock 35

which Tyndale saith that the Lord of Hosts hath gathered him
 together... have been Nicolaus Heretic, Eutyches Heretic, Ebion
A shrewd company Heretic, Valentinus Heretic, Eunomius
 Heretic, Arius Heretic, Marcion Heretic,
 Montanus Heretic, Manichaeus Heretic, Helvidius Heretic, 5
 Macedonius Heretic, Jovinian Heretic, Pelagius Heretic, and
 Caelestius Heretic; and of every age some such a shrewd sort, down
 unto Wycliffe Heretic, and Hus Heretic, and Luther Heretic, and
 Lambert Heretic, and Huessgen Heretic, and Tyndale Heretic, and
 Barnes Heretic, and many such rifferaff more. Of all which every 10
 one contrarieth his fellow in great articles of the faith, and in the exposition
 of Scripture, as by which every one of them would seem to
 prove true his false, contrarious error. And therefore as God, the
 King of peace and unity, and very Lord of Hosts also, sent the other,
 good seed unto his known Catholic church, and gathered and kept 15
 it together, and together keep it shall, spite of all heretics and all the
 great gates of hell: so is it no doubt but that the sower of dissension
 and king of rebellion, the prince of pride the great devil himself,
 hath gathered this flock to him, and sent always now and then
 such darnel seed and cockle to feed them. 20

But weigh well yet again, good reader, that royal end of his railing,
 where he saith that the Lord of Hosts hath to this flock of these
 heretics “given ears to hear that the hypocritish wolves cannot hear, and
 eyes to see that the blind leaders of the blind cannot see, and a heart to understand
 that the generation of vipers can neither understand nor know.” 25

I need not to put you in mind that by the “wolves” and “hypocrites”
 and “blind leaders” he meaneth the doctors and teachers of the Catholic
 Church... and by the “blind” that are misled into the ditch,
 the laypeople of the same church... and by the other flock, that have
 all these goodly gifts of God, the scattered flock of his “unknown” church 30
 of his elects, that believe it lawful for friars to wed nuns...
 among whom yet he *nameth*, and men *know*, many well-known knaves.

Consider, now, that our present matter, for which he bringeth
 in all these words, and toward the proof whereof he brought in the
 words of Christ that Christ’s own sheep hear his voice, but the 35

world heareth it not... is nothing else but to show that Tyndale's church of elects doth not know the Scripture by the teaching of the Catholic Church, but by God himself... as Saint John the Baptist and the prophets did, and as the eagle knoweth his prey by the secret instinct of nature.

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Consider then how far he goeth further now than ever he went before. For here in the end he not only concludeth for his heretics that they hear Christ's voice... but also for the Catholic Church the contrary; that is to say, that the Catholic Church neither can hear, see, nor understand, nor know, the voice of Christ—that is to wit, the gospel and scripture of God. And thus he bringeth all his painted process to this point in conclusion: that, like as herebefore his master Martin and he would that in the *understanding* of Scripture, no man should stand to the faith and exposition of the whole Catholic Church... but since God (as he saith) teacheth his elects himself, and who they be, no man knoweth of another... but, by Tyndale, through the "feeling faith" every man knoweth himself, and every man, as Luther saith, believeth for himself, and if he be deceived, the peril falleth also upon himself—every man, therefore, in construing the Scripture must trust unto himself—as hitherto they have thus said concerning the *understanding*, so doth Tyndale now teach them in that that toucheth the knowing which *is* the Scripture, so that hereafter every lewd body should be bold to say that himself is one of Christ's sheep, and therefore understandeth his voice, and can discern his word, and knoweth himself which is the very scripture... as Saint John the Baptist did, and the old prophets and the apostles of Christ, and as the eagle knoweth his prey by an only inward motion. And then shall he thus call "Scripture" what book him list, and refuse for Scripture what book it please him. And some of them begin already giving no credence to no man but if it be some of their own brain—some of such excellent holiness as all the world may perceive for elect and chosen saints, by railing, and ribaldry, rebellion, debate, and strife, by bibbing and sipping and sopping and quaffing, and worshipful wedding of nuns.

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And here, lo, the goodly conclusion of Tyndale's third answer unto Saint Augustine's reason.

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But now shall ye see the wiliness.

For whereas all this while he hath dissembled, and would not be acknown, that this reason was taken of Saint Augustine, because he would at more liberty lash out his railing against it: seeing, yet, that the thing was so plain and open... he hath at the last bethought him, and reckoned it best to acknowledge and confess it. And now, therefore, for his fourth answer hearken, I require you, how properly the wise man assoileth it... 5

Tyndale

If they allege Saint Augustine, which saith, "I had not believed the Gospel except the authority of the Church had moved me," I answer: As they abuse that saying of the holy man, even so they allege all the Scripture—and *all* that they bring for them—even in a false sense. Saint Augustine, before he was converted, was a heathen man and a philosopher full of worldly wisdom—unto whom the preaching of Christ is but foolishness, saith Paul (1 Corinthians 1). And he disputed with blind reasons of worldly wisdom against the Christians. Nevertheless, the earnest living of the Christians according unto their doctrine, and the constant suffering of persecution and adversity for their doctrine's sake, moved him and stirred him to believe that it was no vain doctrine... but that it must needs be of God, in that it had such power with it. For it happeneth that they which will not hear the word at the beginning... are afterward moved by the holy conversation of them that believe. As Peter warneth Christian wives that had heathen husbands that would not hear the truth preached, to live so godly that they might win their heathen husbands with holy conversation. And Paul saith, "How knowest thou, Christian wife, whether thou shalt win thine heathen husband?" With holy conversation, meant he. For many are won with godly living... which at the first either will not hear or cannot believe. And that is the authority that Saint Augustine meant. But if we shall not believe till the living of the spirituality convert us... we be like to bide long enough in unbelief. 10
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More

Lo, good Christian readers, here have you Tyndale's answer. And now let us first suppose that in this answer he told us true—that Saint Augustine meant as he saith here he did, and that he believed "the Church" but for the good living and virtuous conversation that 35

he then saw therein. Yet was at the leastwise the church that he meant of, the known Catholic church, and not an unknown church of elects. And so is Tyndale shortly quite overthrown therein, too.

Also, though Tyndale said here true of Saint Augustine's mind, that he believed the Church because they were then good men: yet standeth that order still, that he first believed the Catholic, known church, and first knew and acknowledged and believed it, and then of it and by it received and knew and acknowledged and believed the Scripture to be the very word of God. And so is Tyndale still overthrown.

"Yea," saith Tyndale, "that is true; but he was brought into the belief of the Church that *then* was, by the good, virtuous living that then was in it... as Saint Peter counseled the Christian wives
1 Pt 3:1-2 with Christian living and virtuous conversation to win their un-Christian husbands unto Christendom. But if we," saith Tyndale, "should not believe till the living of the spirituality convert us, we be like to abide long enough in unbelief."

Well! Suppose first that Tyndale said true. Yet followeth it at the last that Saint Augustine was none of those holy elects, those gay golden eagles, that be taught inwardly without any outward teaching!

But now would I that Tyndale here rehearsed us what was the living, and which were the virtues, that so flowered in the Church that was in Saint Augustine's time. First, as for "persecution" that Tyndale speaketh of... the Catholic Church had not in his time any greater persecution by heretics in Africa than it had now these late years in Almaine; and I ween as many good Christian men have constantly suffered harm—and as much, too—in Saxony, and Switzerland, and some other parts of Germany, by the Lutheran heretics, and the Huessgenites, and Zwinglians, as there did in his time in Africa by the Donatists.

Then as for the other virtues and manners that then were in the Church, for which Saint Augustine did (as Tyndale saith) believe it... and would not, if he now lived and were unconverted, so receive and believe the Scripture by the Church: now would God that

Tyndale had rehearsed those manners and those virtues, that we might thereby perceive whether Saint Augustine, if he were now alive, and such as he was before his conversion, and would not be converted by the Catholic church, were likely to be converted by the conversation of theirs—by the holy living of Luther, and Lambert, and Huessgen, and such a rabble of wedded monks and friars. 5

And yet if he so were... then must it be, ye wot well, a *known* church. For of an unknown church could he not be moved, nor take none authority; and so were Tyndale's church of his unknown elects clear gone again, for any furtherance of Saint Augustine's faith. And therefore must we then wit of him farther, which of all his churches, which of his false, schismatic sects, were it that should do this deed and win us in Saint Augustine, that should be such a true doctor of the true church. 10 15

There is, good readers, a book which Saint Augustine writeth against heretics of his own time that dispraised then the living of the Christian people of the Catholic Church, extolling the holy, virtuous living of their own sect... by which we may well see that heretics had yet at that day a right fair visage of very virtuous living, and preached not their heresies with defense of open, shameful lechery, as these beastly heretics do now. But Saint Augustine, albeit he could not say nay but that in the Church there were as well bad as good—yet describeth he partly the vicious living, and partly the hypocrisy, too, that was then among those heretics, and besides that, the virtuous living that then was among many good folk of the Catholic Church. 20 25

And what virtues be those? Surely even the same that the known Catholic church teacheth now, and which virtues in this Catholic church many a good man—both spiritual and temporal—yet unto this day, God be thanked, very well keep and observe; howbeit, the fewer a great many, since these devilish heresies came up. 30

And this dare I well promise Tyndale. Let him read over that book, when he will, in which Saint Augustine rehearseth the virtues that he praiseth in the Church... and when he hath well and perfectly 35

read it once over (or, if he list, hardily twice or thrice; it can be no loss of his time)—and this, I say, will I gladly give him with it: let him take mine eye for an apple if he find it in all the book commended for any great virtue, a friar to wed a nun.

And therefore, since Tyndale alloweth Saint Augustine and the virtues that then were in the Church... I will bind him to none other but that that he now praiseth and commendeth himself. Let him no more but believe Saint Augustine... and then shall he believe the sacraments... and go to shrift, which he now calleth the devil's invention... and shall take absolution, which he now calleth whistling... and shall gladly do penance, that he now calleth sin... and shall believe the known Catholic church and acknowledge it for the church of Christ, and shall take them all for heretics that depart out thereof, and shall believe surely the determination thereof, and take them all for heretics that will hold the contrary... and then will he shave his crown again, and say Matins and Mass after the old fashion, and put off his knave's coat and wax an honest man... and then he will advise Friar Luther to lie no more with nuns.

Hitherto, good Christian reader, have I so reasoned this point, of Saint Augustine's words, as though Tyndale's answer unto them were true. And then if they so were indeed... yet what good effect hath Tyndale thereupon, ye perceive. For though it so were indeed, yet were Tyndale never the nearer... but always would it follow, as I have showed you, that the very church must needs be a known church, and neither any church of unknown heretics nor any *known* church of all these heretics, neither—nor, finally, none other but only this common-known Catholic church.

But now, good reader, forasmuch as Tyndale saith that the Church doth falsely take Saint Augustine and contrary to his mind, even in like manner as he saith they do all the Scripture, to blind and beguile the people with—we be very glad he saith so. And as Tyndale hath here himself put these words of Saint Augustine for example how the Church useth itself in the exposition of Scripture... so shall we be very well content ye take it... and that by this one point ye may perceive and judge whether the Church or Tyndale expoundeth here Saint Augustine more truly...

and thereby judge likewise, as Tyndale here would have you, both the Church and him in the true or the false expounding of all the scripture of God where either part saith the other expoundeth wrong.

Now say we, then, that where Tyndale saith that the cause why Saint Augustine did believe the Church was because they were then good men... Tyndale doth but devise that tale upon his own head, to seek some evasion where he might get out. For besides that it appeareth plainly by Saint Jerome that there were at that time the same vices in the Catholic Church that are now, all save wedding of folk that had vowed chastity... I say that in the place where Saint Augustine writeth those words, he speaketh never a word that the virtuous living of the Church caused him to believe it, nor nothing in that place speaketh of the virtuous living of the Church, nor of the persecution... but in many other places he confesseth that the Church then was as we see it now is— a congregation and company of both good and bad. 5 10 15

And that in this book written against Cresconius, he allegeth that holy martyr Saint Cyprian, and rehearseth his words written in his epistle that he wrote unto Maximus... by which he showeth that men may not leave the Church because of the evil folk that be therein: “For in the Church there be both good and bad, as there are in the field of God whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel both good *Mt 13:24–30* corn and cockle; and in a great house, as *2 Tm 2:20* Saint Paul saith to Timothy, there are not only golden vessels and silver, but also treen and earthen.” 20 25

These words of holy Saint Cyprian doth holy Saint Augustine rehearse and approve; whereby men may well perceive that both Saint Cyprian and Saint Augustine too did take *the* church for none other than the known Catholic church... and knew that church right well, not for a company of only good men, but of good and bad both. And so be they still, whatever Tyndale say. 30

But yet this one thing did both Saint Cyprian and Saint Augustine say: that of all that depart *out* of this church, there is not one good, nor cannot be good until in heart they resort thereto again. And 35

Why the Church is called "holy" for that cause is it called *Holy Church*—
not for that *every* man is holy that is in it,
but for that many such be in it, and none can be holy that will not
be in it.

And to the intent that ye may the more clearly perceive that 5
Tyndale here, to blind us with, deviseth of his own head this
evasion that Saint Augustine believed not the Church in his days
but because of their constancy in persecution and their holiness
of living: whoso look upon the place where he writeth those
words (that is to wit, in his book against the epistle of Manichaeus, 10
the heretic of whose sect Saint Augustine had been once himself)—
without any consideration of persecution or holy living, layeth
other considerations that made him know and believe the Catholic
Church of his days; that is to wit, the consent of the Catholic,
Christian nations... and that he had the Catholic Church in 15
authority, first for the miracles that were showed therein... and that
The causes that made Saint thereupon his faith and credence given
Augustine know and believe thereunto was nourished and fostered
the Catholic Church with hope, increased with charity, and 20
confirmed with antiquity. There held
him, he said, in the giving of faith and credence to the Catholic
Church, this thing also: that is to wit, that he saw "the succession
continued" in the see of Saint Peter, to whom our Lord had
"after his resurrection committed the feeding of his sheep," saith 25
Saint Augustine, "from Saint Peter's days" unto his own time. And
finally, even the very name, he saith, of "Catholic," that is to say,
"universal," gave toward the getting of his credence the Catholic
Church great authority; which name of "universal" the same church
alone, among so many heresies, had so obtained that whereas
every sect of heretics would fain be taken for catholics, yet if 30
a stranger should come among them and ask where were any
Catholic church that he might go to, there were none heretic that
durst, for shame, bring him to any church, or any house, of theirs.
These causes, lo, laid Saint Augustine, all which causes are in the
Catholic Church still—these he laid, I say, for the authority of the 35
Catholic Church, for which, he said, he gave so fast, firm, and
undoubted credence to it that for the authority thereof, he believed

the Gospel at the teaching thereof. And these causes he laid unto the heretics as causes that he thought should of reason move them thereto also.

And yet to the intent ye shall the more clearly see how Tyndale would with his lies blind us... and what firm credence Saint Augustine gave to the known Catholic church without mention of either persecution or virtuous living, as Tyndale would here make us ween: I shall translate and rehearse you here Saint Augustine's own words written in the fifth chapter of his said book against the epistle of Manichaeus. In which place Saint Augustine disputeth against the heretics of that sect and proveth them that, like as he that believeth the Catholic Church hath good surety of his belief, and is able to show good causes of his belief, although there were no Scripture written: so, on the other side, the Manichaeans because they believed not the Catholic Church, and likewise *whosoever* believeth it not, can never prove anything for their purpose, neither to him that believeth not the Scripture nor yet unto him, neither, that doth believe the Scripture. And therefore Saint Augustine, having rehearsed before what things be sufficient to make him believe the Catholic Church beside the Scripture... doth now in this chapter dispute with them and show them that they, and all such heretics as go from the faith of the Catholic Church, can never prove their part good, neither to him that refuseth the Scripture nor to him that believeth it. And therein, lo, thus he saith...

"Let us see, therefore, what Manichaeus teacheth me; and specially let us consider the selfsame book that ye call the 'Epistle of the Foundation,' in which is contained almost all that ye believe. When that same epistle was read unto us at that time, wretches that we were, we were wont to bow down and say 'Amen.' Thus beginneth the epistle...

"Manichaeus, the apostle of Jesus Christ through the providence of God the Father: These be the wholesome words issuing out of the ever-flowing fountain of life.'

"Now, I pray you, and it please ye, hearken patiently what I shall ask you. I believe not this man to be the apostle of Christ. I beseech you be not angry, nor begin to chide; ye know well that I am determined nothing rashly to believe that ye bring forth.

"I ask you, therefore, who is this Manichaeus? Ye answer me, 'The

apostle of Christ.' I believe it not. Now have ye nothing that ye can either say or do. Ye promised to teach me and make me to know the truth, and now ye would make me believe the thing that I know not. Ye will, peradventure, read me the Gospel, and labor to prove me the person of Manichaeus by the words of the Gospel. But, now, if I should find you out some man that yet believed not the Gospel, what could ye then say for Manichaeus, to him that would say unto you, 'I believe not the Gospel'? Now, as for me, I would not believe the Gospel but if the authority of the Catholic Church moved me thereto. Then, since I obeyed them in that they bade me believe the Gospel... why should I not believe them in that they bid me believe not Manichaeus? Will ye now that I believe the Catholic Church or not? Choose now yourselves whither part ye will. If ye bid me believe the Catholic Church, they be those that bid me that I should not in any wise give any credence unto you. Wherefore, believing them, I can in no wise believe you.

"Then, on the other side, if ye would say to me, 'Believe *not* the Catholic Church'—then can ye not of reason bind me by the *Gospel* to believe Manichaeus, since I had not believed the Gospel itself but for the Catholic Church.

"Now, if ye would then say to me, 'Thou didst well to believe the Catholic Church in that they commended the Gospel, but thou dost not well to believe them in that they dispraise Manichaeus'—ween ye me so very a fool that, telling me no cause wherefore, I should believe whatsoever ye bid me, and believe in no wise what ye list forbid me? Yet much more reasonably and more circumspectly do now I in that I depart not from the Catholic Church, which I have once believed, and translate myself to you, but if that ye can first, not bid and command me believe, but openly and clearly somewhat make me know wherefore good reason would I should believe. Wherefore, if ye will show me any reason, then let the Gospel alone. For if you take you to the Gospel... then will I take me to the church by whose commandment I believed the Gospel; and then, by the commandment of the same church, I must in no wise believe you.

"Now, if it so were that ye could by possibility find in the Gospel somewhat that could clearly prove Manichaeus to be Christ's

apostle... then must it follow thereupon (if I should believe you therefore) that I must then not believe the Catholic Church, which biddeth me believe not you. And then again, if I believe not the Church, then can I not believe the Gospel, since I believe the Gospel for the Church... and so could nothing serve you that ye should bring of the Gospel. And therefore if ye bring no clear thing *out* of the Gospel to prove Manichaeus Christ's apostle, I must rather believe the Catholic Church than you. 5

“And on the other side, if ye found for Manichaeus any manifest thing *in* the Gospel... then could I neither believe the Church nor you; not the Church, because they lied to me of you when they told me ye were not to be believed, nor you, because ye prove your part but by that scripture which scripture I believed not but through believing them whom I ought not to believe, because they prove themselves false in making a lie of you. But God forbid that I should not believe the Gospel; for, believing the Gospel, I cannot find how I should believe you. For among all the apostles' names that are there found, the name of Manichaeus is not found.” 10 15

Lo, good Christian readers, here see ye plainly that Tyndale is telling us that Saint Augustine, where he saith he would not believe the Gospel itself saving for the authority of the Church, did mean therein nothing else but the good living that then was in the Church, and their constancy in persecution, led him to believe them in teaching which was the Scripture; it well appeareth, I say, by Saint Augustine's own words, that the Church truly taketh his words, and Tyndale untruly glosseth them. For neither doth Saint Augustine in this arguing reprove the living of the Manichaeans nor extol and commend the living of the Catholic Church... but in such wise maketh his argument as it both may and must serve for the known Catholic church against all kinds of heretics, whatsoever the living be of the one part or the other. And this argument is made more strong now by three parts than it was when he made it; and since the Church shall, as Christ promised, never 20 25 30

Mt 16:18 fail... the argument of Saint Augustine for some of the causes considered shall every day be stronger for the Church than others, as long as the world shall stand. 35

For Saint Augustine allegeth there, for one of the causes that moved him, the continuance of the Church, which then had continued in succession about the space of four hundred years. How much is that stronger now, after the continuance in succession the space of fifteen hundred years! And as for miracles—with which, as Saint Augustine saith, they that believe not be first commonly moved to give faith and credence—the common-known Catholic church never lacketh, nor no church of heretics never hath. 5

And thus I say, good readers, ye may perceive by that place in Saint Augustine which I have rehearsed you, and by his other four chapters immediately before, that the mind and intent of Saint Augustine is plainly that God of his goodness offereth men occasion, and by good and substantial causes helpeth them that are willing, first of all to know the true church, of which every true preacher is a member. And then, like as God useth miracles and divers other means by which means his help and grace maketh the well-willing person to perceive and know which is his very church: so doth he after use the same church for a means by which he maketh a man know which is the very scripture; yea, and over that, in things necessary for salvation, which is the very sense and the true understanding of the very scripture. Yea, and when God hath used the knowledge of *the* church to make a man know which is *the* scripture... then is the same scripture a very sure means to confirm him the faster and the more surely in the knowledge and belief of *the* church, he shall so surely therein see proved the thing that he before perceived and believed—that the Catholic Church is the very church. 10 15 20 25

And this is the true order and the plain intent and meaning of Saint Augustine, as it plainly appeareth as well in his foreremembered book as in the work of his *Confessions*, in the order of his own conversion; and very plainly in an epistle of his against the Donatists (which is, in his book of epistles, 148). In which Saint Augustine plainly showeth that the known Catholic church is plainly by Scripture proved the very church... and that in all *A notable saying* doubts and questions, every man must stand unto that end which shall be either by the same church determined or by the general custom of the same church approved. 30 35

Saint Augustine also, in his third book against the epistle of Parmenian, saith in plain words that there is “no surety of any unity but if *the* church be declared and known—which

Mt 5:14

(according to God’s promise), set upon

a hill, can in no wise be hidden; and

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therefore must it needs be that *the* church is through the world known.” And none is nor never was through the world known for the church of Christ but only the known Catholic church.

Saint Augustine also in his epistle to Vincentius (which epistle is in order the forty-eighth) saith in this wise expressly, “How can we believe by the scripture of God that Christ is come into the world and known, if we believe not thereby that *the* church is also manifest and known? Let any man, whoso will knit and put in against the plain truth all the hooks and handles that he can... let him cast before our eyes what mists of wily falsehood that he list... and when he hath all done, look how he is accursed that will tell us that Christ neither verily died nor verily rose again; even likewise accursed shall he be that will tell us for the very church any other than this common Catholic church of all Christian nations.”

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Lo, good reader, Tyndale said herebefore that *we* would not believe Saint Augustine nor any of the old holy doctors, as though himself would. And now have ye heard Saint Augustine... whom if Tyndale will believe, all our question is decided. For he saith as we say: that the common Catholic church is the very church. And if he will not believe him... then let him leave, likely as he is to lay his own fault to other folk.

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Good Christian readers, if my purpose were here to prove you by the consent of the old holy doctors of Christ’s church that the known Catholic church is the very church—the number of those authorities would fill a whole book. But my purpose is here only to answer Tyndale and confute his solution with which he falsely glosseth the words of Saint Augustine, that saith he believed not the Scripture itself but for the authority of the Church. Wherein I have plainly proved you, by Saint Augustine’s words, Tyndale’s words shamefully false, as well in the principal purpose as in that he layeth falsely to the Church that the Church doth abuse the saying of Saint Augustine.

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And therefore, since he saith that they misconstrue and falsely allege all the Scripture even in like manner wise as they do Saint

Augustine... while ye plainly see that in this point which Tyndale putteth for the example, the Church saith true and himself lieth, good cause have you to believe this lewd fellow in the remnant alike.

But now shall ye see Tyndale devise you such a shift that, contrary to all his shifts before, he shall clearly confess himself that he both knoweth and believeth the Scripture by the Catholic Church. For now cometh he to his fourth solution, with which he clean destroyeth all the other three that he made us before. Lo, thus he saith... 5
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Tyndale

And when they ask whether we received the Scripture of them... I answer that they which come after, receive the Scripture of them that go before. And when they ask whether we believe not that it is God's word by the reason that they tell us so... I answer that there are two manners of faiths: a historical faith and a feeling faith. 15

More

Lo, good reader, here shall ye see that the thing whereabout he hath bumbled all this while—that is, to prove that he knoweth not the Scripture by the Church, and to prove that he believed it not to be the scripture of God because the Church so told him—perceiving at length that all his answers were weak, feeble, and faint, and that none of them all would stand... he is driven at the last for *very* very shame to confess some part of the truth, and yet for shame also to deny another part. For by this distinction of these two faiths, “historical faith” and “feeling faith,” he will in the end tell us that *once* he knew the Scripture by the Church, in believing the Church... but that was but a historical faith. Howbeit, he will say that *now* he neither knoweth it nor believeth it by the Church, but by the inward inspiration and teaching of God himself. 20
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And whereas his master and he many times mock the doctors of the Church for using of true distinctions in things where they be requisite... himself hath here devised an evasion by means of a distinction made by Melanchthon... in which distinction, as in a mist, he weeneth to walk away. But I trust ye shall see the mist 35

break up so far that he shall not escape so. Lo, thus goeth he forth therewith...

Tyndale

The historical faith hangeth of the truth and honesty of the teller, or of the common fame and consent of many. As if one told me that the Turk had won a city, and I believed it moved with the honesty of the man. Now, if there come another that seemeth more honest, or that hath better persuasions that it is not so... I think immediately that he lied, and lose my faith again. And a feeling faith is as if a man were there *present* when it was won, and there were wounded, and had there lost all that he had, and were taken prisoner there also. That man should so believe that all the world could not turn him from his faith. Even likewise, if my mother had blown on her finger and told me that the fire would burn me... I should have believed her with a historical faith, as we believe the stories of the world, because I thought she would not have mocked me. And so I should have done... if she had told me that the fire had been cold and would not have burned. But as soon as I had put my finger in the fire, I should have believed... not by the reason of her, but with a feeling faith... so that she could not have persuaded me afterward the contrary. So, now, with a historical faith I may believe that the Scripture is God's by the teaching of them... and so I should have done though they had told me that "Robin Hood" had been the scripture of God. Which faith is but an opinion, and therefore abideth ever fruitless and falleth away if a more glorious reason be made unto me, or if the preacher live contrary. 5

But of a *feeling* faith it is written (John 6), "They shall be all taught of God." That is, "God shall write it in their hearts with his Holy Spirit." And Paul also testifieth (Romans 8), "The Spirit beareth record unto our spirit that we be the sons of God." And this faith is none opinion, but a sure feeling... and therefore ever fruitful. Neither hangeth it of the honesty of the preacher, but of the power of God and of the Spirit. And therefore if all the preachers of the world would go about to persuade the contrary, it would not prevail... no more than though they would make me believe the fire were cold... after that I had put my finger therein. 10

Of this ye have an example (John 4) of the Samaritan wife which left her pitcher and went into the city and said, "Come and see a man that hath told all that ever I did; is he not 15

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Christ?" and many of the Samaritans believed because of the saying of the woman—how that he had told her all that ever she did—and went out unto him and desired him to come in; which faith was but an opinion, and no faith that could have lasted or have brought out fruit; but when they had heard *Christ*, the Spirit wrought and made them feel. Whereupon they came unto the woman and said, "We believe not now because of thy saying, but because we have heard ourselves, and know that he *is* Christ, the Savior of the world." For Christ's preaching was with power and spirit, that maketh a man feel and know and work, too... and not as the scribes and Pharisees preached, and as ours make a man ready to cast his gorge to hear them rave and rage as madmen. And therefore saith the Scripture, "Accursed is he that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm," that is to say, his strength. And even so accursed is he that hath no other belief but because men so say. Accursed were he that had no other why to believe than that I so say. And even so accursed is he that believeth only because the pope so saith; and so forth, throughout all the men in the world.

More

Lo, good Christian readers, here have I given you his whole tale together, to the end of his whole chapter, which hoverly looked on and read over pleasantly, with him that liketh it ere ever he look on it, for favor of the sect, cannot but seem very gay. But whoso consider it and advise it well... he shall find not one piece of truth therein, farther than I have already showed you in the end of his first solution... where I touched in few words, scant spending four lines therein, that the mind of Saint Augustine was (and is, I ween, of all good men besides): that when we believe the Church, either in knowing which is the Scripture or in the true sense and right understanding of the Scripture, God both preventeth us, in giving us the occasion, and worketh with us (and we with him) into the perfecting of our consent and belief... as he doth toward the perfect accomplishment of *everything* whereby we walk toward our salvation; toward which we can *nothing* do without him, as himself saith—"Without me, nothing can you do"—so that the inward, secret cause working with us is himself.

Jn 15:5

But, ordinarily, God useth outward means and instruments, such as every man may somewhat by the same give a reason and cause of his own faith to another man, and thereby tell him that for the same causes the man to whom he telleth them should of good reason follow and believe alike. 5

And in these means, like as God useth the bodily senses, which we call the “five wits,” as ways and means toward that understanding which men attain by reason, though there be sometimes between the reason and the bodily senses some debate and variance: so doth he use both the service of the bodily senses and of the reason of the soul toward the service of the faith... adding therewith, because it is a thing far above the nature of them both, his own supernatural aid and help of his supernal grace to prevent us with occasions and motions of belief, and walking on with us (except we leave of ourselves) to the perfecting of belief in our hearts, and helping us to incline our minds into the credence of those outward causes and motives—which without his help in things ordained of God for the way to heavenward, we should not have done... nor, of God’s ordinary course, we should not have believed without some such outward, sensible causes, neither, as is preaching and miracles and some such others. 10 15 20

And therefore, as I before showed you, Saint Augustine, albeit that without help of God he believed not the Catholic Church, nor without help of God knew and believed the Scripture by the Catholic Church... yet he alleged unto those heretics the Manichaeans not that inward cause, the secret help of God that wrought with his will and his reason in giving credence to those outward causes for which he saith that he believed the Church—for therein might the Manichaeans feign themselves his matches, and say that they were inspired, and that they felt their inspiration in their hearts so feelingly that thereby they perceived that Manichaeus, their archheretic, was the very apostle of Christ, and that Saint Augustine either had no such feeling or else a false feeling and was beguiled. 25 30

And therefore, as I say, Saint Augustine laid them not that inward cause, but the outward causes of his believing the Church—which were so good and effectual that the heretics 35

neither could nor never can be able to bring the like for themselves.
 And then layeth he the same church by those outward
 reasons so proved true... for the outward, open cause of the knowledge
 and belief of the very scripture; and then doth the Scripture,
 being by that outward cause (that is to wit, by the Church) well 5
 perceived and known for the word of God, bear witness also, and is
 another outward cause of the more sure and perfect knowledge that
 the known Catholic church is the very, true church of Christ here
 in earth, and that all others are utterly feigned and false, both by the
 manifold texts of the Scripture expressly declaring it, as Saint 10
 Augustine showeth, and also for that very reason showeth that God,
 giving the gift of knowledge which is his true scripture to a
 church, and unto none but one or by that one, would never give that
 special ghostly gift and prerogative unto any false church, and
 then bid the true church go learn the truth of the false. 15

Now, good Christian readers, this way went Saint Augustine, with
 such outward causes as might of reason lead the reader with
 him. But now cometh Tyndale and, seeing that he cannot avoid
 the reason of Saint Augustine neither with examples of Saint John
 and the Pharisees (which he brought in disguised of divers 20
 fashions to make one answer seem twain) nor with false glossing
 of Saint Augustine's words (wherein ye see Tyndale proved plain false)—
 he cometh now and confesseth that same outward cause of faith
 unto the Scripture... granting that himself and every man else
 knoweth it and believeth it first through the Catholic Church. But 25
 then flieth he forth from the faith of the Church unto his "feeling
 faith" by which he now knoweth and believeth the Scripture (as he saith),
 and no longer by the Church. And therein he playeth by his
 "feeling faith" as his fellows do by their "remembrance." For if any
 heretic be taken and examined upon his oath of any manner thing 30
 which he will not confess, for hope that it cannot be proved... nor
 dare well deny it, for fear that it will be proved... as whether he said
 such a thing or saw such a man... he runneth straight to his "remembrance"
 and saith he said it not, or saw him not, to his "remembrance,"
 though it were in less than half an hour before. For 35
 therein he seeth himself safe. For though the whole town saw
 them together and heard him speak it—yet which of all them can

prove whether he remember it still or have forgotten it, were it never so late?

And so playeth Tyndale now. Being fain to grant all that he hath denied... he flieth, like Red Reynard the Fox, for his safeguard into his Maupertuis of his “feeling faith”... in which though he have nothing to prove it, yet the Reynard trusteth to lie safe because he thinketh no man can find him out. For who can follow him thither to make any trial what manner faith himself feeleth in his own heart? 5

But yet, good readers, we shall so set about him, and then set in such terriers to him, that we shall, I trust, either course him abroad or make him evil rest within. 10

For let us now resort again unto the gay, glorious process of Tyndale’s holy distinction. And whereas in the beginning thereof he calleth the “historical faith” a credence given to a story told him by men... and that such faith and credence “hangeth upon the truth and honesty of the teller, or of the common fame and consent of many”... as if a man tell him “that a Turk had won a city”; and that therefore “if there cometh another that seemeth more honest, or that hath better persuasions,” then he thinketh immediately that the first man lieth, and so he loseth his faith again: if ye consider well, good Christian readers, ye shall find that part of his distinction—that is to wit, the one half of altogether—is such a tale as, till he prove it better, shall never serve him here. For albeit that in worldly things this tale be true... yet in matters of faith, which faith is the first gate whereby we enter our journey the right way toward God... we can never come at it without the help of God... nor, how probable a tale soever be told us, never shall we believe it without his holy hand inwardly set on us, and leading us thereinto—which is ever ready, in all such things, both to prevent us and to go forth with the towardness of our own will not frowardly resisting, but applicable unto his motion. 15 20 25 30

And this order to be true, Christ witnesseth, where he saith, “No man can come to me but if my Father draw him.” And Saint Paul, saying, “We be not sufficient of ourselves to think any good 35

Jn 6:44

2 Cor 3:5

thing as of ourselves.” And therefore God, as I said, preventeth us in the beginning, and goeth forth with us all the way... without whom we could do nothing by faith toward God, nor by the outward occasion of faith toward the inward consent thereof, since no man can, as Saint Paul saith, say “Lord Jesus” but *in Spirit*. 5

1 Cor 12:3 And that God is ever ready, but if we
Rv 3:20 willingly withdraw... himself showeth
where he saith, “I stand at the door and
knock.” And that God helpeth us forward not without our own conformable will, appeareth plainly by clear texts of Scripture, I ween more than a hundred. As where he saith, “Woe be thou, Capernaum! For 10

Mt 11:21–23 if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in thee, they would long ago have done penance in ashes and shirts of hair.” And also where he said unto Jerusalem in this wise: “Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, 15

Lk 13:34 as the hen gathereth together her chickens... and thou wouldst not.” And where he biddeth Saint Thomas of India, “Will not thou be unbelieving, but believing.” And where he blameth his disciples for not believing those that had seen him risen from death again. 20

Jn 20:2
Mk 16:14

And therefore is it in my mind false that Tyndale saith—that the “historical faith,” that is to say, the faith acquise and gotten by giving credence to the report and telling, doth in the things of the Christian faith depend upon the truth and honesty of men, or common fame, alone. For albeit that such things be the outward occasions by means whereof a man cometh thereto—yet is there evermore in every such faith the inward cause moving our will toward the consent thereof: the special aid and help of the great goodness of God, without which our will had never walked toward it. 25

And likewise as not the man’s tale at our ear without God working within, bringeth us into the belief (for as Saint Augustine saith, “In vain soundeth at the ear the word but if God work in the heart”), even so, not the man’s tale alone *keepeth* the faith 30 35

in us, but as an outward motion it keepeth as it brought... but principally keepeth us therein he that principally brought us thereto—that is, the inward working of God’s own Holy Spirit. And thus ye see that this piece of Tyndale’s tale is but a bare broken patch.

Now the other part, wherein he saith that if there come a more honest man, or one that hath better persuasions to the contrary... that then he that had the faith upon the first man’s telling, loseth it again upon the second man telling the contrary—I say that *this* patch is *doubly* naught. For since, as I said before, he came to the faith by *two* motions—the principal, God working within... and the secondary, the occasions outwardly given, also by God—like as the good will working with God assented unto it, so shall never any man’s tale, nor the tale of a thousand against one, overmaster that inward motion of God, as long as the will of the man will continue still with God in cleaving to the faith as it did in following him in the coming to it. And therefore some man that hath upon right small occasion turned to the faith (and therefore with the much more merit, as Christ said, “Blessed be *Jn 20:29* they that have believed and have not seen”) could never with any manner occasion be pulled from it again, because of their good will sticking still to the inward cause of their faith.

For if a man may, as indeed he may, so obstinately set his will unto the worse side that no persuasion of good reason can remove him to the better: how much it is *more* true that when a man hath coupled his will with God, by inclining and cleaving unto grace, there can none evil persuasion of counterfeited reason be able to pluck him from it... till the frowardness of his will do willingly fall therefrom, as the towardness of his will did willingly cleave thereto... and as it again may, when it is fallen from it, with help of grace willingly return thereto.

Now, if Tyndale call this a “feeling faith”—yet were his distinction then clean vanished and gone. For then were every “historical faith,” in matters in the faith, a “feeling faith” also. And thereby were then all his solution confounded.

But this piece is also naught for another thing. For in this

patch he supposeth that for the faith of Christ there could not be given so good an outward cause but that some better might be made against it, or at the least some such as might appear the better. But I say that except obstinacy and frowardness be in the mind of him to whom it shall so seem... it is else a thing impossible that ever there shall be laid so great outward things against the faith of Christ as shall be laid for it; but the reasons already made, and the things already showed, for the faith, are such as every reasonable man standing but indifferent and void of obstinate frowardness, if the matter were but the truth of a story, and not the means of man's salvation, might well discern all that may be made against it to be far the weaker part. And now, being this matter the means of man's salvation, toward the belief whereof God worketh... Tyndale's tale is much the feebler. For else give we them a great excuse that list not to believe the truth.

But our Lord saith unto the preachers of his faith, whom he sent to preach to all the world, that he would give them a mouth
Mk 16:15-18; Lk 21:15 and wisdom therein that no man should be able to resist the reasons with which they should confirm it. In which words our Lord meant not that every man would for all those reasons—of prophecies, miracles, martyrs, and many other things besides—consent and agree to believe; but that albeit of obstinacy they would not, yet to them that were indifferent it should well appear that they could never be able sufficiently to answer them, but that they might ever by plain outward proofs be substantially confounded... and the true believer able always to declare to the false and faithless an outward cause sufficient of his faith and hope, which the other might frowardly say he *would* not... but reasonably could he never say why he *should* not believe and give credence unto. And thus is, lo, the first part of Tyndale's distinction destroyed.

Now is the second part his "feeling faith," which is, he saith, that belief and faith, not that a man hath gotten and conceived in his

heart by hearing of other men, but by the plain experience of his own feeling. And with this “feeling faith” believeth he the battle that hath not heard other men talk thereof, and told it him... but hath himself both been present thereat and also been wounded therein. Nor no man believeth with the “feeling” faith that the fire is hot, till he have at the leastwise burned his finger in it. For all is but “historical” faith before. 5

Now, good Christian readers, by this tale Tyndale telleth us that all the credence which he gave unto the Church in taking the books of the four evangelists for the very gospels of Christ... was altogether but like Tyndale’s mother blowing upon her finger... and thereby making that pretty babe, her son, believe that the fire was hot and had burned her... and that he would have believed her no less if she had told him the same by a cup of cold water. And that in like wise as he believed the Church that the Gospels were Holy Scripture, so should he have believed them if they had told him that a tale of Robin Hood had been Holy Scripture. For since all was but a “historical” faith, all must needs have been one. 10 15

Consider by the way, good reader, the difference between Saint Augustine and the good man Tyndale in their credence given unto the Church. Saint Augustine believed the Church in teaching him which was the true scripture, because he perceived well the same church to be so declared, by miracles and many other means, to be the true church, that thereby he believed that the doctrine thereof could not be false, and that therefore it could not teach a tale of Robin Hood to be the gospel of Christ. 20 25

*Why Saint Augustine
believed the Church*

Now, Tyndale, as ye see, taketh the credence of the whole Catholic Church—the mother of every man’s Christendom—like his own mother blowing upon her finger and thereby making the baby believe what she list. And therefore in this point wherein Saint Augustine and the good man Tyndale tell you two so diverse tales... consider well with yourself the wisdom, the learning, the manners, and the virtue of those two men... and then of them both, look whom ye find best, and, by mine advice, even him believe best. 30 35

But now doth Tyndale, he saith, believe the truth, that not a tale of Robin Hood, but the books of the four evangelists be the true gospel of Christ, because our Lord hath himself so taught it him and so showed it him now, that all that he hath heard thereof before by the teaching of the Catholic Church moveth him nothing at all; for now he hath an inward proof and experience thereof, and fully and sensibly feeleth it, as he feeleth the fire hot by the burning of his finger. 5

And as he feeleth it thus in himself... so he perceiveth it is with all the other elects, the members of his true church, and that therefore of all them there is none that know the Scripture by the Catholic Church, but by their own sure, secret feeling, such as they feel when they burn their fingers. 10

This is the tale, ye wot well, that Tyndale telleth us. But now is it, pardie, good reason that Tyndale tell us also by what means he *proveth* it; or else, at the leastwise, that he tell us some cause reasonable wherefore we should in so strange a matter believe his bare word. For surely though that in any such thing as he will say that he feeleth himself in his own breast, and thereupon take his oath upon his honesty that he feeleth it indeed... reason requireth for lack of other trial that we believe his own word... considering that we may be led to believe him by the long experience of the continual lying that we have ever therefore found in him—yet that the like feeling is also in all his fellows' hearts, how feeleth he? And therefore how can he desire that we should therein believe him without proof? Namely since we see that his own high spiritual master, Master Martin Luther himself, for all his high fleshly virtues, layeth not in that matter such feeling for his own faith, but well liketh and much alloweth the historical faith of Saint Augustine... and plainly confesseth himself that the church that Saint Augustine spoke of—that is to wit, the known Catholic church—hath that gift given of God that it shall perfectly discern the words of God from the words of man... and therefore shall never take and teach a tale of Robin Hood for the true scripture of God. 15 20 25 30

Now, therefore, as I say, Tyndale must prove us this “feeling” faith... at the leastwise for the faith of his fellows... or else shall he make us feel that for a shift to escape away with, he hath sought sore and 35

found out for the articles of his heresies, not any true feeling faith, but a false fumbling fantasy.

Yet would Tyndale seem to prove his “feeling faith” by Scripture; and therefore he saith...

Of the feeling faith it is written (John 6), “They shall be all taught of God.” That is, “God shall write it in their hearts with his Holy Spirit.” And Paul also testifieth (Romans 8), “The Spirit beareth record unto our spirit that we be the sons of God.” And this faith is none opinion, but a sure feeling... and therefore ever fruitful. 5

Neither hangeth it of the honesty of the preacher, but of the power of God and of the Spirit. And therefore if all the preachers of the world would go about to persuade the contrary, it would not prevail... no more than though they would make me believe that the fire were cold... after that I had put my finger therein. 10

Now, good Christian readers, here have ye first heard the words of God with which Tyndale would make us ween that he proveth us his “feeling faith” of all his heresies; and after have ye heard the words of himself declaring the effect of the same in himself: so deep and so surely written in his heart that all the preachers in the world cannot now scrape it out, no more than make him believe that the fire were cold in which he had burned his finger. 15

First, ye may soon see that the scriptures prove of his purpose not one piece. For well ye wot, your question is not whether God with his inward working write in man’s heart the faith, which I have at length already showed you that he doth... and have also showed you what is meant thereby: that is to wit, his working with the towardness of man’s will in leading him into the consent of belief; which leading is the teaching whereof Christ speaketh in the words which Tyndale here allegeth—the words of our Savior rehearsing the saying of the prophet Isaiah, “They shall be all taught of 25

Is 54:13; Jn 6:45 God”—which words by the prophet were spoken of our Savior and the new law that he should bring, and of the great difference between Moses, that taught the old, and Christ, that should come and teach the second. For in the first—though it were received of God, was yet delivered them and taught them by Moses, that was but a man; and they learned 30

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but of their neighbor; that is to wit, of man, of which every one is
 neighbor to other by kind. But in the New Law, the world
 received and learned of *Christ*... which was not our neighbor only—
 that is to wit, very man—but also the maker of every man's neighbor,
 and himself also very, eternal God. And the same Teacher—though he taught 5
 before, and was the same God that before taught by Moses the synagogue
 of the children of Israel, and gave them by Moses a law
 written in books either of stone or in dead skins—yet when he would
 after come to gather his Christian church, and teach in his own
 person... he would, his own mouth, give his church a law without 10
A declaration how God writeth book, and shed out his grace so marvelous
his law in the heart of man and so plenteous upon the people
 that through the miracles and the doctrine,
 dead, stony hearts should wax tender, soft, and quick, and
 with willing and appliable minds should by the Spirit of God 15
 have the law... that is, the true belief, good hope, and well-working
 charity... graciously written in them. And thus should it have been,
 and by the same Spirit should it ever have continued in the Catholic
 Church, although never word of the New Testament had been 20
 written. And yet in the same manner remaineth written in the same
 church, by the same Spirit, a right rule left by God, teaching
 the Church to interpret and understand the writing that his holy
 apostles have written after, and his holy prophets have also written
 before. And this writing from time to time in the hearts of his 25
 church is the writing that Christ so often promised unto his church;
 that is to wit, that he would send the Holy Ghost to teach it allthing,
 and to lead it into all truth, and be with it himself all days also,
 even unto the world's end.

Now, what church this is, there needeth no man to doubt, when we
 doubt not which church it is that hath by God that gift to know 30
 by belief which is the true scripture—which is, as me seemeth, one
 great article of the faith.

That church that hath the gift of that article, upon which, by
 the doctrine of all these heretics themselves, the credence of all the
 other articles depend... and none other church hath it but by it— 35
 that church, I say, may soon be perceived, and ought to be believed
 to be the very church.

Now, what this teaching is that is meant by our Savior in the words that Tyndale allegeth, ye see. And therefore, as I said, now consider that the purpose of Tyndale is not to teach us that God teacheth his elects the faith, but to teach and prove us, by the texts that he bringeth forth, that God teacheth not only the *true* faith but also the *feeling* faith, of such a manner feeling as himself hath declared by being wounded in the battle, and burning his finger in the fire... so that he can never after, at any time, believe the contrary; no, nor never after do any deadly sin. And now ye see, pardie, clearly, that in those words of Christ rehearsing the prophecy “They shall be all taught of God”—here is never one word of any such manner feeling; and therefore doth that text nothing prove for his purpose of his “feeling faith.”

Besides this, ye wot well that Tyndale putteth this “feeling faith” to be the faith of all elects... and then himself denieth not but that there were elects in every time from Adam unto Christ. And this prophecy that he now bringeth in for his purpose was, as himself knoweth, spoken of the church of Christ that should be after his own coming. And how can he then for shame say that it was spoken of the “feeling faith” of *all* elects, when they were only spoken to declare the manner of excellence between the New Law and the Old? But such is Tyndale’s juggling, to make everything of everything.

Let us now go, then, to the words of Saint Paul in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, where he saith, “The Spirit beareth witness to our spirit that we be the sons of God.”

These words, good Christian reader, which Tyndale here allegeth for him, not only make nothing for him... but over that, if we consider them well with some words before and after, they make so clear *against* him that a man could not wish for a place more effectual to turn over utterly and destroy clearly Tyndale’s whole ghostly purpose. For lo, good reader, Saint Paul, after that he had in the seventh chapter of that epistle touched the great goodness of God, that had by the death of our Savior Christ delivered in the baptism all the world that would be good Christian people, from all the guilt and damnation due for all manner sin... and left us in such case

that all the relics and leavings of original sin—albeit they be motions and inclinations of the flesh toward sin, and thereby *called* sin, for the lack of that perfection which the body should have had if Adam had not by sin fallen, for himself and all his posterity,

The motion of original sin from the state of original justice... and 5
is unto man meritorious. *shall* have when the body shall arise again and be glorified—yet be they not imputed unto us... but pardoned, and remain as matter of our merit, in case that we resist those inclinations of the flesh and follow the motions of the Scripture; after this, I say, touched in the seventh chapter, then pursueth he still upon the same in the eighth chapter... declaring 10
the excellence of grace that God hath poured on upon his people in the New Law: far above the grace which he gave yet abundantly in the Old... but in the New far passing, in that he vouchsafed himself to come into the world in his own person, 15
in the very nature of man and similitude of a sinner, and suffering here his painful Passion, thereby to damn and destroy the sin that the devil caused Adam to commit against God; to damn it, I say, and destroy it, by the sin that the devil caused the Jews to commit in putting our Savior unjustly to death. 20

And albeit that in the Old Law, such as were good men received their grace by the faith and belief of our Savior that after should come, and were by virtue thereof made able to resist the relics of original sin and inclinations of the flesh 25
toward actual sins, and thereby were after Christ's Passion saved: yet was that aid and help of grace by Christ's own coming, when by the Passion of his flesh he damned the sin in the flesh, so far increased above that it was in the children of Israel before, whose fleshly sacrifices were too feeble of themselves to justify, that 30
such as are baptized and receive the Spirit of God may, if they will, far more easily follow the Spirit and resist the fleshly motions, and abide and persevere the quick, lively members of Christ's Mystical Body, than might of old time, before Christ's coming, the children of the synagogue.

And since our Lord hath now done so much for us as in such 35
abundance, by his own coming, to give out his grace unto us

that we may, with help thereof being so plenteous, with much
less difficulty much more resist the flesh, and much more
follow the Spirit, and keep the Spirit with us, and for the Spirit
inhabiting within us merit much more glory, first in soul,
and after in body... which the Father of our Savior, that raiseth 5
his, shall, for the same Spirit inhabiting in us, raise and resuscitate
to bliss: therefore are we debtors, saith Saint Paul, and it is
our bounden duty to follow... not the flesh, whom we may now by
the plenteous grace of God so well and easily resist, and whose
affections if we follow, we shall die... but the Spirit of God, and 10
by that Spirit to mortify the deeds and works of the flesh;
which if we do, we shall live. “For whoso,” saith Saint Paul,
Rom 8:14 “be led by the Spirit of God, they be the
sons of God.” And then, to show us that
we should in mortifying the works of the flesh, and following 15
the Spirit, not only do it but also do it gladly, not for fear but for
love... since Christian people receive the spirit of filial love, and
are in such wise ascribed for the sons of God that our Savior
hath himself taught us to call God our Father; so that in respect
of our state, the Jews were but in fear and bondage—therefore saith 20
Saint Paul farther unto the christened that were among the Romans,
“Ye have not received again the spirit of bondage, in dread,
Mt 6:9; Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6–7 but the Spirit by which ye be adopted
and chosen into the sons of God, by which
Spirit also we cry, ‘Abba! Father!’” Upon which words, even by and 25
Rom 8:16–17 by, follow the words that Tyndale here
allegeth for his purpose: “For the same
Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit that we be the sons of God.”
And then, “If we be the sons, then be we heirs—heirs of God,
coheirs of Christ; howbeit, that is to be understood, *if* we 30
suffer with him, that we may be glorified with him.”
Lo, good Christian readers, here have I somewhat recited unto you the
matter by which yourselves may perceive to what purpose Saint
Paul spoke these words that Tyndale here allegeth; that is to
say, “The same Spirit beareth record unto our spirit that we be the 35

sons of God.” In all which words I wonder what one word, or what one syllable, either—yea, or so much as one letter—Tyndale findeth making toward a proof of his “feeling faith.” Ye perceive here that the meaning of Saint Paul is this: that because our Lord, as he by faith and baptism chooseth and adopteth us into the sons of God, and therefore by his Holy Spirit giveth us instruction to call God our Father... and by the same Spirit if we list to follow, leadeth us forth also in good spiritual works, which are, as Saint Paul

Gal 5:19–23 saith to the Galatians, charity, gladness, peace, patience, long-suffering, goodness, gentleness, faith, meekness, temperance... and by the same Spirit if we will work with him, causeth us to kill and mortify the works of the flesh, which be, as Saint Paul saith, manifest and open... that is to wit, adultery, whore hunting, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, enmity, lawing, emulation and strife, wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy, manslaughter, drunkenness, banquetings—*therefore* saith Saint Paul that this Spirit “beareth record unto our spirit that we be the sons of God.” As though he would say thus: “The Spirit of God, in that it hath taught us to call God our Father, and in that it leadeth us into godly works and into the mortification of the fleshly works, by which manner of glad following the Spirit we dwell in Christ and have the Spirit dwelling in us—by these things as very good tokens of grace, the Spirit of God beareth record unto our spirit, that is to wit, giveth our spirit the comfort of good hope, as long as we so do, that we be the sons of God. But then on the other side, whensoever we wax untoward and list no longer to follow the Spirit, but fall unto the flesh and walk in the works thereof, and thereby put the Spirit out of his dwelling—then cease we to be the sons of God, were we never so dear darlings to him before... and shall never be his sons again till we amend again, and leave the flesh again, and fall again to the Spirit.”

This is, good Christian readers, the mind of Saint Paul, as ye may clearly perceive. And therefore may ye well and clearly see that these words make nothing in this world for the proof of Tyndale’s purpose concerning his “feeling faith”; but being understood right, with the words going before them, they clearly subvert

and destroy all his “feeling faith” which he feeleth—that being once one of the sons of God, he can never fall, therefore, nor never sin deadly after. For here, as ye see, Saint Paul, giving good warning of death and damnation when they *do*, plainly showeth that they *may*. And thus is there also by Saint Paul openly confounded and damned all that whole pestilent book in which William Tyndale with his false construction corrupteth the First Epistle of Saint John... laboring to make men ween that whoso were once a good Christian man could never after be naught, though he never so much *do* naught, because he cannot do it (saith Tyndale) of

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Two detestable heresies purpose, but of frailty; and that whoso after his Christendom do purposely commit any crime... never was good before nor never shall wax good after, nor never be after forgiven, but utterly damned remediless. Which false exposition if it were true... then had Saint Paul here written many words untrue, and given many monitions in vain... and had also done in another place a thing of little effect, in

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1 Cor 5:1-5; 2 Cor 2:6-12 restoring the Corinthian again unto the Church which had abominably misused his father’s wife. Whose restitution—whereof should it serve, if after his restitution to the Church after his great penance done, he should, for all that, when he died go straight unto the devil?

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Now that ye see these two texts of Scripture which he bringeth for him do nothing make for him indeed... and the latter of the twain clearly make against him, being translated after the old Latin translation, which he followeth in those words... and yet much more against him if it were translated after the Greek, which in other places he followeth, and in this purposely flitteth from to frame the words the more toward his purpose: let us now consider the third place of Scripture that he bringeth to us, of the

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Jn 4:4-42 woman of Samaria whom many men of the city believed for that she told them that Christ had told her all that she had done... and thereupon they “went out unto” Christ, and “desired him to come in.”

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But this “faith,” he saith, that those men had, “was but an opinion, and no faith that could have lasted or have brought out fruit.”

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Now, ere we go any farther, how proveth Tyndale this piece of his purpose—that this faith in those men was but a bare opinion... and so faint that it could not have lasted nor have brought out fruit? How proveth Tyndale this? What one word hath he toward the proof, any more than only *saith* so? And why may not we then say again the contrary? Against him that nothing saith, why may *we* not say that upon the woman’s words, our Savior himself, standing yet without the city in his manhood, was *within* the city—both with her and them—in his Godhood, and wrought, with their toward wills, in the men’s hearts the belief that they upon the woman’s words conceived... which was so strong and so fruitful that forthwith they came joyfully unto him and invited him into the city? Which doing of theirs I would ween *were* fruitful and meritorious, when I see well in the Gospel that others which would *not* receive his disciples were threatened of his own mouth that they should at the Day of Judgment stand in more
Mt 10:14–15 hard case than the sinful Sodomites and citizens of Gomorrah both.

“Yea,” saith Tyndale, “but yet was it but historical faith. For feeling faith could it not be till they spoke with Christ himself. For then the Spirit wrought,” saith Tyndale, “and made them feel. Whereupon they came unto the woman and said, ‘We believe not now because of thy saying... but because we have heard ourselves, and know that he *is* Christ, the Savior of the world.’”

What proveth Tyndale now with all this? Any more than that their faith was augmented and increased after their communication had with our Savior himself? But what is this for his purpose? Doth this prove that their faith was before a bare opinion, and that it neither could have continued nor have brought forth fruit? Because it was after *increased* and made *more* fruitful, was it before no faith at all, therefore, but a bare, fruitless opinion? Must it needs follow that their faith was changed in kind, because it was augmented in degrees? The apostles thought, as it seemeth,

otherwise, when they prayed our Lord, not to *change* their faith, but to *increase* it.

Also, in the selfsame gospel of the Samaritans, the plain text saith, “Many of the Samaritans believed in him for the words of the woman.” But Tyndale saith nay... and saith it was no *belief* that they had, but only an *opinion*, whereas the Gospel by plain words saith they *believed*—and himself showeth nothing why he should say otherwise, but only that their belief was after, by the communication had with Christ, more strong and more fastly confirmed. And yet findeth he no word that none of them could fall from it after. 5 10

And therefore these words of the Gospel reprove the one part of his tale, that their belief was no faith, but an opinion; and no words prove the other part of his tale—wherein standeth altogether—that is to say, that those men of Samaria had any such feeling faith as Tyndale described us and telleth us this tale for; that is to say, such a feeling faith that could never after fail, like the faith of heat in him that hath burned his finger. For where findeth he in that Gospel, or any other, that all those men persevered ever after in the faith... and not only were ever after faithful believers, but also good, virtuous livers, and never did deadly sin, but were all finally saved? 15 20

This must Tyndale show us if he bring an example of his feeling faith that he teacheth us. And yet must he prove us further, that they feelingly and faithfully believed his false heresies also. For else had they not *his* feeling faith. 25

Now, if he think he prove us this sufficiently by the reason that those men were turned and waxen faithful at the preaching of our Savior himself in his own person, “which preached,” saith Tyndale, “not as the scribes and Pharisees did, nor as ours do, that make a man ready to cast his gorge to hear them rave and rage like madmen; but he preached with power and spirit, that maketh men feel and know and work, too”; if Tyndale, I say, look by this to prove that they had such a feeling faith that never could fail—because the preaching of Christ was with power and spirit—then goeth he far wrong, and overturneth his principal purpose of all. For well he wotteth that Christ promised and sent the 30 35

Jn 14:26; 16:13 same Spirit to his Church, to teach it and
Mt 28:20 lead it into all truth, and himself also
 to dwell therein forever. And that the
 known Catholic church is it that only hath the same Spirit
 appeareth clearly by this: that only the known Catholic church hath 5
 in it declared and continued the power. For none other church of
 Christ is there in which the miracles continue.

And therefore if there *were* any such feeling faith in any church...
 then must it be in *this* church; and then were *this* church the
 church of Tyndale's elects, and then were therewith his whole 10
 purpose lost.

Now, if he will not in any wise agree that any "papists" may be
 elects and have the feeling faith, nor any man at their preaching,
 because they do but "rave and rage"... but the men of Samaria were
 elects, and must needs have the feeling faith, for this only cause—that 15
 is to wit, because our Lord preached to them himself—so that else
 they could not at the preaching of any other: then let it like him to
 remember that Christ preached to many men, his own mouth, of
 which there were some that through their froward will believed
 never a whit... as, for example, the scribes and Pharisees. And some 20
 believed at the first full well, and afterward yet fell away... as did almost

Jn 6:48-66 all the meinie of his disciples when he
 told them of his body and blood, that
 should be both meat and drink; went they not from him then as
 Tyndale hath done since, for the selfsame cause—because he will none 25
 other believe but that it is only cakebread and wine? And
 had not Judas Iscariot heard our Lord as often preach, and as long,
 as did those men of Samaria—yea, and believed as well, too, sometime—
 and yet fell after to naught, as Tyndale is fallen now?

"Nay," saith Tyndale, "Judas never believed." How proveth Tyndale 30
Mt 10:1-7 that again? For of all likelihood he *did*,
Pss 55:13-15 since Christ took him and made him his
 apostle and sent him forth to preach... and
 further, as some good commentators expound these verses, saith of
 him himself, "If mine enemy had cursed me, I might have sustained 35
 and borne it. And also, if he that hated me had spoken high

words to me, I would peradventure have hidden me from him. But
 thou man of one mind with me—my guide and mine acquaintance!
 Thou didst eat with me sweetmeat; we walked together in the house
 of God, with one, agreeable mind.” Here saith our Savior of him,
 not only that he was his acquaintance and familiar, and that 5
 they pleasantly did eat together... but also that they were of one
 mind once, and walked in the house of God with good consent
 together. Had Christ been of one mind and consent with Judas at *any*
 time, if Judas had at *no* time been of the right belief? “Well,” will
 Tyndale say, “but yet had he but a historical faith, and not the 10
 feeling faith.” Now, where is then become the proof of Tyndale’s tale that
 the men of Samaria must needs have the feeling faith, because they
 spoke with Christ, and could not have so, for all the woman’s words,
 till they spoke with Christ... if Christ spoke with Judas much more
 than with them... and yet had Judas but either historical faith or 15
 else no faith at all, or finally his feeling faith failed and fell away?
 Whereupon it followeth that there faileth and falleth away Tyndale’s whole
 tale withal. For how proveth he now that their belief was a feeling
 faith that never could fail nor fall?

And thus ye see, good readers, how wisely Tyndale proveth his 20
 distinction of “historical faith” and “feeling faith” by the example of
 the Samaritans... by which he proveth, as ye see, neither one thing
 nor other.

And finally, if we grant him that all was there true that he
 saith—that is to wit, that the men had the feeling faith because 25
 they spoke with Christ mouth to mouth, and that except his
 personal preaching, their faith had been but an opinion faint,
 feeble, and fruitless—then were Tyndale yet brought unto the
 worst point of all. For then must it needs follow thereon that neither
 Luther nor Tyndale, nor Huessgen, nor Zwingli, can bind us 30
 to believe that they have the feeling faith till they bring us forth
 good proof that they have spoken, not with others that preach them
 Christ’s words, but, as the men of Samaria did, even face to face
 with Christ’s own person present.

Now see ye well, good Christian readers, that of all his conclusion 35
 of “historical faith” and “feeling faith,” whereupon finally dependeth

all his purpose—to wind away withal and shift himself aside—he proveth us never a piece.

And yet, as though there must needs be such a feeling faith as he describeth... he proceedeth forth and saith...

Tyndale

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The Scripture saith, “Accursed is he that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm,” that is to say, his strength. And even so accursed is he that hath none other belief but because men so say. Accursed were he that had no other why to believe than that I so say. And even so accursed is he that believeth only because the pope so saith; and so forth, throughout all the men in the world.

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More

Ye see, good readers, that these words weigh to prove that of necessity there must be such a feeling faith as he assigneth. For else

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maketh Tyndale as though no man could have any other cause of his faith but the trust that he putteth in the man that telleth him so; and that, saith he, is a thing accursed in the Scripture. A little before, Tyndale alleged Saint Augustine in believing the Gospel for

Jer 17:5

the Church... and now, lo, he calleth him accursed for putting of men in so much

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trust. But I suppose the Scripture speaketh of these proud worldly folk that ween themselves safe enough by worldly strength, and able to conquer and win up the world with multitude of men; of whom the Scripture saith that they put trust of victory, some in

Ps 20:7–8

horses and some in chariots. *These* kinds of people *do* make flesh their arm—and

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not every man that believeth another in telling of a tale. For they believe not with their arm, pardie... but as they walk with their hands because they cast them not off. But Tyndale, that disdaineth to believe *the* church, he is by God’s own mouth accursed out of *the* church. For “whoso,” saith our Savior, “will not hear the

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Mt 18:17

church, take him for a publican and a very paynim.”

But, now, good Christian readers, I have declared you before that Saint Augustine, in believing the Scripture because of the authority

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of the Church, and all we that do the like... do not thereby put our trust in *man*, but in *God*, that by his inward Spirit and outward miracles inclineth us to believe his church therein—and yet by the same scripture also confirmeth the same belief by his great promises therein contained and made unto the same church—and of which we see daily some performed in the same, and the remnant thereby the more fastly confirmed and believed of the same. And therefore in believing the Church, we put not, I say, our trust in the men whom we believe... but we put our trust in God, for whom and by whom we believe the men.

And yet followeth it nothing the rather that there should be any such feeling faith as Tyndale only talketh of and no piece proveth of. For there may be, and indeed is, a firm and fast belief without any other feeling than believing only, for as far as concerneth only faith. And the faith of a right good man, and a very elect, may be full fast at one time, and at another full feeble, yea, and fall away... and yet by grace and good will come to the man again.

And therefore is all this chapter of his “feeling faith,” bringing no proof for his purpose, utterly spent about naught. And unto as little purpose he spendeth another peevish chapter after... in which, because he would yet fain have it seem necessary that there should be such a feeling faith, he telleth us a long tale that the faith which dependeth upon another man’s mouth is weak. And surely, saving that in that chapter he brawleth bigly, and scoldeth strongly, and railleth royally, and lieth puissantly... else is all his matter, besides marvelous, feeble and weak.

This chapter he spendeth all upon ribaldrous railing, so shameful and abominable that I ween for very shame and offending of honest men’s ears, it were better burn it than rehearse it. Howbeit—lest some men might hap to say that I misreport him and would make men *ween* that he were so beastly as to write such filthy railing lies as honest ears might not well endure to hear—I shall of necessity, though I be loath thereto, be fain to rehearse you for an example some part of his beastly knavery. Lo, thus he beginneth his chapter...

Tyndale

If I have none other feeling than because a man so saith, then is my faith faithless. For if I have none other feeling that lechery is sin than that the *pope* so preacheth—whom I see before my face set up in Rome a stews of twenty or thirty thousand whores, taking of every one tribute yearly... and his bishops, with all other disciples, following the example mightily... and the pope therewith not content, but set up a stews of boys also, against nature . . .

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More

Fie, no further! Here is too much already! What honest ear can endure such a beastly process, so full of abominable, filthy lies... whereof the effect and conclusion is that since the pope and all the whole clergy be such, in every kind of abomination, as this abominable beast abominably belieth them... the faith were faithless and fruitless by which a man by their preaching believed that any vice were sin!

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But first he forgetteth yet again the point... and to seek occasion of railing, he turneth the question from the whole Catholic Church to the clergy alone, and sometimes to the pope alone.

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Besides this, albeit great sin it is for any vicious person to take upon him the office of a preacher, and to presume to tell other folk their faults before he mend his own, forasmuch as much of his audience may take occasion of his evil living to have the truth in contempt: yet may they that rather list to take good

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Note than harm find therein a great occasion the more strongly to confirm them in the

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truth. For if a lecher dispraise lechery and commend chastity... or the proud preach against pride and praise humility... or the covetous wretch rebuke avarice and laud liberality... the glutton discommend gluttony and exhort all men to abstinence, and so forth, in such other like: though these words seem unsitting in such men's mouths, yet may he, that listeth well to, consider therein the great strength of truth and of virtue, which expresseth its own praise out of the mouth of its enemy, and him that taketh shame thereby, and holdeth a torch lighted and bright burning in

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his own hand to let the people the better behold his faults, and the more to wonder on himself in honor of the truth.

Would God yet that Luther the lecher would once grow to the same fault, and blame himself and such others as be friars and wed nuns. I would ween it might do good both to some others and himself too. For thereby should men see the thing to be very naught, when even he that doth it cannot but dispraise it; and himself should at the worst way have but one fault for twain. For now is he both a lecher and a heretic too... and then should be but the one... and yet might thereby grow to farther grace, and after be neither nother. Howbeit, in the clergy as there be bad... so be there also, God be thanked, good, and men of such excellent virtue that these heretics' hearts even fret for envy to see them. And since they can in no wise say nay thereto... they blaspheme all holy living. And therefore he that list to learn of good men when Tyndale hath all belied them... yet in the Catholic Church he may find them.

Finally, to prove you that Tyndale doth in this railing but prove himself a fool—ye wot well that our matter is not of the *living*, but of the *doctrine*. And then cannot himself say nay but that in the points wherein himself and the Catholic Church vary, we agree... and he varieth from... all the old holy doctors since the apostles' time to his own... in whose holy living he neither doth nor can find fault. And if he say that *himself* agreeth with them, and not we: let him, yet again, find of them all some one that ever held it lawful for a friar to wed a nun.

And then as for the *doctrine* of the Catholic Church (for of the doctrine is our matter), the truth of that is so great, and of such vigor and strength, that those which are in the right faith thereof, and abiding therein, do preach and say the truth, and call the sin sin, be the preacher never so sinful himself... although his known sin joined unto his preaching should never so sore turn to his own shame. For never was there with *us* so great a lecher that ever would preach that lechery was no sin. But this is the preaching of Friar Luther, Friar Huessgen, Friar Lambert, and Zwingli, and of this blessed apostle of these apostates, William Tyndale. Which as they be of all abominable wretches the most

shameful... so are of all abominable beasts the most shameless...
 avowing the breach of their vows, and their lechery with nuns,
 meet for men of honesty, and for good and lawful matrimony.
 Which thing from Christ's death unto their own days,
 never was there heretic so far fallen in filth—no, nor Turk, I
 trow, nor Saracen, nor Jew, nor paynim neither—that ever said 5
 such a thing, or durst for very shame; so that all the world thereby
 may well perceive and see that of all shameful shameless sects
 that the devil can devise, these be the bottom of the draff tub
 and the most poisoned dregs. 10

But now doth Tyndale after this, to prove that the credence given
 unto the Catholic Church must needs be weak and feeble... bring
 in the Turks and the Jews against us, in this manner wise...

Tyndale

The Turks, being in number five times more than we, acknowledge 15
 one God, and believe many things of God, moved only by the
 authority of their elders... and presume that God will not let so great
 a multitude err so long time. And yet they have erred and been
 faithless this eight hundred years. And the Jews believe this day
 as much as the carnal sort of them ever believed, moved also by 20
 the authority of their elders only... and think that it is impossible
 for them to err, being "Abraham's seed, and the children of them to
 whom the promises of all that we believe were made." And yet they
 have erred and been faithless this fifteen hundred years. And *we* of
 like blindness believe only by the authority of *our* elders, and of 25
 like pride think that *we* cannot err, being such a multitude.
 And yet we see how God in the Old Testament did let the great
 multitude err, reserving always a little flock to call the others
 back again, and to testify unto them the right way.

More

Lo, good Christian readers, in these words Tyndale giveth a special 30
 goodly doctrine: that if we believe the doctrine of the Catholic
 church of Christ—then have we no more surety of our faith than the
 Turks have of theirs, or the Jews of theirs... considering that the
 Turks exceed us so far in number and the Jews match us in 35
 time.

I marvel much that Tyndale addeth not unto them the
 paynims also, as his master Luther did in the same argument. For
 the paynims passed both the Catholic, Christian church and the
 false Jews, and Turks, and Saracens, and the false heretics too, as
 well in time as number. 5

But yet I marvel much more that he hath so little wit as to
 ween that the bringing in any of them all were anything
 at all to purpose. For well ye wot, good Christian readers, that, as I have
In giving credence to the touched already, we have in giving
Church, we have two motions. credence unto the Catholic Church two 10
 manner of motions: one kind of outward
 causes, such as might, if the matter were worldly, move man's
 reason to the full agreement and consent thereof... and that the other
 motion is, in them that before their baptism have use of reason, the 15
 goodness of God first preventing them with the occasions of
 some outward motion... and then walking and working with
 their conformable wills into the consent of that godly truth, and
 therewith giving them by baptism that grace too is rewardable
 with glory, but if some other sin be the let upon their part. And
 in such as are baptized young, the inward motion is the same goodness 20
 of God preventing them with the habitual faith infounded in the
 Sacrament of Baptism. Upon the seed whereof, with the good help
 of God's grace, there springeth after, in the good and well-appliable
 will of man, the fruit of credence and belief which they give unto
 Christ's Catholic Church, according to his own commandment, 25
 upon the preaching of the same church... in the reasons which the
 same church by God's good ordinances giveth as outward
 means of credence, and inducing to the belief, both of itself and
 of the Scripture and of every part of faith, as I before spoke of and
 shall hereafter speak more. 30

Now, as for this inward cause... we cannot bind the heathen by.
 For though we tell it them... they will not believe us, or peradventure
 tell us the same tale of themselves, and say that God moveth
them.

But on the other side, unto all good *Christian* men, this thing 35

must needs make it open that Tyndale in bringing forth for his part the Jews and the Turks to make us believe that we may be as well deceived in believing the Catholic Church (since Christ's days hitherto!) that the books of the New Testament be the true scripture of God, as the Jews in their Talmud or the Turks in their Koran are deceived in the believing of their elders—is a very frantic blindness. 5

For since among all Christian men this is a plain belief—that the church of Christ is governed by the Spirit of God in the truth, and that all those other churches are governed by the devil in their falsehood—now is to good Christian people Tyndale's argument none other than even this: The churches that are governed in falsehood by the devil, that leadeth them into falsehood, may be deceived and
Jn 16:13 err; ergo, the church that is governed in truth by the Spirit of God, that leadeth it into all truth, may be deceived and err in like wise, since they be not so many as the false Turks be, nor have not continued so long as the false Jews have. 10 15

Is not this a substantial reason, trow you, first for the inward causes of our faith and theirs... which causes are, between us and them, more far unlike than are their faith and ours? 20

And then as for the outward causes of our faith, Tyndale maketh as though we had none other but length of time or number of people, wherein some false sects pass us. But surely if we were now to talk with either Turk or Jew as we be to talk with these heretics... we would have outward causes enough to lay wherefore the Catholic church ought of reason to be believed before any of theirs, and against them all, too... and yet more good causes have we for that point to lay against these heretics than against all the others. 25

But Tyndale will haply say to me therein as Luther answered the King's Grace: that the Turk would laugh at all our reasons. But this is a wise answer, surely!—that we should be ashamed of every reason that the Turk would laugh at... and lay forth none but such as we be sure the Jews and Turks would allow! Then must our Savior Christ have held his peace... for the Jews allowed not his. 30 35

But likewise as though all would not, yet many did; and even so should they now, I doubt it not. And likewise as, though the remnant would not, yet had they causes enough showed them why they should—so should these now have, too.

But since Tyndale will in no wise agree that for the Catholic Church we could lay any causes unto the Jews or Turks wherefore they should of reason give any credence to it, and upon the credence of it to take the New Testament for Scripture (as Saint Augustine saith that himself did), then if we would any send thither to preach the true scripture among them and make them first perceive and believe which books *be* the very scriptures—since they would believe, of likelihood, no one man of the Catholic Church in that point better than all the whole... and that point must needs, by Tyndale's doctrine, be known first, as the thing without which nothing can be proved... there is no remedy but send some of Tyndale's elects. For the true reasons and effectual have only, ye wot well, they.

But first, how shall we know them? Yes, well enough, pardie. For if they be friars, we know them by wedding of nuns! Well, send Luther, then. Howbeit, that may not be... for he should be but laughed at there, because he alloweth the reason of Saint Augustine that he knoweth the Scripture by the Catholic Church, because the Church hath, he saith, the knowledge and discerning thereof

Note from all other writing, specially given by God.

Well, will we do well, then let us send so good a man as no man can doubt of but that he is an elect... and who should that be but holy William Tyndale himself! What reasons will *he* lay to them? He will say, by likelihood, "O all you Jews, and all you Turks, too, and all ye Saracens' heads, hearken here unto me, and give credence unto me, and believe me that these books be the very scripture of God... but believe it never the rather though all the known Catholic church say so; for they be all as bad as ye be, and each of you as credible as any of them... and then be you Jews of more antiquity than they, and ye Turks and ye Saracens five times so many as

they... and therefore why should you believe the Catholic Church for anything that they can say unto you? But I shall tell you whom ye shall believe. I say ye shall believe *me*; and I shall tell you a good cause why. For *I* have a *feeling* faith. For, whatsoever *I* tell you, God hath himself so written it in mine heart that I feel it to be true. And therefore this is a plain, evident, open cause wherefore ye should believe me.” 5

Lo, when Tyndale would tell them this tale, they could not, ye wot well, laugh thereat, for it could not be but the feeling faith of his false heart they must needs feel at their own fingers’ ends. 10

Hath he not wisely handled this objection of the Jews and the Turks... and toward the avoiding of the Catholic Church, and proving of his “feeling faith,” brought them to a goodly purpose?

But then cometh he forth in the end of his chapter, and showeth us that God ever “in the Old Testament did let the great multitude err, reserving always a little flock to call [them] back again, and [show] them the right way.” And so he meaneth that God hath now sent him and his master, and those other holy heretics, to teach the Catholic Church the right way. 15

But as I have said before, God hath promised to send his *Holy Spirit* into *this* church, to teach it all truth, and to remain therewith (himself also) perpetually, to guide his church from such falling of his Catholic church from the right faith, that he should not need to send any such cole-prophets as these heretics are, to teach his church the faith; as it appeareth well by the old holy saints of every age since the apostles’ days, with whose doctrine, as it is by their books proved, the doctrine of the Catholic Church against all these heretics agreeth. 20

Also, when he sent his prophets of old, he was wont always to send honest men on his errand, that proved themselves by miracles; and not such rascally ribalds as call themselves apostles, and prove it but by jesting and railing. 30

God’s messengers were wont also to teach every man cleanness and honesty, and not, as these beastly fellows do, teach folk to break their vows, and friars to fly forth and wed nuns. 35

Moreover, if the true flock be always a *little* flock... then be not these heretics now the true flock. For they be now grown not only to a great meinie of men, but also a great, shrewd sort of flocks, flocking in many countries of Christendom full fast, and in many places much harm have done, and much more they go about. 5

And therefore, since in some places the heretics be now the greater multitude, and the *Catholics* the little flock—*there* are then yet (since the truth standeth, by Tyndale's tale, in the littleness of the flock) the Catholics become the faithful folk, and the heretics the false, without any change of belief on either other side. 10

Finally, those few folk that God was wont to reserve or send to teach the world the right way did agree in their doctrine. For else had the world, ye wot well, not wist which of them to follow. But now these heretics be almost as many sects as men, and never one agreeth with other; so that if the world were to learn the right way of them, that matter were much like as if a man walking in a wilderness, that fain would find the right way toward the town that he intended, should meet with a meinie of lewd, mocking knaves... which when the poor man had prayed them to tell him the way, would get them into a roundel, turning them back to back, and then speak all at once, and each of them tell him, "*This way*"... each of them pointing forth with his hand the way that his face standeth. 15 20 25

Finally, that little flock that God reserved to call the great multitude back, and to show the world the right way—they were ever yet a *known* company. For if men might not have known them—they never could have heard them nor believed them as folk of the true flock, if no man could have known which *were* the true flock. 30

And then must it thereupon follow that yet the true church must be a known church, and not an unknown sort of elects only... with such an unknown kind of "feeling faith" as no man can feel in his fellow... nor no man can feel in himself but he whom all true-faithful folk may well and easily feel for a false fumbling heretic... which by that false fumbling faith feeleth that the Blessed 35

Sacrament of the Altar, the Sacred Body of our Savior himself, should have none honor done to it nor be taken for nothing else but either for bare bread or starch.

But now—when he hath so well acquitted him with the false Turks and the Jews, against the true, Catholic church of Christ—he
5
cometh forth with another chapter... and therein, for the final conclusion of all his matter concerning the knowledge of the very church, and for the final solution of the second argument made for the Catholic Church, and for the final confirmation of his false feeling faith, he knitteth up all his dispicions with these
10
wise words that follow...

Tyndale

*How This Word “Church” Hath a
Double Interpretation*

This is therefore a sure conclusion. As Paul saith (Romans 9) that “not
15
all they that are of Israel are Israelites; neither because they be Abraham’s seed are they all Abraham’s children”... but they only that follow the faith of Abraham: even so, now none of them that believe with their mouths moved with the authority of their elders only—that is, none of them that believe with Master More’s faith,
20
the pope’s faith, and the devil’s faith (which may stand, as Master More confesseth, with all manner abominations)—have the right faith of Christ or are of his church; but they only that repent and feel that the Law is good, and have the Law of God written in their hearts, and the faith of our Savior Jesus even with the
25
Spirit of God. There is a carnal Israel and a spiritual. There is Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau. And Ishmael persecuted Isaac; and Esau, Jacob; and the fleshly, the spiritual. Whereof Paul complained in his time, persecuted of his carnal brethren... as we
30
do in our time, and as the elect ever did and shall do till the world’s end. What a multitude came out of Egypt under Moses, of which the Scripture testifieth that they believed moved by the miracles of Moses... as Simon Magus believed by the reason of Philip’s miracles (Acts 8). Nevertheless, the Scripture testifieth

that six hundred thousand of those believers perished through
 unbelief and left their carcasses in the wilderness, and never
 entered into the land that was promised them. And even so shall
 the children of Master More's faithless faith made by the persuasion
 of man leap short of the rest which our Savior Jesus is 5
 risen unto. And therefore let them embrace this present world as
 they do whose children they are though they hate so to be called.
 And hereby ye see that it is a plain and an evident conclusion, as
 bright as the sun shining, that the truth of God's word dependeth
 not of the truth of the Congregation. And therefore when thou art 10
 asked why thou believest that thou shalt be saved through Christ, and
 of suchlike principles of our faith... answer, thou wottest and
 feelest that it is true. And when he asketh how thou knowest that it
 is true... answer, because it is written in thine heart. And if he ask
 who wrote it... answer, the Spirit of God. And if he ask how thou 15
 camest first by it... tell him whether by reading of books or hearing
 it preached, as an outward instrument... but that inwardly thou
 wast taught by the Spirit of God. And if he ask whether thou
 believest it not because it is written in books, or because the priests
 so preach... answer, no, not now... but only because it is written in 20
 thine heart, and because the Spirit of God so preacheth and so
 testifieth unto thy soul. And say though at the *beginning* thou
 wast moved by reading or preaching, as the Samaritans were by
 the words of the woman... yet *now* thou believest it not *therefore* any
 longer, but only because thou hast heard it of the Spirit of 25
 God and read it written in thine heart.

And concerning outward teaching... we allege for us scripture
 elder than any church that was this fourteen hundred years, and old
 authentic stories which they had brought asleep, wherewith we 30
 confound their lies. Remember ye not how in our own time, of all
 that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin
 tongue? How came we, then, by the Latin tongue again? Not by *them*—
 though we learned certain rules and principles of them, by which
 we were moved and had an occasion to seek further—but out of the
 old authors. Even so, we seek up old antiquities, out of which we 35
 learn, and not of our church, though we received many principles of
 our church at the beginning—but more falsehood, among, than truth.

More

Now, good Christian readers, here have I given you all his whole process together, upon a heap, wherewith he endeth all his dispicions concerning the knowledge of the very church. For now, after all that ended... he falleth from dispicions to preaching, from his matter of the title of his book—that is to wit, which is *the* church?—unto the two great conclusions that God hath, he saith, written in the hearts of all his elects. The one is, he saith, the faith of Christ, by which they know how God is to be honored, and thereby they feel and perceive well enough within their own hearts that the sacraments be (as Tyndale saith) but bare signs and memorials, and none effectual instruments of grace, nor the Sacrament of the Altar nothing but bread or starch. And the second conclusion is the love of their neighbors as themselves, by which they can sufficiently “judge,” saith he, “between good and evil, right and wrong, godly and ungodly, in all conversation, deeds, laws, bargains, covenants, ordinances, and decrees of men... and knoweth the office of every degree, and the due honor of every person”; so that by this ye may well perceive that whosoever have any less knowledge than this, he is, by Tyndale’s own doctrine, none elect.

But, now, since God hath himself written these conclusions so fully in their hearts... Tyndale needeth not, it seemeth, to make them so long a sermon. But as though he feared yet, for all his words, that God had not so fair written it but that some of them could not read it... he goeth forth with his collation of a great length, and teacheth them after his fashion what is very worshipping, and then a long process of images, pilgrimage, sacraments, and ceremonies. In all which long sermon he saith at length nothing but either such as is so commonly known already that a man may hear his wife tell as much to her maid, or else so foolish that a very noddypoll idiot might be ashamed to say it... or, finally, so false and blasphemous as scantly the devil durst teach it... saving that in the end he gathereth a little his five wits well about him, and expoundeth there the words of the poor Kentishman which I rehearse in my *Dialogue*, concerning Sandwich Haven destroyed through Tenterden

Steeple. And there, to knit up all his whole sermon with... he concluded
 against me that of very truth the building of Tenterden
 Steeple and other steeples and churches in the realm *have* been indeed
 the very destruction both of Sandwich Haven and Dover
 Haven, and all the other havens of England, and of all the good
 besides, that by good policy might in any wise have come and
 grown to the realm. 5

And thus, with this goodly quip against me for his qui-cum-Patre
 lacking no more but an exhortation in the end that men
 should therefore pull down Tenterden Steeple, and so should Sandwich
 Haven amend; and pull down all the churches in the realm, and
 so should need no more policy to make a merry world—the good, godly
 man maketh an end of his holy sermon, and gaspeth a little and
 galpeth, and getteth him down of the pulpit. 10

But forasmuch, good readers, as all this long sermon of his goeth
 far from our present purpose, which is, as ye wot well, only to
 wit which is the very church... which one thing found out
 answereth and avoideth plain, as himself well perceiveth, all his
 whole heap of heresies; and forasmuch also as the points of his
 sermon do specially pertain to sundry diverse chapters of my
Dialogue: I shall hereafter, in answering of his particular objections,
 touch in their proper places the devilish doctrine of this
 his holy collation; and for this time will I touch only those words
 that I have rehearsed you, and examine a little farther his “feeling
 faith,” and upon his own words will I make it open—and on the
 words of his fellows and his master too—that none can be the very
 church but only the Catholic, known church; and therewith will I
 finish all this present work. 15 20 25

Let us therefore now consider what great thing this man
 hath taught us in this chapter. To make us clearly perceive that only
 elects, that cannot sin though they sin, be the very church... and
 that the Catholic, known church is not the *church*: he telleth us
 here—for the final, special proof—that this word “church” hath a
 double interpretation... and that there is a carnal Israel and a
 spiritual Israel... and that even so is it in “the church.” 30 35

What a great, high, secret mystery this man teacheth us here! Any other than the selfsame that I have told him already, more times than his hand hath fingers—that in the Church there be both good and bad? And yet is it, for all that, the very church!—as the ark of Noah was the right figure thereof, that had therein both clean and unclean... and of the men also, not all elects and good; for of Noah's
Gn 9:21–27 own sons, one, ye wot well, was so bad that his own father accursed him. 5

And as the parable of our Savior signifieth, his net—that is, his
Mt 13:47–50 church—catcheth and keepeth both good fish and bad, till it come out of the waves of this world unto the bank of the other... where the net shall be taken up and the fish sorted, and the good saved and the bad cast away. 10

Mt 13:24–30 And the field of God shall bear both weed and corn, till the harvest come that both be reaped... and the corn conveyed into the barn, and the weed cast into the fire. 15

Yea, and many very elect is at some time full naught, and many sometime full good that yet will wax after naught, and go to the devil at last. And therefore I can wish no better for my purpose than the very thing that Tyndale here layeth against it. For since that *in* the Catholic Church be both good *and* bad, and *out* of the Catholic Church be *none* good but *all* bad (as none were saved left out of Noah's ship)—this one thing alone, lo, even in the beginning brought in by Tyndale himself, is sufficient for all the matter for my part against him, as a thing clearly proving that only the Catholic church is the very true, and all his others counterfeit and false. 20

Now, where it pleaseth him to jest and say, “Even so, now none of them that believe with their mouths moved with the authority of their elders only—that is, none of them that believe with Master More's faith, the pope's faith, and the devil's faith (which may stand, as Master More confesseth, with all manner abominations)—have the right faith of Christ or of his church”: every man here well seeth how loud he belieth me, and what folly he layeth forth, in this little space. 25

For first, I never said that any man believeth with his *mouth*— 30

which though it be the member with which a man is bound to *confess* his faith, yet is it not the member with which a man *believeth*, no more than his heel. And therefore in this point Tyndale belieth me once.

Moreover, I said never that men believe “moved with the authority of their elders only”; but I say that saving for the credence given to the authority of the known Catholic church, Tyndale himself had not known, nor yet were sure at this day, which books be the true scripture of God. But I say therewith that like as God hath ordered the bodily wits as ways toward the understanding of reason... so toward things *above* reason, he hath ordained the bodily wits and reason, both, for ways *toward* the persuasion; but yet, since the end is heavenly, and so high above the nature of man that the nature corrupt could not without help of God attain and reach thereto—God helpeth forth them, therefore, that are willing, with his supernatural grace, toward the inclination of reason into the assent and obedience of faith. And that the whole Catholic Church, be it never so sick and sore in other sins beside, is yet led into the truth of belief by the Spirit of God. And this is it that I have *ever* said; and therefore here Tyndale belieth me twice.

Now, where he saith that the faith which may stand, as I confess, with all manner of abominations, is not the right faith of Christ nor of his church, but is (as he saith) the pope’s faith, and my faith, and the devil’s, too... and that the right faith is only in them “that repent and feel that the Law is good, and have the Law of God written in their hearts, and the faith of our Savior Jesus even with the Spirit of God”: I say that the very thing that I say of “faith alone”—that it may stand with all abominable deeds—Tyndale’s own “feeling faith” feeleth and affirmeth the same. For Tyndale saith that his elects having his “feeling faith” may and do, by the fruit of sin remaining in them and breaking out at their frail members, fall into right horrible deeds... and that yet their faith standeth still therewith and never faileth at any time, and that by cause thereof, all those “horrible deeds,” be they never so great abominations, be yet no deadly sin.

That Tyndale thus plainly saith, ye have yourselves seen (in my

Fourth Book) before. And then that it plainly followeth upon his tale that with his own “feeling faith” all manner abomination may stand, and hours, and days, and months, and years, abide and dwell together, ye see plainly yourselves. And therefore ye see also as plainly that since I never said, as Tyndale rehearseth me, that men may believe with their mouth; nor never commended faith alone for sufficient, as Tyndale here beareth me in hand, making “faith alone” to be mine; and in that I said that faith may be not “alone” only, without other virtues, but stand also with all abominable deeds and vice: I said but the same (and yet not all the same) for “faith alone” that Tyndale saith himself for his own “feeling faith”... not alone, but accompanied, as he would have it seem, with hope and charity both. These things being thus: when he liketh himself well, and weeneth he jesteth as properly as a camel danceth, in calling it my faith, and the pope’s faith, and the devil’s faith... every man, I ween, that well marketh the matter will be likely to call his proper scoff but a very cold conceit of my goff that he found and took up at sot’s-hof.

I say to Tyndale yet again that as far forth as pertaineth only to the nature of faith—that is to wit, to the bare belief alone—that faith that may stand with all manner of abomination is a very right faith and a true. But I say that though it be, as it is, both right and true... yet is it not sufficient to bring a man to heaven if it not only may but also *do* stand with any kind of abominable sin, because it is then lewd Luther’s faith and Tyndale’s faith—that is to say, faith not alone, but faith coupled with abominable sin.

But, now, that faith alone—that is to say, belief alone—is very right faith and belief... is a point which I have already proved him much more often, I dare well say, than himself hath said Mass this month; and therefore I will not now labor much about it. And to say the truth, the thing is so plain and open of itself that, saving for the importunate babbling of these heretics, no man should ever have needed to go about the proof at all. For what should I go about to prove the thing that Saint Paul proveth

1 Cor 13:2 for me, which saith of himself that though he had all faith... yet if he lack

charity therewith, he were nothing? What need I now to go any further thereto, since Saint James reasoneth, disputeth, and defineth
Jas 2:14–26 the matter, concluding that faith may be without good works... but then affirming that when it so is, then it is dead; not dead in the nature of faith, 5
but dead as unto the state of salvation... as the men of whom our Savior spoke where he saith, “Let the dead men bury their dead
Lk 9:59–60 men, and follow thou me”—he meant not, I suppose, that men naturally dead indeed should bear the dead corpse to burying. 10

“Yea,” saith Tyndale, “but yet this is not the right faith of Christ.” I say yes... for as far as belongeth to the only faith—that is to say, to the only belief of these points and articles that Christ will have us bound to believe. “Yet,” saith Tyndale, “this faith is not sufficient for salvation but if it have with it both hope and charity.” What needeth Tyndale to tell us that tale? Who did ever say nay to that? 15
But yet be faith, hope, and charity three diverse and distinct virtues.
1 Cor 13:13 For as Saint Paul saith, “faith, hope, and charity... the greater of these is charity.”

“Yet,” saith Tyndale, “those three be three sisters that never be asunder; 20
so that whosoever hath any one hath all.” That is plain untrue. For if that heresy were true... then whosoever had faith had all three... and whosoever had all three had all that ever he needed. But, now, *because* of that *false* heresy; lest he that believeth right in all the articles should ween that therefore he lacked not charity, and so 25
1 Cor 13:2 were safe enough and needed no more: this
Jas 2:14–26 was the very cause for which both Saint
Faith may be without Paul and Saint James labored so much
hope and charity. to tell us that Tyndale lieth, and that a man *may* have faith and lack yet both 30
hope and charity.

“Yea,” saith Tyndale, “but that is but a historical faith, that a man getteth by himself, of his only natural power, and is not the work of God in his soul; and therefore that faith is but faint and feeble, and soon gone again... and is therefore no right faith nor no Christian faith. 35
For the *right* faith is wrought and written always by *God himself*, in

the man's *heart*, and therefore it is never without hope and charity, wrought and written within the heart together with the faith... and is therefore a *feeling* faith that can never fail, and thereby never can cease both to hope well and work well."

This is, of truth, the whole sum and effect of Tyndale's holy tale, wherein he did somewhat if he would once prove us half. But, first, I deny that every historical faith—that is to say, every historical belief and credence—is so faint and so feeble that it is so soon gone as Tyndale saith it is. For we see proof enough that with many men it standeth still all their life, be the thing true or false... as the false story of Muhammad many Turks take for so true that they will, notwithstanding many sufficient causes wherefore of reason they should reckon it for false, they will, I say, yet of obstinacy stand still therein and abide bondslaves in Christian countries upon the borders of Turkey—yea, and died thereon, too—rather than believe the contrary.

I say further that it is not true that man in the belief of the articles of the Christian faith getteth that belief by himself, of his own natural power, without the help of God working with him—and yet I speak here of bare belief, charity not yet joined with it.

For since every man that seeketh for the belief, and endeavoreth himself thereto, purposeth thereby to seek the way to *salvation*—the corrupt nature of man can never begin to enter into that journey, nor walk forth one foot therein, but if he be both first prevented

Jn 15:5 by grace and have it walk with him still. For our Savior saith, "Without me can ye nothing do."

But likewise as a man may by God's help, that calleth upon every man, enter in toward the belief, and yet leave again ere he get it... and believe some one point and yet leave off at another: so may he go forth with God into *all* the points of belief, and yet leave off and lack hope. He may also go forth in belief and hope too—yea, and over-great hope too—and yet, for the purpose of some fleshly delight which he is not in mind to leave, he may leave off and lack charity.

For though the devil may, besides such things as he verily

knoweth, believe some such articles as we do without any prevention of grace, forasmuch as in him... being perpetually damned... the belief can be no furtherance toward salvation, and therefore can in him be no matter of the work of grace: yet in *man*, to whom the faith is by God's ordinance provided for a way toward salvation—though the way be two long lanes besides faith, and therefore he may leave, if he list, ere he come at any of the lanes' end (that is to wit, hope and charity)—yet never can he find the entering into the first lane (that is to wit, into faith), nor never can he set forth any foot forward in it, but if God work with his will. 5
10

Jn 6:44; 1 Cor 3:9

For our Savior saith, "No man can come to me but if my Father *draw* him."

And whoso be fallen into a deep pit, and thence drawn out... is not drawn from the brink but from the bottom. And so, likewise, God, that draweth, draweth even from the beginning, and casteth down the cord of his grace to take hold upon, whereupon whoso taketh hold and holdeth still... is by God drawn unto God, *and* helpeth himself to be drawn. For as Saint Paul saith, we help forth with God. 15

I say also that after that God hath wrought with man's will, and called him, by prevention of grace, at the years of discretion, either from Judaism or from Gentility... and, finding no let in the man, hath by Baptism fully infounded the faith, and with hope and charity put him in state of grace, which is all the writing in the 20

The writing in the heart

heart that ever I heard of: this man having now *not* faith alone, but hope

and charity too, and standing in such state of grace that if he then so deceased, his soul should forthwith fly into bliss, before his body were cold—yet when he doth, after that infusion of faith and grace, any theft or adultery, he loseth charity always, and by custom of sin sometimes hope too... and leaveth but bare faith, that is to say, belief alone... and sometimes by false doctrine of heretics loseth 25
30

Good it is to keep faith alone.

some of that, too. And yet is faith alone good to be kept—yea, and the very pieces

and fragments of the faith, also. For they be means by which a 35

man may the more easily come to the remnant that he hath lost or lacketh. And they help (with God's further help) to keep a man from some sin though they keep him not from all.

For some man that falleth to theft sometimes remembereth yet his baptism... and, being by the devil enticed to kill the man, maketh a cross upon his breast and prayeth Christ keep him from it; and in adultery likewise. And God in that good mind preventeth the man by grace, and worketh with his will in keeping him therefrom, as he gave him good thoughts and offered him his grace, if he would have taken hold thereof, to keep him from the other too. And I doubt not but if God left him in the one as he left God in the other... the devil that with his flesh brought his will to theft and adultery would bring him to manslaughter also, and make him kill and murder the one man for his money, the other man for his wife.

And thus ye see that of Tyndale's royal tale there is not one word yet proved true, saving where he saith that all which come of Abraham's seed are not Abraham's children all... but they only that follow the faith of Abraham. For I will grant him this, and a great deal more, too. For I say farther that all be not Abraham's children that have Abraham's faith, but if they have his charity too, and thereby work his works. For our Savior saith, "If ye be the children of Abraham, work ye the works of Abraham. But ye be," saith he, "the children of the devil, and after his desires will ye do."

"Well," will Tyndale yet say, "since it is so that M. More granteth himself: that though faith alone be a very faith, and right and true, for so far as it stretcheth, yet because it stretcheth not far enough to salvation, in that it, being but alone, lacketh both hope and charity—wherefore doth Master More speak so much thereof, being, as himself confesseth, but insufficient... and not rather let it pass, and exhort every man to my feeling faith, that is both sufficient and also can never fail?"

As for the first point, the blame be theirs that have given the occasion. For men have been fain to speak so much of "faith alone"

1 Cor 13:2; Gal 5:6 for the selfsame cause for which Saint
Jas 2:14–26 Paul did speak thereof, and Saint James,
 both: that is to wit, because these heretics
 now... followed the false sect of some such as were then, in the
 apostles' time, teaching that faith alone was enough for salvation... 5
 as Tyndale's master Martin Luther doth manifestly and plainly
 in his *Babylonica*, where he saith expressly that a Christian man
 "can never be damned if he will believe," nor "no sin can damn
 him" but only "incredulity," that is to say, lack of belief. For as for
 "all other sins," whatsoever they be, "faith," saith he, "if it either
 abide still or come again, suppeth them all up in a moment"— 10
 and that God hath no need of man's good works, but that he "hath
 need of" our faith alone.
 This maketh folk to speak of "faith alone" and show, by the
 authority of Saint Paul and Saint James and many other places of 15
 Holy Scripture, that Tyndale's master Holy Luther lieth.
 But yet will Tyndale say, "Since I do now speak of faith that is
feeling, and worketh *well*, and by *reason* of the feeling cannot *but*
 work well—what should Master More ail now, to speak anymore
 of the *other* faith alone, that for lack of feeling worketh not? 20
 Considering also that I, besides the faith that feeleth and worketh
 well, add *repentance*, also, of all that men do amiss—what fault,
 therefore, findeth he now? Or what would the man have more?"
 First, there *is* yet cause to speak of "faith alone," because Tyndale 25
 is not a heretic alone, but that there be many more besides him which
 yet say still as Luther did before.
 Also there is cause because of Tyndale specially, which would
 gloss Luther's old heresy with these new words which will in no
 wise stand... with which he would make the world to ween that in 30
 "faith alone" he meant faith, hope, and charity... and that it could
 not be that he any other meant, because there can be none other
 faith but only that alone that hath both hope and charity therewith;
 and by this bald gloss, that three virtues be all one virtue, and that
 one virtue were three, against both reason and Scripture, would he
 mock unlearned people, *and* make them believe that Luther meant 35

well, and that all other men were so mad that they could not understand him. And therefore, to make open this wily folly of Tyndale is also a cause why that I speak so much of “faith alone,” besides the necessity of answering him concerning his worshipful evasion of his own “feeling faith,” on which he hopeth that he may be bold because no man can come into his breast to see what manner of feeling himself feeleth there. 5

But yet hath God of his great goodness beguiled him, and made him so mad in the brain that he hath uttered himself such things
Lk 6:45 with his own pen as (our Savior saying himself that “the mouth speaketh of the abundance,” or “fullness,” of “the heart”) must needs make every man to feel even at his fingers’ ends that Tyndale in the bottom of his heart, with his fulsome “feeling faith,” feeleth a foul, filthy heap of false fumbling heresies. 10 15

For yet is his faith worse than faith alone, which he calleth the devil’s faith and mine. For as Saint James saith, “The devils do
Jas 2:19 both believe and tremble also for dread”... “but thou” (saith he to Tyndale and every such as Tyndale is, that for his “feeling faith” saith that he is so great with God that he may do many “horrible deeds” without any deadly sin) “art worse than the devil, because thou dost not dread.” 20

Besides this, since Tyndale teacheth such a “feeling faith” as no faith (as he saith) can save a soul but it... and then teacheth therewith that toward the getting thereof, no man can any more do than the child can to the begetting of his own father—that is to say, almost less than right naught—what doth he by this teaching but teach every man to sit still and go nothing about it? And when he saith good works be nothing of our will, but necessarily spring out of the “feeling faith”... and yet be but like leaves rather than fruit... for he saith they shall never have reward in heaven, but that it were damnable to think that ever they should—though he would by other words bid men to do them, yet doth he by this tale so strongly teach the contrary that whoso believeth him shall leave them all undone. 25 30 35

And when he teacheth “repentance” without shrift or penance, and

saved”—like as, if man could turn without God, Christ would
Is 45:22; Jn 15:5 not say, “Without me ye can do nothing”...
 so if, on the other side, man could
 nothing at all do in the turning toward him, no more than can
 the hatchet in turning toward the man—God would not so often 5
Rv 3:20 and so earnestly call and cry upon us, nor
 stand and knock at the door of our
 heart, if ourselves could nothing do to the opening thereof, and
 thereby to let him in.
 Now, Tyndale not only teacheth us this ungracious lesson by 10
 which he would make men so to look for grace that, for the lack
 of their own endeavor, they may be worthy to lose it; but also,
 since he both teacheth us that without that faith every man is damned...
 and then teacheth us also that to the getting thereof, no man can
 nothing do: he teacheth, I say, by these two things together, every 15
A devilish lesson wretched, willful beast to lay the weight
 of his wretchedness, and the malice of his
 own wretched will, unto the providence and predestination of God.
 And since that this is so high a heresy, so sore blaspheming the
 high majesty of God: I say that Tyndale’s “feeling faith” is yet 20
 far worse, not only than bare faith alone, but also than no
 faith at all... as it were less evil never to have heard of God,
 nor never have thought of him, neither, than to believe that there *is*
 God, and then so beastly to blaspheme him.
 And whereas Tyndale calleth faith alone, the faith of the pope 25
 and of the devil and me—what faith the pope hath, or myself either,
 God shall be judge, and not Tyndale. But surely as for his own “feeling
 faith,” himself here clearly declareth that it is doubly as devilish
 as the devil’s own faith indeed.
 First for the point that Saint James speaketh of; because of his 30
 malapert presumption, affirming that for the “feeling faith” he
 may do much “horrible deeds” without any deadly sin—and therefore
 is, as Saint James saith, out of the dread of God... and therein worse
 than the devil, which both believeth and trembleth also for dread.
 And secondly is his “feeling” faith worse than the devil’s is, in that 35
 the devil believeth that the very body of Christ *is* in the Blessed

Sacrament of the Altar, and feareth, and trembleth, and giveth
reverence thereto... yea, and unto the image of Christ's cross also... as

Satan giveth reverence to the hath in every age been proved in sundry
Sacrament, and to the image places of Christendom, and daily appeareth
of the cross of Christ. yet; whereas Tyndale calleth 5
blessing and crossing but wagging of
folks' fingers in the air, and feareth not (like one that would at
length wag hemp in the wind!) to mock at all such miracles, and
say the devil fleeth from folks' blessings as men flee from children,
feigning themselves afraid of them when they list to sport and play 10
with them; nor feareth to mock the Sacrament, the Blessed Body of
God, and (full like a stretch-hemp!) call it but cakebread or starch.

And, finally, yet is his faithless "feeling" faith far worse than is
the devil's in that the devil, I dare say, believeth, and so layeth to
men's charge, that such as do not believe might if they would... 15
and such as do not turn to God might if they list... and layeth unto
the damned souls the cause of their own damnation, whereas
Tyndale, teaching us that they could do nothing to the contrary, layeth
of their damnation all the blame in *God*. Which blasphemous
An outrageous blasphemy heresy is such a heinous kind of 20
abominable, outrageous blasphemy that I
verily suppose, in my mind, this point that Tyndale's faith feeleth in his
heart, the very worst damned devil in the deepest dungeon
in hell would abhor.

And thus hath Tyndale, in jesting upon *my* faith, to this good 25
point wisely brought his own.

And now, where he goeth forth holily and preacheth us that "there is a
carnal Israel and a spiritual; there is Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau,"
and that "Ishmael persecuted Isaac; and Esau, Jacob; and the fleshly, the
spiritual," and that Saint Paul "complained" that he was "persecuted of his 30
carnal brethren"—what wise conclusion will Tyndale make of this?
Marry, no little thing, nor like no small fool, I warrant you. For lo,
thus he concludeth: "[And thus do we] in our time, and as the elect ever did
and shall do till the world's end." By this he teacheth us, lo, that evermore
the elects be they that be persecuted, and they be the very Isaacs, 35
the very Jacobs, and the very spirituals, and the very apostles, and

the very Pauls... and on the other side, therefore, all they that persecute any man, what can men call them by right but Ishmaels, and Esaus, and reprobates, and very carnal flesh flies?

1 Samuel 19 and 23

And by Tyndale's holy tale, when David

2 Samuel 18

was persecuted of Saul, then was David an elect. But when he persecuted either

5

the Philistines or the rebels that rose with Absalom—marry, fie, for shame! For that was a foul fault, for then was he a reprobate.

And Moses, when he was persecuted and fled... then was he an elect. But when he pursued with the well-believing people the false idolaters of his own company, then was he a reprobate—and as many as went with him.

10

Saint Paul also, when he was persecuted of his carnal brethren, then was he a good man and a very elect. But when he persecuted

1 Tm 1:18–20

Hymenaeus and Alexander, and gave their bodies to the devil to teach them leave

15

their blasphemy... then Tyndale maketh him an Ishmael and an Esau and but a carnal reprobate.

And our Savior himself also, while the Jews persecuted him, then agreeth Tyndale by this reason that he was all that while good and holy and spiritual. But when he made a whip once and persecuted

20

Jn 2:15

them, and beat them away, all that bought and sold within the Temple (the Temple

being but a temple of stone, too; by which manner of temples Tyndale setteth not a straw)—what manner man Tyndale here maketh our Savior, that he shall tell you himself for me... and in this wise reason of his he telleth us, ye see well, already.

25

And even in like wise now, when true men, Catholics, and good men do persecute thieves, heretics, and murderers... then are all true men, all Catholics, and all good men plain Ishmaels, Esaus, and carnal... and the thieves, heretics, and murderers, without any change of purpose to the better, be by and by—because they be pursued not *for* justice, but *by* justice—turned from evil to good, and suddenly be become the Isaacs and the Jacobs and the very spirituals.

35

But, now, what when the thieves, heretics, and murderers persecute the true men, the Catholics and innocents, as in Switzerland

and Saxony they do? What will Tyndale call them then? Will he call them by their right names and tell what they be worthy? I fear me the turning of Tyndale's fellows to the left side will alter and change the case, and make him somewhat to mollify and mitigate his judgment... and play as the lady did of whom when one asked what that man were worthy which, having a fair young woman to his wife, took her maid besides, she gave sentence shortly, and said, "He were worthy, by the Mary Mass, to be hanged by the neck upon the next bough!" But when she was then demanded further, what were that woman worthy which, having a goodly young gentleman to her husband, took yet his servant besides... "Now, in good faith," said she, "and in my mind, she were yet to blame too; yea, and worthy, by our Blessed Lady, to be well said unto; and I promise you faithfully, even so should she indeed, had I the rule of her—but if she were the better fellow."

Thus would, I ween, Tyndale be loath to give any sore sentence upon heretics, whatsoever they be besides.

And also I remember me now that he cannot indeed with his conscience. For since they be his own elects, and his evangelical brethren, and fellows of his "feeling faith"... he hath, pardie, told us already that, do they never so great "horrible deeds," they do yet no deadly sin, and therefore worthy, ye wot well, but little, pretty penance, because they consent not to their sins, but commit them all of frailty.

He should be also, in this matter, in a marvelous perplexity if he were made the judge. For how should he bear himself upright among all his fellows, when he seeth well himself that of them all, as all pursue the Catholics, so every sect pursueth other? For the Huessgenites and Zwinglians pursue the Lutherans, as Luther himself complaineth; and the Lutherans, them again; and all they punish and kill the Anabaptists; so that by Tyndale's reason, there be none very Isaacs, and Israels, and spirituals, but the Anabaptists only, because they lack yet power to persecute. But Tyndale would here find some shift to excuse all the rabble, rather than to call the persecution that heretics make any manner sin at all.

We will therefore never ask Tyndale the question, nor make him no judge in this matter, lest we make (if we follow him) the world swarm full of all mischief; for thereto fain would he bring it. But let us ask Saint Augustine the question, which against the Donatists (such heretics then in Africa as these be now in Almaine) 5

It is well done to punish the evil.
Gn 16:1–9 plainly showeth and declareth that good men do very well, and deserve thank of God, in persecuting and punishing them that be naught. And he

commendeth Sarah for persecuting and correcting her maid... 10
and saith not that if she would be an elect and spiritual, she must have let her maid have pursued and beaten her. And yet showeth Saint Augustine farther, and by good reason proveth, that these heretics and all such others as naught be, be the very persecutors evermore themselves—even then also when it seemeth that good men pursue them. 15

But we shall let this process pass, which patch hath Tyndale here brought in but for the safeguard of heretics and impunity of all mischievous people—a Job, as it seemeth, of some other man’s making, and planted in at pleasure, somewhat out of place, for any gay depending that it hath either upon the words that go before or the words following after upon it... saving that in the words next ensuing, he putteth us in mind of Moses... which, being a 20

Nm 12:3; Ex 32:25–28 very special elect and a holy prophet, and, as the Scripture saith, a most mild 25

and piteous man, did yet pursue, punish, and kill heretics, idolaters, and schismatics, in great number, among the Jews; which thing destroyeth all that pleasant patch which Tyndale hath there put in to prove all such as pursue and punish such heretics and schismatics to be Ishmaels, Esaus, and very carnal reprobates. 30

But forthwith after that patch, Tyndale goeth forth in great haste, and giveth again against my faith a marvelous sore assault...

Tyndale

What a multitude came out of Egypt under Moses, of which the Scripture testifieth that they believed moved by the miracles of 35

Moses... as Simon Magus believed by the reason of Philip's miracles (Acts 8). Nevertheless, the Scripture testifieth that six hundred thousand of those believers perished through unbelief and left their carcasses in the wilderness, and never came into the land that was promised them. And even so shall the children of Master More's faithless faith made by the persuasion of man leap short of the rest which our Savior Jesus is risen unto. And therefore let them embrace this present world as they do whose children they are though they hate to be called so. 5

More 10

The effect of Tyndale's tale is here, as it seemeth, to teach us what a great peril it were to be by the persuasion of men or miracles persuaded to believe in Christ... forasmuch as of such as by Moses and his miracles were induced to believe in God, six hundred thousand left their carcasses in the wilderness, and never came to the Land of Behest; whereupon his conclusion is, and his intent, as it seemeth, that in like wise, whosoever be by men or miracles induced to believe in Christ shall leave their souls in hell, and never come to heaven. For that is our Land of Behest. 15

Now, if this thing be so perilous—to be persuaded by men or miracles—I marvel somewhat wherefore our Savior himself used those means to persuade them... and so sore laid it unto the charge of them that with the work of his miracles would not be persuaded to believe his words... and also did rebuke his apostles for that they did not believe them that had seen him risen. 20 25

But to the intent that no man shall need to be afeard, for Tyndale's tale, to take the fruit of the miracles that God worketh daily in his Catholic Church to cause it thereby to be perceived for his very church, and thereupon to be firm credence given thereunto, both in learning which is the very scripture of God, and also the true, fruitful sentence of the same, with all such other things as God hath, doth, and shall with his own Spirit teach unto his church besides, unto the world's end: we shall a little examine here Tyndale's high, solemn words. 30 35

First will we bid him prove that all those six hundred thousand died

in desert for unbelief... and be bold to tell him that he belieth the Scripture, for the Scripture saith not so. For the Scripture showeth that many of them died for inordinate desire of meat—not in great necessity, or for fear of famine, but for the insatiable appetite of the fulfilling the delicate wantonness of their taste; which, not content with the pleasant meat of manna, longed sore and murmured that they might not framp in flesh as the Lollards use now to do on Good Friday. 5

And therefore had they their boon granted them, and their bane *Numbers 16* given them therewith. For they were choked therewith; and so will some of these at length. 10

Some of them were also swallowed up quick with the ground opening under them... not properly for unbelief, but nevertheless for that vice which goeth next it—that is to say, for a schism, in gathering together with Abiram, Dathan, and Korah... a busy swarm of rebellious company (as these schismatical heretics do now) that swerved from the obedience of Moses and Aaron, whom God had appointed for their governors; whereof God by great miracle took open vengeance. 15 20

And some others there were that there left their carcasses, in wilderness, for divers other causes besides unbelief, as by the process of the Bible appeareth.

But, now, if they *all* that left their carcasses in desert *had* there perished for unbelief... what had this made to the purpose against us? For we say not but that he which at one time believeth very well may, for all that, at another time fall from the faith again... as we see proved by Tyndale, and Luther, and Huessgen, and many such others more. But this I say, for all that, yet: that even among *Ex 32:25–28* that people while they were in desert, the number of open unbelievers professing their unbelief never were so many at one time but that the true believers were yet the stronger part... as it well appeared when the faithful folk, commanded thereto by Moses, arose and went with him, and persecuted and beat and subdued the faithless, and killed of them great number. 25 30 35

And so shall it ever be, by God's grace, in Christendom, that never shall there rise so many misbelievers but that the true believers shall be still the stronger. And though the faithless be sometimes suffered to prosper in their malicious rage by some evil softness of such as should resist them, as did the naughty people while Aaron durst not withstand them: yet shall God always soon after send down some good Moses from the Mount, that shall with the courage of godly zeal rear up the faithful, and show the proud, faithless heretics how far they be too feeble and too few. And when it shall come to the extremity, Christ shall come down from his high mount himself, and gather his flock together... and with the
2 Thes 2:8-9 mighty blast of his own blessed mouth shall overthrow and destroy the strong captain of all these heretics, Antichrist himself, and shall rule those rageous, rebellious schismatics with an iron rod, and all to
Psalm 2; Rv 2:26-27 frush and to break those earthly, wretched heretics like a sort of earthen pots... and shall hold his Doomsday, and bring thereto, and from it unto heaven, no small number yet of those that shall then be left. Of whom Saint Paul saith, "Then we that live and remain shall be taken up with them, also in the clouds, to meet our Lord in the air,
1 Thes 4:17 and so shall we forever be with our Lord."
And even so were there of those believers, in like wise, that believed by the means of men and miracles, many a thousand that came in conclusion to the Land of Behest. For this can make no matter touching Tyndale's reason—whether they were the selfsame persons that came out of Egypt with Moses, or others—so that they were such as to believe, were induced by men and by miracles. And such believers were *all* the believers that afterward came thither. And therefore Tyndale's tale of them that "left their carcasses in the wilderness" shall not need to fear us from the belief attained and gotten by the means of men's preaching and God's miracles... with which outward means God in all those that believe worketh evermore.
For Tyndale hath here no farther to say, in that I can see, to make his tale serve anything for his purpose, except he tell us that as

many as came to the Land of Behest were elects and had the “feeling faith” besides... and that all those that died in wilderness were reprobates, and therefore had but the faith of men’s teaching and of miracles alone.

But, now, if Tyndale tell us this... we will pray him prove it. For till he do more than say it... we will not let to say again that with as many as believed, God wrought himself with their wills, and that else they had not believed neither men nor miracles. 5

And we shall not let to tell Tyndale further, that of those believers which were induced by the means of men or miracles, there died in wilderness such as we may well trust to have been elects and to be now in heaven; and therefore that they either had the “feeling faith” if none other might sufficiently serve... or else such other faith as they had gotten by the means of men or miracles was for their salvation sufficient enough. And surely if it so were... then yet again we shall not need to fear. For if we may get heaven, we care for none other land of behest; nor for none other doth Tyndale put the example, but by their coming to the Land of Behest, or their losing thereof, to signify which manner faith should attain to heaven, and which should fail thereof and never attain thereto. 10 15 20

And indeed, as it seemeth, Tyndale meaneth that all those which “left their carcasses in the wilderness” perished and lost heaven for lack of such a “feeling faith”... and therefore he concludeth, “Even so shall the children of Master More’s faithless faith made by the persuasion of men leap short of the rest which our Savior Jesus is risen unto.” But now hath Tyndale forgotten that the prophet Moses himself, that spoke with God and was taught by him, and not persuaded by miracles either told him by other men’s mouths or wrought in his sight by the means of other men, but wrought by God by the means and instrument of his own hands... left yet, for all that, his carcass and his bones in the wilderness... and that hidden so surely that never man should after find them to carry them thence. Now, since not only such as attained faith by persuasion of men, but such also as Tyndale doubteth nothing to be sure of salvation, left their carcasses in the desert, and never came in the Land of Behest: his example of them that there left their carcasses nothing maketh more against 25 30 35

the children of Master M.'s faith, as faithless as he calleth it, than
 against the children of Tyndale's own "feeling" faith. And therefore
 every man may feel that Tyndale hath brought in this point like a
 very fool. For every man may well perceive that the faith which
 Tyndale reproveth in me, and calleth it "faithless," because men are
 induced thereinto by miracles and persuasions of men... Tyndale himself
 knoweth to be the faith of holy Saint Augustine... as his words
 against the Manichaeans which Tyndale hath himself rehearsed
 testify well and bear witness, though Tyndale's own gloss were true.
 For if he believed the Church because they were then good
 men... yet was he then induced into the belief by the persuasion
 of men. And yet is not he leapt short of that rest that Christ is
 risen to, but is therein; and not in the rest only, but in the bliss, too;
 and so be many children of the same faith, and many more shall.
 But as for Tyndale's faith—believeth itself that himself and his
 master and all their children shall lie still and sleep, and therefore
 leap short of bliss and life too, till Doomsday... and then, dare I be
 bold to warrant them, for as long again after.

But yet—since Tyndale telleth us here that this faith of ours is
 naught, and by his wise reason, the faith of Saint Augustine too,
 because both he and we were induced to the belief by miracles
 and persuasion of men—let us beseech Tyndale, being so special a
 preacher sent by God, to give us his good ghostly counsel what we
 may do to come to heaven. What will he answer us? What counsel
 will he give us? He will of likelihood, because he likeneth us to
 Simon Magus, that believed for the miracles which he saw Philip
Acts 8:9–24 work, bid us therefore do as Saint Peter
 bade him do; to whom he said, "Do
 penance for this thy wickedness, and pray to God if he peradventure
 will forgive thee this evil mind of thy heart."

We might here say that the fault which Saint Peter found
 with Simon Magus was not the fault that Tyndale findeth with us—
 that is to wit, the believing for miracles and by persuasion of men—
 but for that he would with money have bought the gift of the Holy
 Ghost. Howbeit, since Tyndale, I see well, taketh this fault of ours for
 as great a crime as that of his... it cannot become us to defend it,

but confess it for such and be sorry for it... and show him that we be full heavy and repent it very sore, that ever we believed either the Scripture the better for the Church, or the Church the better for the miracles that are daily wrought in it, or any piece of the faith for any miracle that Philip wrought, or James either, or any apostle of them, or yet our Savior either. But now that we be so sorry for it, what will he bid us more? Fasting, praying, or pilgrimage, or other works of penance, we shall not need to fear. For Tyndale useth none... but saith it is *sin* to do any. Well, we shall be, at his counsel, content for his pleasure to forbear all those sins of pain and penance too; but yet how shall we do for faith? For without the very “feeling faith,” no repentance can save us, be we never so well wary in keeping us both from shrift and thrift and satisfaction. What counsel will he give us, therefore, how we may labor for this faith?

He hath given us plain answer already, that there is with us no remedy. For since we have so highly offended God—not of weakness, frailty, and infirmity, as his elects do when they fall into their “horrible deeds,” by the fruit of their sin remaining in their flesh and breaking out at their frail “members”... but even willingly, and of purpose, and of pure malice, when we endeavor ourselves to believe the articles of Christ’s faith by miracles and persuasion of men, which faith is, as he saith, “the devil’s faith”—therefore, as for the “rest” that God is “risen” to, he telleth us plainly we shall never come thereto... and therefore biddeth us never look thereafter nor never care therefor, but let it alone and think no more thereon, but play and make us merry while we may... and while we can never have good in the world to come, embrace, therefore, he biddeth us, and hold fast, this present world and the pleasures thereof while we may, and be not so foolish as to lose both.

Is not here, good Christian readers, a good lesson and a goodly gospel of this evangelical doctor? Iwis Saint Peter answered not Simon Magus so sore, ye wot well. But what? Since there is no remedy with us, but that Tyndale will needs damn us all into Dimmingsdale... yet let us beseech him of his comfortable counsel for some other, good fellows, as have been by grace hitherto kept and preserved from such ungodly coming into the faith, and have so well resisted all credence of miracles, and all men’s persuasions, that for anything that God could do by

means of men or miracles, they stand yet clear aboard and believe nothing at all.

If some such good fellow would now beseech Tyndale to teach him the means how he might get his feeling faith... what counsel would Tyndale now give unto him? Will he bid him repent his unbelief? If he so bid him, the man will ween he mocketh him. For how can he repent the not believing of any article, but if he first believe that his duty is to believe it?—and hard it is to conceive or imagine that a man may believe that such a point or such a point every man ought to believe, but if he first believe that point himself. 5 10

And Tyndale hath also showed us that concerning the believing, the elect can nothing do at all till God make him first both for to see and feel, and so forth; and therefore when he telleth him this tale of belief, and then biddeth him go and repent his unbelief before he tell him how he may first come to the very feeling belief... the poor man may well think that Tyndale doth but mock him. 15

What counsel, then, will Tyndale give him further? Will he tell him that it is the liberal, free gift of God, and therefore advise him to pray God to give it him? If Tyndale tell him thus... then the man, calling to mind Tyndale's former tale that he hath written and taught—that the will of man can nothing work with God toward God, though it may work with God toward outward things—and, now, this prayer, if it lie not in his will, wherefore doth Tyndale advise him to it? And if it lie in his will... yet since, by Tyndale's tale, it can nothing do toward God, and the turning of God to him and him to God (for if it could, then could his will do somewhat toward God, which Tyndale doth expressly deny), the poor man will ween that Tyndale doth yet but mock. 20 25 30

Moreover, since Tyndale expressly mocketh all endeavor of man's will in subduing of his reason into the service of the faith of Christ, and calleth it a "beetle-blind" reason... the man will soon see that Tyndale is himself beetle-blind if he see not that it is then but a beetle-blind counsel to bid him go pray therefor. For well ye wot, the selfsame mind and intent of praying that God may make him believe *is* some endeavor of his own will toward the belief. 35

And yet when Tyndale hath, moreover, told us yet more plainly that the man can by his will no more do toward the getting of the faith than can the child in the begetting of his own father... and every man well wotteth that the child cannot pray God to cause his grandfather to beget his father: this man must needs perceive that in bidding him to pray for the faith, Tyndale doth plainly mock him. 5

Finally, good-faithful reader, I cannot in good faith perceive what counsel Tyndale can give any man toward salvation, *God doth prevent free will.* standing his frantic heresies against free will... which, as it is in every good and meritorious work prevented by the goodness of God, so doth it, in such as have age and reason, work and walk on with God... not in other things only, but with endeavor also toward faith, by credence giving both to miracles and good persuasions of men... which things God hath here ordained for the means toward it, convenient for the state of this present life, and sufficient for the just cause of damnation of all such as, for lack of their own devoir and for frowardness of their own free will, do not upon so sufficient causes believe... since that if there lacked not endeavor upon their own part, the goodness of God would have assisted them with his help to the perfection and full infusion of that grace in faith, hope, and charity, that but if the will afterward finally fall therefrom, should bring to the glory from which they should never fall... and toward which glory Tyndale, standing his heresy, cannot, as ye see, babble he never so saintly, give any man any counsel forward, but even to sit still and do naught, and let God alone. For as ye see plainly, to this end at last cometh all his holy heresy, when it is well examined. And therefore would not yet Master More be glad to change his faith for Tyndale's, as faithless as false Tyndale calleth it. 10 15 20 25 30

But now concludeth Tyndale all his conclusion thus...

Tyndale

And hereby may ye see that it is a plain and an evident conclusion, as bright as the sun shining, that the truth of God's word dependeth not of the truth of the Congregation. 35

More

Who ever said that it did? Who was ever so mad to think that the truth of God's word depended upon the mouths of any mortal men or *any* creature, either in earth or heaven?—but without any outward dependence, hath its solidity, substance, and fastness of and in itself. But the thing that is in question between us is not whereby Tyndale knoweth, and I also, that God's word is true; but whereby he knoweth, and I too, *which is* the word of God. And because Tyndale and I be not agreed thereupon, but I say written and unwritten, and he but written only: I come nearer unto him therein, and ask him how he knoweth which is the word of God written; that is to wit, which is the very scripture. And then say I that the certainty of this thing, every man that ordinarily hath it cometh to it by the Catholic Church. 5 10

And that I say truth in this point... I think that every Christian man that knoweth which be the scriptures will for his own part bear me witness... as holy Saint Augustine hath already done for his part, in the words of his before-remembered, written against the Manichaeans, where he saith, "I would not believe the Gospel... but if the authority of the Church moved me thereto." Which saying of Saint Augustine ye see yourselves that Tyndale hath so falsely, and yet, for all that, so faintly, glossed for an answer, that they remain still unanswered. 15 20

And therefore as for Tyndale's conclusion, we will with good will grant him that it is as clear as the sun shining that the truth of God's words dependeth not upon the truth of the Congregation. But since ye see, good readers, as clear as the sun shining, that no man said the contrary, nor the question between us was not whether God's word were true because "the church" saith that God's word were true (for so saith *not*... the church of Christ alone, but Turks, and Jews, and paynims too, and all the creatures of heaven and earth, and hell too, saving these heretics only, which would with their false glosses make his words false, even such as they acknowledge for his); but since you see well, as I say, that our question 25 30

is not what thing maketh God's word to be true, nor by what means men know God's word to be true... but by what means men know *which is* the true word of God, and whether we know not which is the true gospel by the means and teaching of the known Catholic church or not by it, but by some other church or congregation unknown: ye may see yourselves, as clear as the sun shining, that Tyndale bringeth in his bright, clear conclusion not for to show you any light of truth, but for to lead us from the sight of the matter and make us look upon a wrong mark, or lead us into the dark, where we should see nothing at all. 5

But, now, since Tyndale hath all this while proved, in such wise as ye have heard, that *we* be not able to give any good reason of *our* belief, so far forth as we give credence to the Catholic Church, no more than the Jews or Saracens: he remembereth *himself* at last, and lest himself and his disciples might peradventure seem to fall in the same fault, he teacheth them now, that are his elects and have his "feeling faith," such plain, evident answers for the proof of their "feeling faith" that no man can ask any farther. For lo, sir, thus he saith... 10

Tyndale

And therefore when thou art asked why thou believest that thou shalt be saved through Christ, and of suchlike principles of our faith... answer, thou wottest and feelest it to be true. 20

More

Ye wot well, good readers, that the principal purpose whereupon we go is the argument which Tyndale would seem to assoil: that is to say, the argument by which we prove the known Catholic church to be the very church of Christ... because by that church and none other we know which is the true scripture of Christ. Whereupon we conclude that the same church, therefore, and none other, is the very, true church, by which we know the true doctrine. 25

To this Tyndale hath, as ye have heard, scudded in and out like a hare that had twenty brace of greyhounds after her, and were afeard at every foot to be snatched up. For—perceiving well that if he grant it to be true that he knoweth which is the Scripture by the Catholic Church, he must needs then grant also that the 30 35

same church is the very church—he shifteth in and out, now yea, now nay... and whereas he cannot in conclusion avoid it, yet he finally seeketh out a shift to slink away slyly and seem not to grant it, showing us that he knoweth not which is the very scripture by the Catholic Church, but by his “feeling faith.” 5

Now is it therefore good reason that Tyndale carry us not away with other questions from this point, and devise a question himself, as why he believeth that he shall be saved through Christ. For both is that question not so directly to the matter, and also there may peradventure upon that question arise another question, that is whether the salvation of any determinate person yet living be in the same person any article of belief or not; and some men will hold, peradventure, that it is not properly any point of the belief, but of hope. 10

But therefore letting that question pass for this present... I shall purpose unto Tyndale’s disciple the question that goeth next to the purpose, and he shall answer as Tyndale teacheth him. For I am loath to talk with Master Tyndale himself. I ask his disciple, therefore, this: “Sir, M. Tyndale’s disciple, since ye say that which is the very scripture, ye know not by the known Catholic church, as Saint Augustine said that he did, and Luther also, your own master’s master, saith that he doth: I pray you tell us, therefore, how do *you* know that the books of the four evangelists be the very scripture of God?” 15 20

To this question ye hear how Tyndale standeth at his back and prompteth him in his ear in this wise: “Say thou believest it because thou feelest it to be true.” Very well and properly answered. Then will I ask him one question or twain more: “Wherefore believe you that no good work shall be rewarded in heaven, and that friars may lawfully wed nuns, and that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is nothing but cakebread or starch?” To all these and twenty such questions more, Tyndale teacheth him thus... 25 30

Answer, thou wottest and feelest it to be true. And when he asketh how thou knowest that it is true... answer, because it is written in thine heart. And if he ask who wrote it... answer, the Spirit of 35

God. And if he ask how thou camest first by it... tell him whether by reading of books or hearing it preached, as by an outward instrument... but that inwardly thou wast taught by the Spirit of God. And if he ask whether thou believest it not because it is written in books, or because the priests so preach... answer no, not now, but only because it is written in thine heart, and because the Spirit of God so preacheth and so testifieth unto thy soul. And say though at the *beginning* thou wast moved by reading or preaching, as the Samaritans were by the words of the woman... yet *now* thou believest it not *therefore* any longer, but only because thou hast heard it of the Spirit of God and read it written in thine heart.

Lo, good readers, here ye see that Tyndale hath instructed his disciple to make answer sufficient to everything that may be asked him... the whole effect whereof standeth altogether in two things. The first, that all these points of his faith, he believeth because he feeleth them written in his heart by the Spirit of God. The second, that though he came first unto them by writing or preaching, and first believed them for that writing that he read or preaching that he heard, as the Samaritans did for the woman's words, yet now he believeth him not *therefore*, but only because he readeth it written by the Spirit of God in his heart.

Now, forasmuch as this outward means of preaching and reading is the *first* means by which he came thereto, which means he regardeth not now, nor hath no longer any respect in his belief thereunto... and therefore, since he is now come to that high point of feeling faith by which he readeth written by the Spirit of God in his heart that the books of the four evangelists be very, true scripture of God, he believeth it not now the better of a point because the Catholic Church saith so: I will therefore ask this good scholar of Tyndale whether he feel written in his heart by the Spirit of God that he hath a better faith and a more perfect than Saint Augustine had after that God had by miracle turned him to the faith and write against the Manichaeans, from whose false sect God had called him.

Peradventure this question will somewhat seem strange to this disciple of Tyndale, because it is none of those to which his master hath taught him to make answer. But yet I think in conclusion

that his master will not advise him to say that he feeleth himself to have a more perfect belief than Saint Augustine in any such thing as Saint Augustine and he believed both, lest every man should feel the master of such a scholar to prove a proud fool.

Now, on the other side, if he confess that he feel not his own faith for any more perfect than Saint Augustine's was, but believe in his own mind that Saint Augustine in any true point of belief common unto them both had as full a faith and as perfect as he: then will I ask him wherefore he doth not now believe the Scripture still for the authority of the Church, as well as Saint Augustine did still when he wrote of himself against the Manichaeans, and said, "I would not believe the Gospel but if the authority of the Church moved me thereto." *He* believed it for the authority of the Church always still; and yet dare I say, and Tyndale, I suppose, dare not say the contrary, but that the Spirit of God had as well written that conclusion in his heart as in the holy heart of any disciple of Tyndale whom Tyndale here teacheth to answer us the contrary.

And thus, as concerning the knowledge of the very scripture, which is our principal matter, Tyndale's answer in the very chief point of all, but if he prove his scholar's faith better than Saint Augustine's... his answer that he teacheth here his disciple is not worth a rush.

But now let us in those other articles ask this good scholar of Tyndale, since it is so that he feeleth and findeth in his heart written by the Spirit of God that friars and monks, that have by vow forsaken flesh, may lawfully fall from fish to woman's flesh, and under the name of "wedding" make stewed strumpets of nuns; and feeleth also, by like feeling faith, that good works are naught worth nor shall be rewarded in heaven; and feeling also, by the same false feeling faith, that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar there is neither the Precious Body nor Blood of Christ, but only cakebread and wine, or starch instead of bread: I shall ask him, I say, therefore, the question to which his master hath bound him to make answer—that is to wit, how he came first by this faith; that is to say, the *historical* faith of them, before that the Spirit of God, with writing them in his heart, caused him there both to read them and feel them.

For answer of this question, Tyndale saith to his scholar, “Tell him whether it were by reading in books or hearing it preached.” Very well. Now, since his master biddeth him tell us, I would pray him to tell us, whether by preaching or reading in books. To this he will, I ween, answer me that he learned those things by preaching. Then I ask him by whose preaching he came to it. To this must he be fain to say that by the preaching of his own master William Tyndale, Luther, Lambert, Huessgen, or Zwingli, or some such other apostatical preacher. But, now, to this shall I tell him again that since he had not the feeling faith written by the Spirit in his heart, after his master’s own tale, till he first believed the same things with a historical faith, by the hearing of those holy preachers... he must, to the intent that he may lead us into the same faith as they did him, tell us what reason he had to believe them... seeing that they be neither men of more learning nor of more wit, nor of so much virtue, as were Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Basil, Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Gregory, Saint Ambrose, with many such others like... whose holy living, true faith, and doctrine, God hath approved and testified to the world by manifold wonderful miracles—all which holy doctors have taught men to believe the contrary.

To this question Tyndale teacheth his scholar to make answer and say that he believed them because they lay so good authority for them. “What authority lay they for them?” shall I say. Now, to this question Tyndale himself maketh an answer, and saith...

Concerning outward teaching... we allege for us scripture elder than any church that was this fourteen hundred years, and old authentic stories which they had brought asleep, wherewith we confound their lies.

Remember ye not how in our own time, of all that taught grammar in England, not one understood the Latin tongue? How came we, then, by the Latin tongue again? Not by *them*—though we learned certain rules and principles of them, by which we were moved and had an occasion to seek further—but out of the old authors. Even so, we seek up old antiquities, out of which we learn, and not of our church, though we received many principles of our church at the beginning—but more falsehood, among, than truth.

Lo, good readers, this disciple of Tyndale, in these articles of his “feeling faith”—that good Christian men’s good works shall have no reward in heaven, and that friars may wed nuns, and in his blasphemy against the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar—he believed his master... and his master, *his* master, Martin Luther, and the other lewd masters of these new sects... not without a cause, ye see well. For he saith that they allege for their heresies the Scripture and old, ancient stories... and therewith, as men have brought up now the true, old grammar again, even so do they now bring up the old, true faith again... whereof though they took some principles of the Catholic Church at the beginning, yet they took thereof “more falsehood, among, than truth.”

The occasion of Tyndale’s jesting and railing Now, which those things are that he calleth the falsehood that he saith they took of the Church... ye know, good Christian readers, well enough, those are the points for which he so sore jesteth and raileth against the Catholic Church: the teaching that good works shall be rewarded in heaven, and that folk should keep the holy days, and fasting days, and pray for all Christian souls, and honor the Precious Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, and observe their holy vows made to God, and forbid that friars should wed nuns; and many such other things. These things he saith that the Church had taught him false, till that now Tyndale, and Luther, and Lambert, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, have restored again the right faith in all these points, that hath been this eight hundred years lost (as Tyndale saith). These things have they now restored and brought up again by antiquities and old stories, like as Master Lyly, late master of Paul’s School, brought up in London the right order in teaching of grammar and learning of the Latin tongue.

M. Lyly This is, good readers, the thing that this good scholar of Tyndale by the counsel of his master answereth.

But now, good readers, we must tell him again that his example of grammar and the Latin tongue is nothing like the matter of faith, that he resembleth it unto. For the Latin tongue was nothing that

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ever our Lord promised to preserve forever; and therefore it might
 by chances and occasions of battle and war perish and be lost...
 and the countries compelled to leave it and receive some other
 language in the stead thereof. But as for the faith, can never fail, no
 more than can the Catholic Church... against which our 5
 Savior hath himself promised that all the heretics that rebel
 against it, nor all the tyrants upon earth that insurge and
 oppugn it, which two sorts be the gates of hell, shall never obtain
The gates of hell and prevail; nor, in like wise, all the 10
 devils of hell that are within hell, or
 walking in this world and busy about the gates of hell, shall never
 be able to destroy the faith which our Savior hath in like wise
 promised, against the devil that went about to sift it out of his
 church, should be preserved and kept by the means of his own
 special prayer. 15
 And therefore, since grammar in the Latin tongue is a thing that *may*
Jn 14:16, 26 fail... and the true faith is a thing by the
 Spirit of God, according to Christ's
 promise, perpetually taught unto his church, and therefore can
never fail—no, not though all the books in the world should fail— 20
 therefore his similitude of grammar likened unto faith... is no more
 like than an apple to an oyster.
 Now, as touching any such “old authentic stories” as he speaketh
 of, which he saith the Church “had brought asleep,” wherewith he 25
 saith that Luther, and Tyndale, and Huessgen, and Zwingli,
 “confound” our “lies”: I would very fain hear some one story by
 which he proveth that fasting, and praying, and almsdeeds,
 done in faith, hope, and charity, be naught worth, nor never shall
 have reward in heaven.
 By what old story proveth he that folk should not pray for their 30
 friends' souls?
 By what old story will he show us that Christian women be priests
 and were wont to sing Mass?
 By what old story can he make it good that in the Blessed
 Sacrament is neither flesh nor blood, but only bare bread and 35
 wine?

And by what old stories newly found out can he now make us know that friars or monks professed were of old wont to wed nuns, and well allowed and much commended therein?

We be very sure that in all these points except the last, we shall find unto these folk many old authentic stories proving their heresies false. Howbeit, as for the last, indeed I find not, as far as I can remember, any old stories against it. For I suppose verily that until Friar Luther now began of late... there never was wretch so beastly that ever durst for very shame attempt any such incestuous marriage before... but if it were only Julian the Apostate, which fell forthwith from the faith and became a false paynim, and persecuted the Christian folk... and Christ quit him thereafter, and shortly sent shameful death, and the wonder of all the world upon him while the world standeth. 5 10

Now come we, then, to the Scripture. For therein they make as though they reigned. “We allege,” saith Tyndale, “for us the scripture elder than any church that was these fourteen hundred years.” 15

First, when Tyndale here saith “we”... I would wit of him *which* “we”—“we Lutherans,” or “we Huessgenites,” or “we Anabaptists,” or “we Zwinglians,” or of which rabble of all the remnant of those hundred sects, of which never one agreeth with other, nor never a man with his fellow... but each of them layeth the Scripture as well against all the remnant of the sects, as against the Catholic Church. 20

Besides this, whereas Tyndale saith that they allege for them the Scripture... we say that some things there are that God will have believed, whereof his word was delivered unto his church without writing, and in his church without writing preserved, by the selfsame Spirit that indited the writing. And this do we prove by old authentic books of old holy doctors, and by the authority of the Catholic Church—and by the manifold miracles that still continue in only the same church, for the comprobatation of the doctrine of the same—and besides all this, yet by plain Scripture, too... as I have clearly proved unto Tyndale in the last chapter of my Third Book. And for his purpose in that point he hath not one text of Scripture, but such as he may be ashamed so far against the right sense of them to bring them forth in place. 25 30 35

And over this, for his final confusion in that point, ye have yourselves heard (in my Fourth Book) that the perpetual virginity of our Lady, he hath himself confessed that whosoever hear it taught must believe it... and yet is it not proved by Holy Scripture. And therefore must he needs give over that false, feeble heresy which he was wont to hold, that we be bound to believe nothing but if it be written—and, as Luther saith, *evidently* written—in Scripture. 5

Howbeit, in this—that he saith he allegeth Scripture—he doth but walk about in a maze. For well ye wot, good readers, and so doth himself too, that between these heretics and the Church, the question is not, for the more part, in the words of the Scripture, but upon the right sentence and understanding of the Scripture. Now do we lay therein against them the old, ancient doctors, whose expositions they contemn. For both for the reward of good works and for fasting, and for the Blessed Sacrament, and for vows of chastity, if they would stand unto the expositions of the old holy doctors upon the Scripture... they can never avoid it but that the scriptures be clear for our part against them... or else, as I have often said, let Tyndale tell us some one of so many saints as since the apostles' time have written upon the Scripture before Luther's days, that expounded the Scripture in such wise that it were by his exposition lawful for a friar to wed a nun. 10 15 20

Therefore, in conclusion as concerning the Scripture: First, for such points as God hath taught his church without Scripture, as the article of the perpetual virginity of our Lady... Tyndale cannot teach his disciple that they allege the Scripture; for in Scripture it is not spoken of. If he will say that they be at liberty and not bound to believe it... himself hath in that article confessed the contrary before, as ye have seen in my Fourth Book. 25

And also in all such others like, if he believe not the Church... he might as well not have believed Saint Paul. If he say that he could not but believe Saint Paul, because God wrought miracles for him... by the same reason must he believe the Catholic Church, forasmuch as God continually, in every good Christian country, worketh miracles in it for the Catholic Church, and withdraweth his miracles from all churches of heretics, and thereby declareth that he doth those miracles not only *in* it, but also *for* it. 30 35

And also, Tyndale knew not that God by the mouth of Saint

Paul said so... but because that the Church taught him that God did so. If he say yes, he felt it by the writing of God's own finger in his heart: he must consider that I speak of the time *before* that his heart was so holy that God liked to write with his own finger therein. For himself saith that the "historical faith" goeth first and the "feeling faith" cometh after. Therefore, at the leastwise in that time, why should he not as well believe the Church when it said "This thing God by Saint Paul did *tell*," as when it said "This thing God by Saint Paul did *write*"? 5

And in like wise for the books of the written words of Scripture, of which these heretics receive such as like them, and refuse such as they list—since that in the beginning, saving for the Catholic Church, they neither knew the one nor the other, why should they not believe the same church as well in the one as the other? 10

And as concerning the books of Scripture which they themselves receive: since the debate between the Church and these heretics standeth not upon the words, but upon the sentence... if Tyndale were a Turk born (because he layeth so often the Turks for his part against us), they would, and well they might, reckon him but for a proud fool if he would now begin to construe them their Koran, in great and necessary points of their faith, against the consent and agreement of all the old expositors of their own, and the belief of all the people from the death of Muhammad unto Tyndale's birth. 15

If Tyndale would now refute mine objection of the Turks and their Koran with objecting in like wise against me the Jews and the Old Testament, which Christ and his apostles taught them to construe contrary to their old understanding from Moses' days to their own, and that the church of Christ doth even the same still... and will therefore say that so may himself and his master Martin, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, teach the church of Christ in like wise to construe the scripture of the New Testament, in necessary points of faith, contrary to the consent of all the old expositors and the common faith of all Christian nations since the time of Christ's death and his blessed apostles' unto our own days, as Christ and his apostles and the Catholic Church teach the 20 25 30 35

Jews to construe their own scripture of the Old Testament, that they had had and taught so long before: I answer Tyndale thereunto (letting pass other answers for this time) that Christ and his apostles, and the Catholic Church ever since, have proved and yet prove the authority of their doctrine to be above the Jews' in the construing of their own scriptures delivered by Moses and the prophets, by that it hath pleased God, for the testification thereof, to show by Christ and his apostles and his Catholic Church, continually to this day, many marvelous miracles, and withdraw them all from the Jews. Now let Tyndale, and Luther, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, do the like against the Catholic Church... and *then* let them come and teach it to construe the scripture of Christ contrary to all the old. But till they have the miracles among them and the Catholic Church loseth them... if Tyndale and his fond fellows will in the meanwhile go now about to teach the Church to construe the scripture of Christ contrary to the continual faith from the apostles' days unto their own, we may much better call them proud, presumptuous fools than might the Turks for teaching them a contrary construction of their Koran.

Besides this, his example of the Jews will not help him for another cause. For the old expositors of *their* scriptures, both of Moses and of the prophets, were upon the part of Christ and his apostles, and consequently of the Catholic Church, continually, against the false scribes and Pharisees and the false doctors since, in such necessary points as they and we vary for... as appeareth well by divers of their books which be daily brought forth and alleged by men at this day learned in their own tongue, and also by that substantial, well-learned man Lyra in his exposition of the second Psalm.

Now, if Tyndale, and Luther, and Huessgen, and Zwingli, can say that the old holy doctors/expositors upon the Scripture did ever expound it so that by their exposition it might appear that the scripture of Christ approveth it for lawful, and not abhorreth it as a thing abominable, that friars should wed nuns: I will agree with Tyndale to give over all the matter.

And thus ye see, good readers, that as concerning the scripture which Tyndale here teacheth his disciple to say that they allege, “elder than any church this fourteen hundred years”: since the debate and variance is not in the words, wherein they and we both agree, but in the sentence... wherein not only the common, continued faith of all Christian nations, but also all the old holy doctors and saints, ever since the same scripture written, agreeth with the Catholic Church against him—his alleging of the Scripture is not worth a leek. 5

And therefore is he now driven, in all that ever we vary for, to leave both Scripture and all... and when we ask wherefore he believeth either this or that, fain must he be to hold him only to his “feeling faith”... and, as Tyndale for a sheet anchor teacheth him, say that he believeth it only because he feeleth it written in his heart, without any reasonable outward cause wherefore he first believed it with a story faith; whereof, as ye have heard, he can for his heresies prove us none at all. 10 15

Then, since he is come to that point that without any good outward cause, he must defend his faith by his only feeling... may not the Turks and the Jews, both whom he layeth so sore against us, defend their faiths against him by the selfsame? And when he can no further say but that he feeleth his to be true, and each of theirs false... may not each of them answer him that they feel theirs to be true and his false? And thus were gone the counsel of Saint Peter that we should give a *reason* of our hope to every man that will ask us wherefore we hope so. And therefore, leaving Saint Peter’s way... let every man follow Tyndale and believe what he list, and say he feeleth it written in his own heart with God’s own hand. 20 25

Men say that he which hath been once at Jerusalem may lie by authority, because he shall be sure seldom to meet any man that hath been there, by whom his tale might be controlled. But Tyndale hath here, to lie without controlment, with less labor sought out a shorter way, and as himself thinketh, a surer, too. For he goeth not once out a door therefor... but say what he list, and tell us that he feeleth it true, and findeth it written within his own heart by him that cannot write false: the Spirit of God himself. 30 35

And there he weeneth himself surer than if he went twice to Jerusalem, and twice as far beyond. For yet might he, for all that, fortune to find some man that had the same way walked as far as he, and there found Tyndale's tale false. But when he saith that he feeleth it written within his own heart... he weeneth himself very sure. For he thinketh verily there can no man look in there to control him and see whether he lie or not. 5

But yet, as wily as that invention was... Tyndale is therein beguiled... and God hath gone beyond him, and made his wily folly found out more plainly than of late appeared and came to controlment the selfsame wily folly in Richard Webbe. 10

This Webbe, while I was Chancellor to the King's Highness, was by divers heretics detected unto me, that he had sold, and used continually to sell, many of these heretics' books forbidden by the King's gracious proclamation to be brought into the realm. And further, I was by good and honest men informed that in Bristol, where he then dwelled, there were of those pestilent books some thrown in the street and left at men's doors by night; that where they durst not offer their poison to sell, they would of their charity poison men for naught. 15 20

Now, being thus informed of him, and having very sure knowledge that he was a great meddler in such ungracious matters and uttering of such poisoned books (of which I had a dossier delivered into my hands by Michael Loble, whom I had attached for like matters and which had received the same dossier and books of Webbe, and afterward abjured his heresies), I gave out a commission to certain good, worshipful folk at Bristol to attach Richard Webbe. Whereupon, after sureties there found to appear before me, he went at large... and, coming up to London the day before he came at me, got him to St. Catherine's, to Robert Necton, to whom he had uttered of his books before... and fell in a secret agreement with him what each of them should say therein when they were examined thereof. And when Webbe thought he made the matter safe and sure there... then came he boldly to me. 25 30

But now was he shrewdly beguiled... for yet ere he came at me, Necton, fearing that Webbe might hap to tell the truth, thought he would himself be before him, and sent me word, in great haste, 35

of Webbe's being with him, and of all the communication that
had been between them, too. And so Webbe, unaware thereof, being
examined on the morrow, first of divers other things answered on
his oath many a false answer (as I very well perceived), saving the
salve of his remembrance. For ever, for the more part, he referred 5
and restrained all to his remembrance. And when he had all done,
and saw that I found no fault, nor nothing objected against his
answers... but so used myself as though I believed them, then he
began to look piteously upon me, and said that he had ever heard
that whoso were in his examination true and plain unto me had 10
been always wont to find me good and favorable... and said that for
that cause he had himself showed me all that ever was in his
stomach, as plainly as he knew it himself, upon his faith, to his
remembrance. Whereupon I showed him that if I found him
true... he should find me favorable... but I feared that his answers 15
were not all true. "Sir," quoth he, "if ye find any one false, never be
good lord unto me, nor never trust me after while ye live." Then, for
an assay, I thought of his so many lies to assay him with some one. And
then I asked him again of one Sir Nicholas, to whom he had
answered me before that he never sold any such books, but that 20
the priest had, he said, offered *him* such books to sell, but he
would none buy... and that he had not seen the priest this half
year... and the last time he saw him was at Bristol. And when
he still abode thereby, upon his oath, that this was true, and else
would I should never believe him in anything, nor show him any 25
favor—then I asked him whether Bristol were in Holborn, and
whether six weeks were half a year. And when he perceived by
those questions that I knew of a certain assembly of theirs in
Holborn within six weeks before... then he cast down the
head and said he had forgotten it. And when I laid unto him his 30
perjury... he said he swore for no further than he *remembered*. But
when he could not make me believe that he had forgotten it... then
down he fell upon his marrowbones, and piteously prayed me
to forgive him that one lie, in which the devil, he said, owed him
a shame; "for in good faith, sir, there is not in all mine answers any 35

one thing untrue but that." "Well, Webbe," quoth I, "in faith, if that be
 true, then will I wink at this one and let it go for none. But, now,
 if there be any more lies, call them again betimes, and I will then
 take your first tale for untold." "Nay, sir," quoth he, "and ye find any
 one more... then never believe me while ye live, but take all for lies 5
 that ever I tell you, and put me to open shame, and make me an
 example to all the false, perjured knaves in the realm." "Well," said I, "by
 likelihood the remnant be well-trying truths; ye would not else,
 Webbe, make so large an offer." "No, in faith, sir," saith he, "but if I
 were sure that all were true, I would not be so mad to say as I do, 10
 and forsake your favor so foolishly." "Well," quoth I, "when saw ye Robert
 Necton, then?" "Now, by my soul, sir, as I have showed Your Lordship
 upon mine oath, I saw him not this half year, to my
 remembrance." "Well," quoth I, "remember yourself well; ye know,
 pardie, where he dwelleth, and he where you dwell... and therefore 15
 remember whether ye were with him at St. Catherine's, or he with
 you at Bristol, or that ye met by chance together anywhere else,
 within these three or four months." Then he began to study a little
 and claw his head and rub his forehead, and said, "Nay, in faith, to
 my remembrance, we met not together this half year... and by 20
 my troth, I cannot now call to mind well where we met then,
 neither." "Well, Webbe," quoth I, "let that pass, then, and tell me another
 thing. Was yesterday half a year ago? And were ye not
 yesterday with him at St. Catherine's? Are ye not now shamefully
 forsworn? I wot well ye had not forgotten this." Then down 25
 went the head again into the bosom... and yet he mumbled because
 I said he was forsworn, as though I could not look into his breast
 to see whether he remembered it or no. He would have seemed not to
 remember such a point since yesterday. But he made me therewith
 remember a like matter of a man of mine, done seven years before... one 30
 Davy, a Dutchman which had been married in England and—
 saying that his wife was dead, and buried at Worcester two years
 before, while he was in his country... and giving her much praise,
 and often telling us how sorry he was when he came home and
 found her dead, and how heavily he had made his bitter prayers at 35
 her grave—went about, while he waited upon me at Bruges in the

King's business, to marry there an honest widow's daughter. And so happed it that even upon the day when they should have been made handfast and ensured together... was I advertised from London, by my wife's letter, that Davy's wife was alive and had been at my house to seek him. Whereupon I called him before me and others, and read the letter to him. "Marry, master," quoth he, "that letter saith, methink, that my wife is alive!" "Ye beast," quoth I, "that she is!" "Marry," quoth he, "then I am well apaid, for she is a good woman." "Yea," quod I, "but why art thou such a naughty, wretched man, that thou wouldst here wed another? Didst not thou say she was dead?" "Yes, marry," quoth he; "men of Worcester told me so." "Why," quoth I, "thou false beast! Didst not thou tell me and all my house that thou were at her grave thyself?" "Yes, marry, master," quoth he, "so I was; but I could not look in, ye wot well." 5

And as Davy thought himself safely defended against falsehood by that he could not look into his wife's grave to see whether she were in it or no... so thought Webbe himself surely defended from any reproof of perjury, because I could not look into his breast to see whether he remembered the counsel so studiously taken with Necton the day before or no. 10 15

And in like manner hopeth Tyndale himself sure with his "feeling faith" against all redargution of his false heresies, because he seeth that no man can look into his own breast but himself, and find what he feeleth written there. 20

But, now, as Davy my man was bewrayed by my wife's letter, and as Webbe was bewrayed by Robert Necton: so is Tyndale much more clearly bewrayed, and his counsel uttered, by Almighty God himself. For whereas Tyndale would have us ween that he feeleth it written in his own heart with the very hand of God that friars may lawfully wed nuns, God hath himself so plainly told the contrary to all the old holy saints this fifteen hundred years before, and by all the same space to all Christian people besides, that now there is no good man in all Christendom but *he* feeleth and findeth written by God's hand in *his* own heart that Tyndale feeleth not that foul, filthy heresy written in his heart by the 25 30 35

hand of God... but, if he feel it written there indeed, as he saith he doth... then he feeleth it scribbled and scraped in his heart by the crooked, cloven claws of the devil.

But yet, if the feeling of all good men will not answer Tyndale...
 but that he feeleth always still written with God's own hand in his
 own holy heart that the faith of the Catholic Church is but a
 historical faith in anything that aught is, and that it is full of
 heresies beside, and that therefore it is the church of heretics, as
 he said in the end of his goodly solution to the first argument... and
 that therefore they that go out from it be (as he there saith) the very
 church; and then, since all they be, by him, the very church, all
 they must, by his definition of the very church, be needs very elects,
 and have (by his own definition also) the very, feeling faith written
 in their hearts by God's own hand: I demand and ask of
 Tyndale, therefore, how it happeneth that his holy elects and faithful-feeling
 folk gone out from the Catholic Church feel not all one
 faith... but, in great, necessary points of faith, feel each of them so
 contrary faith to other that each of them feeleth other—and each of
 them *calleth* other—false, fumbling heretics... and though the false
 shrews conspire and agree together against the true, Catholic
 church, yet their contrary sects so vary between themselves that
 Lutherans, Anabaptists, Huessgenites, or Zwinglians, with many
 sects more, would one bite off another's nose. And whereas they
 complain that heretics be punished here... yet one sect there
 punisheth and killeth another among themselves.

And thus, good readers, ye may easily see that their feeling faiths so
 dissonant among themselves, so contrarious and repugnant,
 be *not* written in their hearts, as Tyndale saith, by the hand of God—
 whose Spirit is the inspirer of unity, concord, and peace—but is,
 as I told you before, breathed and blown into the brothels' breasts
 by the spirit of discord, debate, and dissension: the devil.

And yet for the better perceiving of Tyndale's doctrine
 concerning faith, consider once again, good readers, that he putteth
 two kinds of faith, a "historical" faith and a "feeling" faith, so that
 every person that hath any faith, it cannot be, by Tyndale, but *one*
 of these two kinds: *either* historical faith *or* feeling faith. Now,

shall have no man that well considereth the great good nature of God give him credence in that point.

Now, if Tyndale say that in all such cases, God doth, unto him that believeth once with a story faith, infound the feeling faith thereto, except the man have on his own part some other let and impediment of sin: then say I that thereby confesseth he that the man's endeavor inclining his understanding to the service of historical faith... hath yet at the leastwise somewhat more done in him toward the getting of the feeling faith—which only faith Tyndale calleth the right faith—than the child can do to the begetting of his own father. And so lieth Tyndale's tale in the dust. 5 10

I say also that it should seem farther, by Tyndale, that the historical faith once gotten... God should not let, of good congruence, any more to *infound* the feeling faith into him, notwithstanding any other sins into which the man is going, carried forth in his frailty by the rage of concupiscence reigning and ruling his weak, sickly members, than he letteth to *keep*, still, without any failing at any time, that feeling faith in all them that once have it, notwithstanding all the horrible and abominable deeds that ever they can do after. And so should it appear by this that whoso get once the historical faith hath always forthwith the feeling faith also, though he were in the way toward the doing—yea, or though he were doing indeed—never so great, horrible mischief, so that he fall thereto for frailty. And then shall we lack no feeling-faithful wretches, but ye shall find enough. 15 20 25

I say also that if to the historical faith gotten by man, with all other good circumstances that man by possibility may put unto it, God doth ever add and infound the feeling faith himself, supplying by the congruence of his own goodness the imbecility and lack of power upon the man's part toward attaining of his own salvation, being the great, high gift of God so far above the proportion of man's natural state: then is, I say, lost and destroyed the effect of all Tyndale's division between historical faith and feeling faith. For then every man that once hath well the one is by and by sure of the other... without which his 30 35

good works were toward the reward all wrought in vain—which thing the liberal goodness of God could not, of congruence, for any lack upon his *own* part suffer.

And thus, for the one half of his division—that is to wit, the historical faith—ye see now, good readers, to what point Tyndale is brought. 5
And now consider that I speak here of “historical faith” as of the faith, in necessary points of the belief, attained and gotten by man... by outward means only, not that I think mine own self the historical faith so attained, without the inward working of God, but because *Tyndale* so putteth it, *therefore* I thus reason it, to the intent ye should thereby see what thing the truth would work upon Tyndale’s untrue position. 10

I have also forborne, in all this while, to speak anything of the Sacrament of Baptism, because that Tyndale here in all his matter of faith, both “historical” faith and “feeling” faith, never maketh mention thereof... as though the sacrament had no part in this play. By which obstinate silence men may as well perceive what he meaneth as though he spoke it out. But yet, to make him somewhat say therein... we shall in the second part of his division, that is to wit, in the considering of his “feeling” faith, a little appose him therein. 15 20

I ask him, therefore: At such time as, in the beginning, there turned together to the faith two or three thousand at once, as did *Acts 2:37–42* at the preaching of Saint Peter, as appeareth in the second chapter of the Acts, and thereupon were christened—what took they by their baptism? 25
Had they thereby, besides the historical faith gotten by the preaching, any new kind of faith—or new feeling of their former faith—infounded by God in their baptism, or not? If not, then as touching faith and belief... the historical faith gotten by that outward means is as good and as full as the faith by God infounded inwardly. For I trust that Tyndale doth not think but that they had such faith as was able to serve them to salvation (all those that there truly turned) if they had forthwith upon their baptism deceased. 30

Now, if Tyndale take the other part, and answer me that in the baptism they had the feeling faith infounded... then followeth it, I say, that every man of age and discretion which duly cometh 35

to baptism hath the feeling faith too... since that he hath by baptism the right faith, and the faith sufficient for salvation, which is, by Tyndale, none but the feeling faith. And then be thereby all they that come duly to baptism, by Tyndale's tale, *elects* every one.

And yet it seemeth further, by Tyndale's tale and his master Martin's added unto it, that if he come to baptism *unduly*—that is to wit, walking outward... yet in way toward adultery, sacrilege, or murder—so he bring with him belief, his baptism perfecteth all. For by Tyndale's granting that God infoundeth sufficient perfection of faith in the baptism, and affirming that after the perfect faith had, the haver thereof may do such “horrible deeds” and, for all that, never fail in his perfect feeling faith—I cannot, as I said before, considering that by Tyndale's tale such “horrible deeds” and such perfect feeling faith may both abide together, perceive or see why such deeds being yet in the course toward the doing should before let that perfection of faith to be by God infounded... any more than they should after let the same to be kept and preserved, especially since Tyndale's own worshipful master Martin Luther saith expressly that no Christian man can be damned but if he will not believe. For nothing, he saith, can damn him but only unbelief; for all other sins, he saith, be supped up and swallowed all at once *in* the belief. And therefore whoso come to baptism with only bare belief... all his other sins, as Luther calleth them, or his horrible deeds, as Tyndale calleth them, which he is by the frailty of his flesh about, for all his baptism, to do when he cometh home from the font, can nothing let any perfection to be by God infounded in his baptism. And then since that perfection must be, by Tyndale, either the feeling faith or else the feeling *of* the faith, while there is by him none other faith sufficient: it followeth that every man which with historical faith cometh to baptism is sure of the feeling faith, how many sins soever he be about of feebleness and frailty to commit after. Howbeit, if Tyndale will, for all this, make any sticking (I cannot tell what) in them that of age and discretion come unto baptism, and say there may be some let upon their part, by reason that they may be about to sin willingly and either of purpose or malice—let us consider and weigh well this matter in them that come to baptism *without* any manner let.

When the children are baptized, which kind of faith have they? The historical faith or the feeling faith? For faith have they must, or else they can never stand in God's favor and be

Heb 11:6 saved... witnessing Saint Paul that
With what faith children "without faith it is impossible to please
come to baptism God." And therefore, of truth, faith they 5

have. For though they come to the baptism, and be received to the font, in the faith of their fathers and of the whole church that offereth them—yet with the baptism is there by God infounded into them his grace, the habit of faith, hope, and charity, 10 wherewith they be made forthwith perfect members of his Mystical Body, the Catholic Church, in earth, and thereby made inheritable unto the bliss of heaven.

Now ask I, therefore, Tyndale: Which kind of faith is this? The historical faith or the feeling faith? Not the historical, I trow. For the children have not yet neither read nor heard many stories. 15 Wherefore it must needs be, by Tyndale's own tale, the feeling faith. For more kinds of faith putteth he not but those twain, nor none sufficient for salvation but only that same one; and sufficient must the faith be that the child receiveth in the baptism... for 20 else were the child never the rather saved in case he died, as many children do, in the chrim cloth or in the cradle.

Peradventure Tyndale, guessing now whereabouts I go, will say that in the baptism God infoundeth into *some* the feeling faith... that is 25 to say, into his only elects, and in their hearts he writeth... and that into some others he infoundeth it not, and they be the reprobates; and he will haply say that it is agreed by doctors of the Church that God giveth in the baptism not like grace to every child. But unto this I answer that though in the baptism (either at the more 30 goodness and more instant prayer of the fathers or godfathers of the child, or for some other cause seen unto his high wisdom) he give some one *greater* grace than to some other, yet giveth he them all one *kind* of grace, and one kind of faith, though they differ in degrees... and as very a man is he that hath little stature as he that hath a great, and a pygmy as a giant. And Tyndale saith himself, 35 in his *Answer* unto my *Dialogue*, that our works must be as perfect as the works of Christ himself... but faith, he saith, is sufficient

though it be never so little. And besides this, as I said before,
 God giveth unto every child in the baptism the habit of that
 faith that is sufficient for salvation; “but that is,” saith Tyndale, “none
 but the feeling faith”; ergo, by Tyndale, the *feeling* faith it is whereof
 the habit God infoundeth into every child in the baptism. 5

But yet, since I have proved that if the child have any faith, he
 hath, by Tyndale’s tale, the feeling faith: now will Tyndale peradventure
 say that the *habit* of faith is no faith, because it is not
actual faith, which the child hath not, for lack of the use of
 reason... for want whereof he cannot think upon, nor actually consent 10
 unto, any point of faith.

But unto this I answer that he may by the same reason say
 that the child hath no reasonable soul, because he cannot think
 upon any reasoning... and that therefore he lacketh the specific
 and kindly difference that divideth the kind of man from all the 15
 kinds of unreasonable, brutish beasts, and then is the child no
 more man than a calf.

Also, if the habitual faith be no faith... then is the child, for all
 the baptism, still out of the state of grace... or else must Tyndale
Heb 11:6 say that Saint Paul said untrue in that 20
 he told the Hebrews that without faith
 it is impossible to please God.

Besides this, if habitual faith be no faith at all for lack of
 actual thinking thereupon... then dieth every man out of the faith
 that happeth to die in his sleep, had he never so good and great 25
 actual faith when he went to bed. For no man shall be saved for
 the faith that he *once* had, but for the faith that he *hath*, and in
 which he *dieth*.

Habitual belief Therefore, the truth is that the habitual
 belief is, in the child, very belief, 30
 though it be not actual believing and thinking upon the faith,
 as the habitual reason is in the child very reason though it be not
 actual reasoning and making of syllogisms; and then it is,
 as I say, no “story faith”... and therefore, by Tyndale’s tale, none other than
 very “feeling faith,” since he putteth no more kinds of faith, nor none 35
 other faith for sufficient, and God’s work is so perfect that he
 infoundeth in the baptism none insufficient faith.

Howbeit, though this be the truth—that the habitual faith is very faith, and infounded by God with the Sacrament of Baptism into every child, and so that every child hath thereby the feeling faith (if Tyndale tell us true)—yet to put out all argument, I shall shortly strain Tyndale to grant a farther thing, or else to forsake his master. 5

For ye shall understand that though the Church teacheth that the habitual faith is in the children sufficient... yet cometh Tyndale's master Martin Luther, and in his book that he maketh against the Anabaptists, he teacheth, by a long process, that the young children have infounded the very *actual* faith indeed. And therefore Tyndale, that is his scholar, may not deny but that christened children have very faith... and then since not historical (for lack of reading of stories), they must needs have, by Tyndale's tale, the *feeling* faith. 10

Now ye will ask, peradventure, "What then?" and wherefore I go about to prove unto Tyndale that by his words, the children in their baptism have by God the feeling faith infounded. Now shall I tell you that thing in few words, lo. 15

I have proved him this point, good readers, for because that upon this must it clearly follow by Tyndale's tale, maugre Tyndale's teeth, that the pope, and the cardinals, and the whole clergy, and all the Christian people besides, be the very plain *elects* of God, and shall be saved every one, as many as ever were christened while they were children... and that they can never sin deadly in all their lives though they do never so many horrible deeds, because, as Tyndale saith by the feeling faith, everyone that hath it is so born of God, and so hath his seed in him, that he may well do horrible deeds, but he can never do deadly sin, after. And then doth he much amiss to rail and jest upon them, ye wot well. 20 25

Now can Tyndale never get out of this net while he liveth, in which his foolish, false feeling faith hath wrapped him... but if he refuse not only the doctrine of the Catholic church of Christ, but of his own master, Martin Antichrist, also. 30

And yet followeth it farther upon Tyndale's tale, also, that since all the Catholic Church have, by his tale, the feeling faith, and therefore are all elects... and then he saith that the elects, having the feeling faith, be the very church—it clearly followeth, I say, by him, that 35

the pope, and cardinals, and the clergy, and the whole Christian people, that is to say, the known Catholic church, is the very church of Christ... and that himself and his fellows, which he saith are departed out thereof as from the “church of heretics,” are *not* departed out, nor never can, by this tale of his, depart out of it in this world... but ever hang still thereon, as scabs and botches upon the body. 5

And thus ye see, good readers, to what good purpose Tyndale hath by his “feeling faith” suddenly brought his church, so clean to the contrary of that he hath foolishly fumbled about all this while before. 10

And surely, good Christian reader, as for “feeling faith,” if he mean thereby fast and sure belief without any mistrust, or doubt of the contrary... *this* feeling faith is in the folk of the Catholic Church, and in none other. If he mean by the “faith written in men’s hearts” the faith whereof God worketh with man’s will into the consent, or the faith by God infounded into man’s heart: this writing of God in man’s heart is in the Catholic Church, and nowhere else. If he mean by his “feeling faith” any further surety of the points that he believeth than only an undoubted assent and adhesion thereunto: then is it not faith... but another kind of revelation and an infusion of knowledge beyond the kind and nature of the faith, and a thing no less happy or blessed, but less *meritorious*, than faith. For God may, where it please him, of his mere grace—without any manner merit—give a creature the like degree of glory... and far greater, too, than others shall with their merit and his grace attain. But yet such kind of revelation if he give it any man... he giveth it only to such as are true members of his Catholic Church, and not repugnant unto the Catholic faith. If he mean by his “feeling faith” any pleasure or comfort of hope, or any fervor and heat of charity, this feeling is the feeling of those other two virtues—not the feeling of the bare belief, to which the sect of Luther giveth all the glory, and which may be had and abide firm and fast, in its own nature, without either hope or charity, as by the words of Saint Paul plainly 1 Cor 13:2 appeareth. And *this* feeling, both concerning hope and charity, is in the Catholic Church, and in none other sect. But whatsoever “hope” 35

those heretics have, or feeling of any affection... it is but Tyndale's false trust instead of Christian hope, and Tyndale's false-translated "love" instead of Christian charity. And such hopers and such lovers, ween they themselves never so well in favor, and never so great, with God, nor never so sure of salvation, are yet no less beguiled than are the beggars that dream they find great heaps of gold, and wax wondrous glad in their sleep, weening themselves awake. 5

And so, finally, any manner feeling that aught is... the good members of the Catholic Church hath, and no sect of all these heretics. 10

The things which "feeling faith" feeleth But whereas Tyndale saith he "feeleth" that whosoever have his "feeling faith" may do many horrible deeds without any deadly sin... and that whosoever sin once willingly shall never be after forgiven... and that God hath no respect to any good works of men, but only to faith alone... and that the free will of man can do no more in turning toward God than the hatchet in turning toward the hewer... nor that the man can do no more to the getting of faith than the child to the begetting of his own father; and whereas he "feeleth" that shrift is the invention of the devil, and sin to do any good works of penance, or to believe that any good work shall have reward in heaven, or to do any honor unto the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, any other than only to believe that it is a memorial of Christ's Passion, and nothing else therein but only bare bread and wine, and starch instead of bread; and whereas his "feeling faith" also "feeleth" that folk should not care for holy days nor fasting days, nor honor any saints, nor pray for their fathers' souls, nor be bound to keep their vows, but that friars may, when they will, lawfully wed nuns: all these "feelings," and many such others like, the Catholic Church feeleth nothing; nor no more doth no man but such as Tyndale is, that will not fail, except he amend in time, for such *unfaithful* "feeling" to feel the fire of hell. 20

And now, good Christian readers, ye see to what end Tyndale's "feeling faith" is come... with which divided from the "historical faith," he saith he knoweth now which is the true scripture of God, because he feeleth it written in his heart by God's own hand... and that he 25 30 35

believeth it no longer now for the teaching of the Catholic Church,
of whom he learned it first with a “story faith.”

But yet ye see, good readers, that in all this process of his “feeling
faith,” he answereth nothing to Saint Augustine. For except he feel
better than Saint Augustine felt, else while Saint Augustine confessed
against the Manichaeans that he would not believe the Gospel
but for the authority of the Church—and found no fault in that
saying when he was after bishop, at the time of his *Retractions*—
it may become Tyndale well in that point to believe the Catholic
Church still, as Saint Augustine did.

And on the other side, if he say that himself feeleth a better faith
than Saint Augustine felt... in the self thing that Saint Augustine
did then believe as well as Tyndale doth now: then dare I be bold to
say that every man and woman that any feeling hath, cannot fail to
feel Tyndale for a proud fumbling fool.

And that he so is indeed... ye shall yet the more fully feel by this.
For if it were all true that he said... yet hath his own words
doubly proved that the known Catholic church is the very
church of Christ. First, in that I have upon his own words
proved you: that if he said true, it must thereof needs follow that
all Christian people being baptized in childhood must have the feeling
faith... and then were they, by his own definition, the very church.

Secondly, now, consider well this, good readers: that as he saith he
believeth not now, no longer, which is the true scripture because the
Church so teacheth him, but because he feeleth it written in his heart
by the Spirit of God—so saith he that in like wise he believeth not now,
no longer, any article of the faith because he findeth it in the Books,
but because he feeleth it written in his own heart by the Spirit of
God.

Now saith Tyndale not nay but that as he came first to the knowledge
of the articles of the faith by the preaching or reading of the
books of the Scripture... so came he first to the knowledge which *was*
the Scripture by the teaching of the known Catholic church.

Now say I, therefore, that, granting him to say well and true in
that he saith he believeth no longer, now, the articles of his faith for
the books of the Scripture, nor believeth the Scripture to be the

true scripture for the teaching of the Catholic Church... yet followeth it, for all that, that in like wise as that by the preaching or reading whereof he first came to the believing of the faith, is the very, true scripture... so is the known Catholic church, by which he first came into the believing of the Scripture, and by whose teaching he took it and perceived it for holy writing and for the very scripture—the same church is in like wise, I say, the very, true church, since that *originally* the Scripture is known, as Tyndale himself confesseth, by none other church... as the faith is *originally* learned by none other scripture.

And thus, good Christian readers, to make an end of this book... here ye clearly see that I have not only reprov'd you clearly Tyndale's false "feeling faith," and avoided his solution plainly by which he would avoid that argument that clearly proveth the Catholic, known church to be the very church of Christ—by that the true scripture is known by the same church, and none other—but I have also yet once again clearly proved you the common-known Catholic church to be the very church of Christ... by the very words of Tyndale himself with which he would prove the contrary. For this argument by which the known Catholic church is proved the very church... which argument Tyndale hath all this while bumbled about to assoil... abideth in conclusion so strong and inevitable that in the laboring to assoil it, Tyndale hath doubly confirmed it.

And surely this is no marvel. For whereas all heretics very well perceive that by the plain promises of our Savior himself clearly contained in the Gospel, his church can never be brought *Mt 16:18; 28:20; Jn 16:13* into any damnable error... and that if it might, there were no surety neither of doctrine nor of the Scripture itself; and on the other side, if they should grant the doctrine of the Catholic Church to be true, then were all their heresies drowned: for this cause, lo, being driven to confess that *the* church cannot fall into damnable error, they be driven to seek about for some *other* church, because the sure truth of *the* church damneth and destroyeth their heresies. And yet was there never any of them but that in going from the known Catholic church to seek out another, he walked so wildly about that whoso looked on and beheld him would say the man were

blind; and each walketh a diverse way, and assigneth a diverse church, never one like another.

And for example ye may consider twain... Tyndale for one, whose church ye have heard already.

The second shall be Friar Barnes, of whose church I will somewhat show you before I finish this work.

5

Thus endeth the Seventh Book.

The Eighth Book

In which is confuted
Doctor Barnes'
church

Friar Barnes maketh the title of his process concerning “the church” in this wise: “What Is Holy Church, and Who Be Thereof, and Whereby Men May Know Her.” 5

After this title of his process, he beginneth to play Tyndale’s part... first in flitting from the point—that is to wit, from the whole Catholic Church unto the clergy alone—and after in like manner of railing. And surely, notwithstanding that a man might ween that Tyndale were in such fond scoffing peerless, yet doth Friar Barnes as far outrun him in railing as he draggeth behind him in reasoning... wherein with Tyndale Barnes can hold no foot, as downright as Tyndale halteth therein. 10 15

Friar Barnes lasheth out against them pride and pomp, and “all their lives spent in whoredom”... as though there were not a good priest in all the Catholic Church, till they leave the Catholic faith and fall to heresies... for then can they not be but honest though they would... for then may friars wed whores and call them wives. 20

But yet he jesteth on them further, because they wear crowns and long gowns, and that bishops wear white rochets. And when he hath likened them to bulls, asses, and apes, and the rochets to smocks, then he liketh much his merry mocks, and fareth as he were from a friar waxen a fiddler, and would at a tavern go get him a penny for a fit of mirth. 25

Howbeit, as for crowns, and gowns, and rochets, and vicious living, all these things he but playeth and sporteth with. But the things which he layeth earnestly to their charge is that they give credence unto the old holy doctors of Christ’s church in the interpretation of Christ’s word... and that they meddle to see any good rule... and that they vow chastity... and for that they teach not the people that faith alone is sufficient, but that folk be bound to do good works, and penance for their evil, if they will be saved... and because they let not heretics alone, but persecute them... and because they be not persecuted themselves. For these 30 35

causes, lo, he saith they be as far unlike unto *the* church as God is to the devil.

But he forgetteth in the meanwhile how many good, virtuous priests and religious people be put out of their places and despoiled of their living, and beaten and sent out a-begging, while heretics and apostates, with their wedded harlots instead of their vowed chastity, keep their open, avowed whoredom, and maintain their incestuous lechery, with the living that holy folk have dedicated unto God for sustenance of such as should serve God in spiritual cleanness and vowed chastity. He knoweth well enough, I warrant you, that the clergy can never lack persecution where heretics may grow; nor, soon after, the temporality, neither, as it hath hitherto proved in every such country yet.

Howbeit, as for his taunts, his mocks, his mows, his jesting, and his railing... I shall pass over and encumber you not much therewith, since that such as delight therein and love to feed themselves thereupon be not of so great honesty that I greatly long to content them... and those that are good and virtuous can take no great pleasure, I suppose, to hear a ribaldrous railing of a lewd, seditious heretic upon all the clergy of Christendom that will be none heretics, and call them bulls, apes, and asses, and abominable harlots and devils... namely since no good man doubteth but though there be many among the clergy full bad (as hard it were to have it otherwise among so main a multitude, while Christ's own only twelve were not without a traitor), yet are there, again, therein many right virtuous folk, and such as the whole world beside fareth the better for their holy living and their devout prayer.

And one thing am I sure also: that among those with whom this man is most angry, and for whom the more angry with all the remnant—that is to wit, those before whom he was abjured of his heresies, and is now perjured by relapse into them all again... which when he would here have defended since that time, before one of the same judges, having license at liberty without peril to say what he would, was therein confuted so clearly and so plainly that all his evangelical brethren of his hundred sects would have been ashamed to see it—among those his judges, I say that there were

some such as, if Barnes should in special lay to their charge the vicious living that he layeth to them, in his blasphemous book, among all the clergy in general... all honest Englishmen that know them would answer heartily for them, and tell him that he falsely beliieth them. And I verily think that some one of them hath more honesty and cleanness of living, and more very virtue in him... than have all the heretics from the hither end of England to the further end of Almaine. 5

And therefore, since it is no new thing a mad wild bull to run out at rovers and push at every man that he meeteth... nor a rude ass to make his rude roaring... nor a fond ape to make mocks and mows... nor an abominable whore to brawl, chide, and scold; nor no newelty the devil, nor the devil's limb, to be false and lie: I will, as I say, leave off this fellow's foolish apishness, and all his ass-headed exclamations, and all his busy bulling, and all his abominable harlotry, and all his devilish lies which he spitteth and speweth out upon honest men... and I shall go to the matter itself... and concerning the purpose, I shall first rehearse you, good readers, his own very words by which ye shall see what he calleth "the church"... and after shall I show you how falsely and how foolishly, both, he handleth himself therein. Lo, good readers, these are his own words... 10 15 20

Barnes

This word *ecclesia*, both in the New Testament and the Old, is taken oftentimes for the whole congregation, and the whole multitude of the people, both good and bad... as it is in the Book of Numbers: "Why have you brought the congregation"—or "church"—"of God into wilderness?" Also, in another place: "The king turned his face and blessed the whole congregation"—or "church"—"of Israel, and all the church of Israel stood." Likewise in the New Testament, Saint Paul to the Corinthians: "I have sent unto you Timothy, the which shall learn you my ways that be in Christ Jesus, as I do learn everywhere in all congregations." Also, in another place: "Do you despise the congregation of God, and shame them that have not?" In all these places, and in many more, is it open that this Greek word 25 30 35

ecclesia is taken for the whole congregation, both of good and bad.
Wherefore, this is not the church that we will greatly speak of.

More

But this *is* the church, good readers, that he *must* speak of. For this
is in earth the very church of God, though it have bad folk in it 5
among the good... as testify not only the parables of Christ,
Mt 13:47-50 where he likeneth the kingdom of God
unto the net that out of the sea gathereth
and bringeth to land both good fish and bad (as the Church here
out this whole world gathered first, and yet doth, good men and 10
bad both, and shall while it lasteth in earth)... but also by the selfsame
place that Friar Barnes bringeth in here himself, in which the
Apostle, writing to the Corinthians, calleth the church in which
were indeed, and so Friar Barnes confesseth, both good people and
bad—Saint Paul, I say, calleth “the church of God,” saying, 15
1 Cor 11:22 “Despise you the church of God, and make
them ashamed that have not of their
own?” And therefore, then, should Friar Barnes bear himself so high
that he should, for them that are bad, despise this church in which
there be, besides the bad, many men very good, and which church 20
Saint Paul therefore despised not, but called it “the church of God”—
and rebuked such as did despise it as Friar Barnes doth here, that
setteth it aside for naught, as the church that he will not, he saith,
“greatly” vouchsafe to speak of. And wherefore, good sir, I pray you?
To this question Barnes answereth and saith... 25

Barnes

For in this church are there Jews and Saracens, murderers and
thieves, bawds and harlots, though we know them not.

More

As for Jews and Saracens, therein Friar Barnes overseeth himself 30
shamefully... and showeth himself not to perceive and understand
the selfsame places of Scripture that himself bringeth
forth for his purpose. For neither in the place of Numbers were the
paynims any part of the church which the king there blessed...

but, as the very plain text there telleth, which Barnes hath himself rehearsed, only the church of Israel; nor, also, the church which Saint Paul wrote unto, among the Corinthians, was not the paynims, whereof was plenty in the town... nor the Jews, neither, whereof there were haply some at that time in that city... but the Christian people only, that were in that part gathered together into one church—a member and part of the whole catholic church gathered in like wise in divers other places of the world. For them only doth Saint Paul there call “the church.” For himself saith, “Of those that be out of the church, what have we to do?” And therefore this is false: that this word *ecclesia* (that is to say, “church” in English) doth, as Friar Barnes saith, signify, in those places of Scripture which himself allegeth, the congregation and flock of as well paynims as Israelites, and of Jews and Saracens, as Christian folk.

But yet will Friar Barnes say that though Jews and Saracens be not of this church... yet in this church *are* there murderers and thieves, and whores, and bawds, though they be not known. And therefore this is not the church that he will greatly vouchsafe to speak of.

O holy Pharisee, in whose proud heart the poor publicans be so great abomination that he not only listeth not anything to regard *them*, but also for their sakes setteth at naught the whole company where many virtuous people are *among* them... and fareth by the church of Christ as did his fellows, the old Pharisees, with *Mt 9:11, 34* our Savior himself, whom they blasphemed, and said, “Why eateth he with publicans and sinners?”

But yet must this great, godly man, this high and holy heretic, hold himself content to acknowledge at length this same common-known Catholic church to be the very church when he hath all done... while, as himself hath here rehearsed you, this common church of good and bad is the church that Saint Paul himself calleth “the church of God.” Which one place of Saint Paul, of Barnes’ own bringing forth, destroyeth utterly Barnes’ whole purpose, but if the church of God be not the church of Christ, and except Christ be not God.

It is also to me great marvel wherefore Friar Barnes should so

highly disdain the known Catholic church because there be murderers and thieves and whores and bawds therein, which he saith men know not... while there is neither Luther's church nor Huessgen's church, nor Zwingli's church, but that they have of all these people plenty, such as be known well enough. And yet those churches he neither jesteth nor railleth upon, as he doth upon the catholic church... out of which all these churches are departed and cast out; into some of which churches Barnes is himself come now. 5

And as for whores and bawds... all the world knoweth, I suppose, that the headmasters, the archheretics of all their sects, are the chief whoremasters, being priests, monks, and friars, that have professed chastity... and yet make harlots of professed nuns under the name of wives, and avow their lechery boldly, and have whole towns open bawds unto their beastly lechery. And since Friar Barnes disdaineth not *those* churches, but rather doth himself allow their whoredom and bawdry, I see not why the good man should so solemnly look over the Catholic Church and set it at so light for any whores and bawds that be therein. Of all whom, but if they be besides their whoredom and bawdry become evangelical sisters of these heretical sects... there is, I trust, not one but they acknowledge their such living for sinful, and often have remorse thereof and many of them amend; whereas those archheretics Friar Luther and Friar Huessgen, with whose whoredom and bawdry Friar Barnes findeth no fault, do not only nothing repent it, but also, like abominable beasts, boast it. 10 15 20 25

Howbeit, I am glad that Friar Barnes is waxen so holy now that he cannot abide it to have the known Catholic church called "Holy Church," because there be not only good folk in it, but also evil folk too... and that he will therefore find us out another church here in earth that shall be only good folk... and prove us that that is the very church, and that the known Catholic church is not the very church, nor worthy that he should speak of. 30

Mark well, good readers, this point—that the church which Barnes must bring us must be a church that hath therein neither murderer nor thief, nor whore, nor bawd—and keep this 35

point well in remembrance for the while, and then shall ye see afterward at length how well he will keep his promise, whereof he will for a while make us a proud face. For lo, thus he described his church...

Barnes

But there is another church of the which Saint Paul speaketh—"You men, love your wives as Christ hath loved the church, and hath given himself for her that he might sanctify her, and cleanse her in the fountain of water through the word of life to make her to himself a glorious church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that she might be holy and without blame." Here have you the very, true church of Christ, that is so pure and so clean, without spot. But whereby is she pure and clean? Not by her own merits, nor by her own might, nor by exterior array; not by gold nor silver, nor yet by precious stones; neither by miters nor cross-staffs, nor by pillars nor poleaxes. But whereby, then? By Christ only, which hath given himself for that intent, that he would make her clean. And therefore saith Saint Paul, "He gave himself that he might sanctify her; that he might cleanse her and make her to himself a glorious church." And also, in another place: "You are washed, you are sanctified, you are justified in the name of Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of God." See, my lords, how the church is washed: by Christ and by his Holy Spirit; and not by your blessings, not by your spiritual ornaments, nor by your spiritual holy water. For these things cannot help the holy church... for she is holy in *spirit*, and not in outward hypocrisy; she is also cleansed by Christ's blessed blood, and not by outward disguisings. This doth Saint Augustine well prove, saying, "Of Christ is the church made fair. First was she filthy in sins; afterward, by pardon and by grace, was she made fair," etc. Here Saint Augustine saith that Christ hath made his church fair—and that by *his* grace, and *his* pardon... and not by *your* pardons, nor by *your* grace. For this church standeth by *Christ's* election, and not by yours. And if Christ have not washed you and chosen you, then be you none of this church, though you ride with a thousand spiritual horses, and have all the spiritual tokens in earth. For and if the *Son of God* have delivered you, *then* are you truly delivered. *Ye* cannot make, by all your power and holiness, that we shall always find good

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ale or wine where there hangeth out a green sign! And will you
 with your spiritual signs and tokens make the church of God to
 follow you?—or by them assign out where the church shall be?
 Nay, nay, my lords, it will not be! But they that believe that Christ
 hath washed them from their sins, and stick fast unto his merits 5
 and to the promise made to them in him only... they be the church
 of God, and so pure and so clean that it shall not be lawful... no, not
 for Peter... to say that they be unclean; but where they be Jew or
 Greek, king or subject, carter or cardinal, butcher or bishop,
 tankard-bearer or cannel-raker, free or bound, friar or fiddler, monk 10
 or miller, if they believe in Christ's words, and stick fast to his
 blessed promises, and trust only in the merits of his blessed blood,
 they be the holy church of God—yea, and the very, true church before
 God—and you, with all your spiritual tokens, and with all
 your exterior cleanness, remain in your filthiness of sin; from 15
 the which all your "blessings," all your "holiness," cannot cleanse you
 nor bring you into this church. Boast, crake, blast, bless, accurse
 till your holy eyes start out of your head, it will not help you; for
 Christ chooseth his church at *his* judgment, and not at yours.
 The Holy Ghost is free, and inspireth where he will. He will neither 20
 be bounden to pope nor cardinal, archbishop nor bishop,
 abbot nor prior, deacon nor archdeacon, parson nor vicar, to
 nun nor friar. Briefly, come, all the whole rabble of you together,
 that call yourselves the holy church (and exclude all others); yea, and
 take sun, moon, and stars to help you, with all the friends you 25
 have in heaven and earth; and yet shall you *not* be of Holy Church,
 except that you have the Spirit of Christ and be washed in his
 blessed blood. For the holy church of Christ is nothing else but
 that congregation that is sanctified in spirit, redeemed with Christ's
 blood, and sticketh fast and sure alonely to the promises that be 30
 made therein.

More

Lo, good Christian readers, here have ye read his whole process together
 wherein he defineth and describeth his church, with all his
 jesting corollaries intermeddled between. In which when he hath 35
 all done, except such things as the doctrine of the Catholic Church

teacheth him... he hath not of his own one true word. And the others are brought in to no purpose but only to plant in covertly some heresies between. And as for the places of Scripture that he bringeth forth, and of Saint Augustine also... there is not of them all any one that doth anything prove his purpose—that is to say, that only such clean, pure people as he speaketh of be the very church here in earth—but the same places of Scripture and of Saint Augustine, as ye shall see plainly proved, do make plain against him... and clearly do they declare that the very church of Christ here in earth is the known Catholic church of good and bad both together.

For first, as touching his goodly doctrine interlaced here and there by the way—that all manner of people, be he pope or peddler, king or cobbler, “carter or cardinal,” “butcher or bishop,” “monk or miller,” “friar or fiddler,” or any of the remnant that this fond friar fiddleth forth here by letters after the rude rhymeless running of a Scottish geste, be washed and made clean of their sins by God, and his grace, and his pardon, and his precious blood, and not by their “own merits,” nor their “own might,” nor by “exterior array,” nor by “gold and silver,” nor “by miters nor cross-staffs,” nor by bishops’ “blessings,” nor by their “spiritual ornaments,” nor by their “spiritual holy water”—to what purpose concerning the matter serveth all this process, but to show his royal rhetoric... and to contend with Tyndale in witless eloquence, that hath a like lewd geste or twain in his books lashed out by letter, which Friar Barnes here fondly followeth and enforceth himself to exceed? For else himself knoweth well that the Catholic Church, whose doctrine he now depraveth, taught him that lesson, as much as is true thereof, though they gave it him not in a Scottish geste by letter.

For that no man can be cleansed of his sins but by the mighty mercy of God, and by the merits of Christ’s blessed Passion: this point this friar learned of the known, Catholic church which he now despiseth. But the heresies which he covertly joineth here therewith... those lies, lo, hath he learned of the devil since he ran out of the Church. For he would make as though the free will of man (which he meaneth here under the name of man’s “own might”)

did never nothing work at all toward the obtaining of pardon
 and remission of sin. And that he thus meaneth... appeareth
 plainly by the heresy of his master Martin Luther, and by his
 own frantic process also made against free will. And that the
 devil hath taught him this lie appeareth plainly by many a plain
 place of Scripture. As where our Lord saith by the mouth of his
 holy prophet Isaiah, "Be ye washed, be
 clean, and take away out of my sight
 the evil of your thoughts." And by the mouth also of the prophet
 Ezekiel, "Cast off from you all your
 sins in which ye have transgressed,
 and make you a new heart and a new spirit"; and "Why wilt thou
 die, O thou house of Israel? For I will not have the death of him
 that dieth, saith your Lord God, but return ye and live!" Likewise
 saith the prophet David in the thirty-third Psalm, "Decline from evil
 and do good." And again in the same
 Psalm, "Keep thy tongue from evil
 speech, and let thy lips speak no guile." And Zechariah the prophet
 saith thus: "Turn to me, saith the Lord
 God of hosts, and I will turn to you,
 saith the Lord God of hosts."
 It is written also, in another place, "How
 great is the mercy of our Lord, and
 how great is his pardon toward those that turn themselves to him."
 Moreover, God saith by the mouth of Saint Peter, "God hath first
 unto you raised up his Son, and hath
 sent him to bless you, that every man
 should turn himself back from his wickedness." Saint Paul
 writeth also, to the Colossians, in this wise:
 "Mortify and slay your members which
 are on the earth." And to the Philippians: "With fear and trembling
 work your own salvation." And the apostle
 Saint James saith, "Draw ye near
 to God, and he will draw near to you.
 Make clean your hands, O ye sinners, and purge your hearts, O ye that
 are double of mind."

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Moreover, where he saith men be not washed by their own merits—the known Catholic church taught him all this tale truly taken and well understood; that is to say, that no man can

No man can merit the first grace. merit the first grace. For toward heaven man can do nothing but if he be prevented by grace. For as Christ saith, no man “cometh to me but if my Father draw him”; nor no merit of man can be sufficient to deserve heaven, but the greatness of that reward cometh of God’s mere liberal goodness, that list to give so great a price for so simple a thing. For as Saint Paul saith, the passions of this life “be not worthy the glory that is to come that shall be showed in us.”

Jn 6:44 5

Rom 8:18 10

Trust not in your merits. And the Catholic Church teacheth that men should therefore put no proud trust in their merits, but stand in fear of their imperfect working, mingled always, for the more part, with imperfection and spots...

Is 64:6 15

Jb 25:5 20

in the sight of God.” And therefore the Church teacheth every man to say as Christ saith in the Gospel: that, do we never so well, “we have done but our duty”... and so give the thank of all the reward unto God’s mere liberal goodness... of whose gift and grace we have taken all the things that we work any good with—might, wit, faculty, free will, body, soul, and all. For as Saint Paul saith, “what hast thou that thou hast not received? And then if thou hast received... what gloriest thou as though thou hadst not received it?”

Lk 17:10 25

1 Cor 4:7 30

These things, lo, doth the known Catholic church teach, and in this wise do they interpret and declare the scriptures. And therefore if Friar Barnes had here meant none other thing... he might very well have spared much of his gay, golden process, being as it is impertinent to the principal purpose. But he meaneth therein that man may toward remission merit nothing

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this fifteen hundred years and by the plain words of Holy Scripture also.
 For... that holy bread is far another manner thing than Barnes
1 Tm 4:4-5 taketh it for appeareth very well by the
 words of Saint Paul where he saith,
 “Every creature of God is good... and nothing ought to be rejected 5
Holy bread and refused, that is received with thanks
 given. For it is sanctified by the word
 of God and prayer.”
 And as concerning the holy sacraments... of Aneling thus writeth
Jas 5:14-15 the blessed apostle Saint James in his 10
Aneling epistle: “Is any man sick among
 you? Let him send for the priests of the
 church, and let them pray for him, and let them anoint him
 with the oil in the name of our Lord... and the prayer of faith shall 15
 save the sick person, and our Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in
 sins, they shall be forgiven him.” And of confession he writeth
 in the same epistle immediately after, in this wise: “Confess ye your
Confession (Jas 5:16) sins one to another, and pray ye one
 for another that ye may be healed. For
 much is the fervent prayer worth of a righteous man.” For the 20
 Sacrament of Confirmation it is written in the Acts of the Apostles,
Acts 8:17 “Then they”—that is to wit, Saint Peter and
Confirmation Saint John—“laid their hands upon
 them, and they received the Holy Ghost.”
 Moreover, for the Sacrament of Matrimony we have the plain 25
Eph 5:32 and open words of Saint Paul to the
Matrimony Ephesians, “This is a great sacrament... but I
 say in Christ and in the church.” And as
 for Holy Orders, that at the giving of them, grace is infounded into 30
Holy Orders the persons that receive them... the First
 Epistle to Timothy, and the Second, both, do
 plainly prove. In the First Epistle, Saint Paul saith thus: “Despise
1 Tm 4:14 not the grace which is in thee, that was
 given unto thee by prophecy, with the
 laying of the hands of priesthood upon thee.” And in the Second 35
2 Tm 1:6 Epistle, affirming the same... he saith in
 this wise: “I warn thee to resuscitate and

stir up the grace that is in thee by the laying of my hands upon thee.”

Now that I have, good readers, opened unto you the covert purpose of Barnes’ devilish doctrine planted in among his mocks and his jests... and that there is nothing well and truly said in all his process but that he hath learned of the plain, common teaching of the known Catholic church: let us examine and consider now the church that he defineth us... and then see whether the authorities that he allegeth here of Saint Paul and Saint Augustine do prove us the church that he promiseth. 5 10

The very, true church is, saith he, pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle.

Also, the very church is of God’s election.

Also, they that believe that Christ hath washed them from their sins, and stick fast unto his merits and to the promises made to them in him: only they be the church of God, and so pure and so clean that it shall not be lawful—no, not for Saint Peter—to say that they be unclean. Also, the holy church of Christ is nothing else but that congregation that is sanctified in spirit, redeemed with Christ’s blood, and sticketh fast and sure all only to the promises that be made therein. 15 20

Now see ye well, good readers, that the church which Barnes here assigneth is all pure and clean... and not only hath no thieves nor murderers, nor whores nor bawds therein... but is also so pure that not Saint Peter himself may be so bold to find any fault in any man of this congregation. But the causes why... be because they be all of God’s election, and all washed and made fair by God, and sanctified in spirit, and redeemed with Christ’s blood, and stick all fast only to the promises. 25

Remember now, good readers, that if Friar Barnes abide by his description—then is there no man in the very church but only at such time as he is so clean and pure, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter may find no fault in him. And then be there indeed very few of it, and very seldom. And if any man be of it... one self man is peradventure of “the church” and not of “the church” seven times in 30 35

Prv 24:16 a day. For as the Scripture saith, “Seven times falleth the righteous man and

shall arise again.” And therefore this church can no man know, to learn anything of her which he may reckon himself the surer of because this holy church teacheth it him.

But thereto answereth Barnes, and saith, “This church is a spiritual thing and no exterior thing, but invisible from carnal eyes, as faith is; and her cleanness and pureness is before Christ only, and not before the world; for the world hath no judgment nor knowledge of her.” 5

This is somewhat strange, that this church should be invisible, when it is made all of men and women, of which every one is visible. But thereto answereth also Friar Barnes, and saith, “I say not that they be invisible that be of the church, but that Holy Church is herself invisible.” 10

Then ask we him what *is* Holy Church herself. . . and to that answereth he nothing but that Holy Church herself is a congregation of good Christian men and good Christian women, of which every one is visible, but the congregation of them is invisible. 15

Very well declared! As though he would tell us that there were a woman that went invisible, and that he meant not that her hands, or her feet, or her head, or any part of her were invisible. . . but, all her parts being visible, herself were yet invisible. And as he might tell us that of Paul’s Church we may well see the stones, but we cannot see the church. And then we may well tell him again that he cannot see the wood for the trees. 20

To say that the whole thing is invisible whereof he saith we may see every part, is a thing above my poor wit. . . and, I suppose, above his too, to make his saying true. 25

But peradventure he meaneth, if he could speak, that though we may *see* it, we cannot *know* it, because, he saith, it is spiritual. For I may *see* a man that is spiritual, and yet not *know* him for spiritual—as a man might have seen Friar Barnes when he came last into the land by the King’s license, and yet might haply not have known him, although he had known him before, but have taken him for a monster. . . he had so monstrously dressed himself because he would be wondered on. And yet when he waxed after ashamed of himself (because he could no better answer for his heresies, and that his false, foolish hope had failed him), he shaved his beard and went like a merchant of eel skins. And then a man might have met him, 30 35

and upon his name rehearsed, might have known him for Robert Barnes, and yet not know him for a friar. But if he had once known him for a friar, he might then upon the sight have known him for an apostate.

But as far forth as concerneth *sight*... a spiritual man is no more invisible in this world than is a carnal... and therefore the spiritual church may be seen, though the spirituality thereof be not seen, nor it upon the bare sight perceived and known for such. 5

But I will not strive much with Friar Barnes for a word. The man is so sore busied about his rhetoric that it is no marvel though he cannot intend to speak reason, nor true English neither... as appeareth where he translateth “learning” for teaching, in his first declaration of this word *ecclesia*, rehearsing the words of Saint Paul to the Corinthians thus: “I have sent unto you Timothy, the which shall learn you my ways that be in Christ Jesus, as I do learn everywhere in all congregations.” As though Saint Paul had *learned* in every congregation where he came, and every man taught *him*, and not he them. And though that some unlearned use this word “learn” for this word “teach” with its accusative case set out, as “Richard learneth Robert,” yet saith no man but Barnes “Richard learneth at Oxford” for “Richard teacheth at Oxford.” 10 15 20

But this is specially to be noted: that he saith after that this church “cannot err... she cleaveth so fast to the word of God, that is the Verity.” And “for this cause” he saith that “Saint Paul calleth her the pillar and ground of truth: not that she is so sure, of and in her own strength, but that she sticketh so fast to the living God and to his blessed word.” 25

Now, good reader, consider that no man saith that the Church hath its surety of itself... but of God and of his Spirit ever abiding in it, according to the manifold promise of Christ; and therefore we need not Friar Barnes to tell us this tale. 30

But consider now well, again, that Barnes, here granting that the very church cannot err, but is, as Saint Paul saith, the pillar and ground (or foot of the pillar) of truth because it cleaveth to God... ought here to ponder that this word “the pillar” and this word “the ground” (or “the 35

1 Tm 3:15

foot of the pillar”) do not barely signify strength in the standing by themselves... but they signify therewith the bearing up of some other thing, and that they be sure things for some other things to rest and lean upon... as the roof of a church is borne up from ruin and falling by the pillars upon which it resteth. And therefore these words of Saint Paul signify not only that *the church* cannot in itself fall into the ruin of damnable error, but also that, like as the pillar is a sure thing for a house to rest upon, and the ground or foot of the pillar (called in Latin *basis*, which is the thing that Barnes mistranslateth here “the ground”) is the thing whereupon the pillar standeth sure... so is *the church* the pillar and the foot or ground of truth upon whose doctrine every man may rest and stand sure. And for this cause doth the holy doctors use and allege these words to prove thereby not only that *the church* cannot damnably err in itself, but also that therefore every man surely may, and of duty must, give
Give credence to the Church. credence to *the church* and believe it, and lean thereunto as unto a sure pillar, and stand fast thereupon as upon a sure foot of a pillar that cannot fail.

Now, good readers, if the very church, which cannot err, be a congregation invisible, and a company unknown—though every one of them have the very truth in himself, yet if I cannot know that *church*—I cannot lean to that church as to a sure pillar of truth, since I cannot know it for the very church though I should happen on it.

And thus ye see, good readers, that Friar Barnes’ unknown church cannot be the pillar nor the ground of truth for any man to rest upon... but that the church which Saint Paul, as Barnes himself rehearseth, calleth “the pillar and ground of truth” must be a known church. And therefore this text of Saint Paul that he bringeth, plainly proveth against him.

Seven properties of Friar Barnes’ unknown church Now consider also, good readers, that Friar Barnes, in all this his description and definition of the church of Christ’s elects, putteth only these properties: first, that they be God’s elects; secondly, that they be washed of God from their sins;

and thirdly, that they be redeemed by Christ's blood; fourthly, that they stick fast unto his merits only; fifthly, that they stick only to God's promises made in Christ's blood; sixthly, that they be sanctified in spirit; and finally, for the seventh, that they be clean and pure, without spot or wrinkle, so far forth that Saint Peter himself may find no fault with them. 5

Now, first, as for the election... Friar Barnes playeth as Tyndale doth: walketh in the dark because he would not be caught. For he telleth not which election he speaketh of—whether the eternal
Two elections election by which God, in his eternal providence, foreseeing the end of everything before the world was wrought, elected them, for such causes as his own infinite wisdom saw convenient, unto final salvation and endless felicity... or else the election by which Christ elected and chose them into his church here in this world, into which he chose and took both final elects and final reprobates. For if he had expressed which election he meant... he was afeard of the reproof of some false follies that would have followed thereof. 10 15

As for the second point, is verified in every man of the common-known Catholic church that came duly to Christendom. For every such man is by the Spirit of God washed clean in Baptism. And considering that almost all be christened shortly upon their birth... they be in effect all washed clean by God with the water and the word. 20

And as touching the third... *all* we that be of the common-known church are redeemed in Christ's blood—both good and
1 Jn 2:2; 1 Tm 2:6 bad. For Christ hath by his death paid every man's ransom, and hath delivered us if we will, though many men there be that will not, take the benefit thereof... but some will needs lie still in prison, and some will needs thither again, as no man can keep some thieves out of Newgate... but let them be pardoned, and their fees paid, and themselves set on free foot and delivered out—yet will they there for good company tarry loose with their fellows a while, and before the next sessions, come sit as fast there again as ever they sat before. 25 30 35

Now, where he saith fourthly that all that are of the church

of Christ do put their trust in the merits of Christ only: if he mean that they do reckon that all their own merits cannot bring them to heaven without the merits of Christ, nor that they could nothing merit at all without the grace of God—nor *do* put no bold trust in their own merits, but of humility little esteem their
A very good lesson own works that they have done, be they never so good—that lesson hath he learned
of the known Catholic church. And if he mean that no man is of *the* church, nor may be saved, that hath any trust of reward in heaven for his own merits and his works wrought with help of
A false meaning God’s grace: then meaneth he falsely, and putteth Saint Paul out of the church of
2 Tm 4:7–8 Christ. For *he* said, “I have fought a good battle, and I have fulfilled my course, and I have kept my faith, and now remaineth there and is laid up for me a crown of justice, which our Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall yield me in that day.” By which words it appeareth that he had good trust in the merits of the battle that he had fought, and the course that he had run... when he reckoned of *justice* to be rewarded and crowned therefor. Now, if he mean further, as his master Luther and his fellow Tyndale do, that no man is of the very church of Christ that will with help of grace go about to add any merits of his own unto the merits of Christ:
A mischievous meaning then meaneth he very mischievously, to the diminishing of Christian men’s minds
toward the doing of good works; and that lesson hath he learned of the devil, contrary to the continual teaching of God exhorting every man to good works with promise of reward in heaven
Mt 19:17 therefor. For Christ saith in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, “If thou wilt enter into the everlasting life, keep the commandments.” And again in the
Lk 16:9 Gospel of Saint Luke, “Make you friends with the wicked mammon, that when ye shall have need, they may receive you into the everlasting
1 Cor 3:8 tabernacles.” Moreover, Saint Paul writeth unto the Corinthians in this wise:
“Every man shall receive his reward according to his labor.”

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Eph 6:8 And to the Ephesians thus he saith: “What
 good deed soever any man do, that same
 shall he receive of our Lord—be he bound or free.” The same thing
 confirmeth he also in another place, in his epistle to the Galatians,
Gal 6:7–9 thus saying: “Whatsoever a man soweth, 5
 that same shall he reap. For he that soweth
 in his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption. But whoso soweth
 in the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap everlasting life. Let us do
 good and faint not... for when the time shall be come, we shall reap
Rv 2:23 without fainting.” In the Apocalypse thus 10
 saith God by the mouth of Saint John:
Rv 22:12 “I will give unto every one of you according to your deeds.” And
 again, in the twenty-second chapter: “Mark, I
 come shortly, and my reward is with
 me, to reward every man after his deeds.” 15
 Now to the fifth point, where he saith that they that are of the
 very church do stick to the promises only: methink they that
 so do be strange-faithful folk. For if he would say that every
 faithful person should stick to the promises of Christ, I would well
 hold with him; for that lesson he learned of the known Catholic 20
 church. But to say that no man is of the very church of Christ
 that sticketh fast unto anything besides the promises... is a
A devilish lesson lesson learned of the devil. For so should
 we stick to promises only, and not
 only fall from all *good works*, for which many promises of God 25
 are made... but over that should our *faith* fail us, and fall away
 from all other points that be no promises, and yet must be
 believed of them that will be saved. For the equality and unity of
 Godhead in the three eternal and almighty Persons is no promise...
 and yet we must, if we will be saved, stick fast unto the 30
 belief thereof. Yea, and hell is also no promise of salvation, and yet
 must we stick fastly to Christ in the belief of his word
 wherewith he told us there is one, but if a man list for lack of
 believing that there is one, find it out by the feeling when he
 falleth in it. 35
 Now, touching the point that he saith every man of the very
 church is sanctified in spirit—that is verified once in every man

of the known Catholic church that is christened in his childhood.
 But Barnes seemeth to mean that they be no longer of *the* church than
 while they be holy in spirit... and that so holy, so clean, and so pure,
 without spot or wrinkle, as appeareth by the last point, that
 Saint Peter himself could find no fault in them. 5

But truly as all the other points requisite unto the very church
 be verified upon every man of the known Catholic church—so
 the continual being sanctified is not verified in every man. And
 the precise cleanness and purity “without spot or wrinkle” is here in
 earth, I ween, at full age not fully verified in any man. 10

Now see ye well, good readers, that if none be of the very church
 but they that have these two latter points—that is to say, that be so
 sanctified in spirit that they be so clean and pure, without spot
 and wrinkle, that Saint Peter can find no fault in them—then is
 first Friar Luther out of *the* church... and Friar Huessgen, both, 15
 for breaking of their vows with incestuous wedding... and Friar
 Barnes also, for his perjury, falling in relapse in heresy, and now
 running at rovers in apostasy.

But now, good readers, let us resort unto the authorities of the
 Scripture and of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes bringeth 20
 forth... and consider whether that any of them all prove any such
 church at all here in earth as Friar Barnes appointeth us, so sanctified
 in spirit that it hath neither spot nor wrinkle.

The first text is the words of Saint Paul in the second chapter
 of his epistle to the Ephesians, where he saith, “You men, love your 25
 wives as Christ hath loved the church, and hath given himself for her that he
 might sanctify her and cleanse her in the fountain of water through the word
 of life, to make her to himself a glorious church without spot or wrinkle
 or any such thing, but that she might be holy and without blame.”

How tenderly men should What thing findeth Friar Barnes for 30
love their wives his purpose in these words? Saint Paul
 here exhorteth men to love their wives
 so tenderly that they should be of the mind that to bring them to
 heaven they could find in their hearts to die for them, as Christ
 hath died for the Christian people to bring them to heaven... and that 35
 men, to that intent that they may bring their wives to the
 glorious bliss of heaven, should here bring them well up in

faith, in hope, and charity, and in good works, like as God hath washed his church of all Christian people, and hath cleansed them, “by the water in the word of life,” that is to wit, by the Sacrament of Baptism.

Thus hath God given himself to the death for his church of all Christian people, to the intent that the Sacrament of Baptism might wash them all and cleanse them from all their sins. For without his death, the sacrament should not have had any efficacy to cleanse them. But *why* hath he by the Sacrament of Baptism cleansed his church of all Christian people... and by the infusion of his grace in faith, hope, and charity, sanctified them in spirit? Surely (as Saint Paul saith) to the intent that he might *make* her to himself a glorious church without spot or wrinkle; that is to wit, that they might and should persevere in virtue, and if they fall, then rise again by Penance... and thus, in good works of charity and worthy fruits of penance, so live here with his grace that he might after this world bring them to his glory, and *there* have them a glorious church, first in soul and after in body too... where they shall neither have spot nor wrinkle neither of sin great nor small, nor spot of corruption in the body, nor wrinkle of displeasure in the soul, but the one incorruptible, the other impassible, both twain in joy and glorious bliss with God eternal.

And *this* meant there Saint Paul; not that “the church” shall here in this world endure and continue without spot or wrinkle of sin, so clean and pure that Saint Peter could find no fault therein... and that as soon as a man had either spot or wrinkle, he were by and by none of the church of Christ in earth. For this I wot well: that Saint Paul himself called the congregations to which he wrote the *churches* of Christ, and calleth them sanctified in spirit... and yet maketh them not sure that they shall continue holy... nor reckoneth them not so clean and pure but that he feareth for them and biddeth them beware of waxing worse, and teacheth them the ways whereby they may wax better... and in many of them findeth many faults, too, and biddeth them amend them, and findeth spots and wrinkles, and would have them washed and smoothed out.

Will ye see, good readers, that this is true? Consider well the First Epistle of Saint Paul unto the Corinthians, out of the sixth chapter of which epistle Friar Barnes allegeth here these words: “Ye be washed, ye be sanctified, ye be justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.” Doth the Apostle, though he call them washed and sanctified and justified in the Spirit of God, and though he call them the church of God, as he calleth them in the beginning of the epistle; doth he mean that by reason of the ablution and justification with which each of them was once washed from his sins, and justified in his spirit, by the Spirit of God infounding the grace of faith, hope, and charity with the Sacrament of Baptism, and whereby they were sanctified as persons specially dedicated unto God’s holy service, and with the indelible character and badge of Baptism received into his livery and his holy household “the church”—doth Saint Paul, I say, mean therefore that as they were all still of “the church,” and by that respect still sanctified and by profession dedicated unto God, as the Scripture calleth the priest “sanctified unto God” by his dedication and special appointment unto his holy ministration in the temple with the holy oil upon him, though the man were not always holy and virtuous in his own heart—did, I say, Saint Paul mean therefore that all those whole Christian people, as they were indeed of “the church” by their continued profession of the Christian faith, were also just and righteous, all the whole company, in heart, and still continued in God’s former favor by very, true Christian living... and that so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter might find no fault among them? 5 10 15 20 25

I cannot tell you what Saint Peter might have done. But well I wot Saint *Paul* did find more faults than one among them, and great spots and wrinkles, as himself writeth at length through almost every chapter of that epistle, and the Second Epistle too. In which epistles as he commendeth them for many things... so doth he for many things dispraise them and reprove them. And as he saith there to the “church of God,” that is to wit, to the Christian people of Corinthians, “Ye be washed, and ye be cleansed, and ye be 30 35

sanctified and holy, and ye be rich in Jesus Christ in all things, in every word and in all knowledge, as the witness of Christ is confirmed in you, so that ye might lack nothing in any grace, abiding or looking for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, which shall confirm you unto the end without crime in the day of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ”—now, like as he saith there unto the church, “Ye be such”... so saith he even there also, to the same church, “Ye be fallen into division, and ye be in debate and discord, in strife and in contention, and ye do naught and sue one another before paynim judges, and ye do one another wrong, fraud, and injury, and you use fornication among
1 Cor 3:3; 5:1–2; 6:6–8; 11:20–30 you, and some of you such as is not heard of among the paynims, and others of you regard it not, nor nothing do for the reformation and amendment thereof; and when ye come together to your housel, ye keep not a reverent order, nor abide till you come all together, nor the rich is not content to sit and eat with the poor, and put their dishes together in common, but the rich man will eat of his own; thus ye despise the church of God, and shame the poor folk that have not of their own... and with such proud, uncharitable manner and such unreverent fashion using yourselves at your assembly to God’s board, ye show yourselves not to regard the Body of our Lord no more, in a manner, than ye do the common material meat; for which God taketh vengeance upon you; for many of you fall sick therefore, and many of you die also.”

Lo, good readers, these things, both of the one sort and of the other, doth Saint Paul write unto “the church” in the selfsame epistles out of which Friar Barnes here bringeth forth his authorities. And then, when he writeth unto one self church and one self congregation, “Ye be very good” and “Ye be very naught”—what meaneth he but that of the same one church and one company, some be good and some be naught... though the whole church and congregation be called good and holy, because there is none holy company in earth but it, and also for the holiness of the good folk that are therein... though there be bad among them... as Christ’s company was a good company, and yet was there a traitor among them, and

therefore himself said to his apostles, “Now be you clean...
 but yet *all* you be not clean.” And especially is it holy because of the
Jn 13:10; Col 1:18 holy head thereof, our holy Savior himself,
 whose Mystical Body is the whole
 known Catholic church... in which, for all the cure done upon it 5
 in the Baptism, yet are there many sick members (by many great
 new sins, and many old) many times cured again by Penance
 in their lives; and of such as either persevere in the grace of their
 baptism undefiled and not rejected by any deadly sin, or after
 deadly sins committed, be finally restored unto grace again by 10
 the blessed sacrament of Penance—of those sorts ordinarily doth
 and shall our Savior (the sore, cankered members that will not in
 conclusion be cured, left unto the rot and shaken into the fire)
 bring forth and make perfect his glorious church, and present
 it to his Father bright and smooth, without any spot or wrinkle, 15
 to live and endure in heaven; but never shall his church be clearly
 without spot or wrinkle while it wandereth in this wretched world.
 And the church in earth here must Friar Barnes speak of, ye wot
 well.

And therefore, good Christian readers, here may ye plainly see that 20
 Saint Paul in the places that Friar Barnes hath brought us forth
 meaneth no such church as Friar Barnes would here make us ween,
 to beguile us with... but, calling them both good and bad, and
 meaning some of them good and some bad, and yet none without
 spot or wrinkle, meant none other church of any other manner than 25
 only the common-known Catholic church... of which those churches
 to whom Saint Paul wrote were very true parts, and of the nature
 and manner of the whole church. For as those particular churches
 were known churches: even so is the whole church a known
 church. And as they were congregations not of only good folk, 30
 but of both good and bad together: so is the whole Catholic church
 a congregation not of only good, but of good and bad together...
 for which whole Catholic church God hath and ever shall, according
 to his manifold promises, so provide that the doctrine thereof shall
 never be any damnable error... but, as Christ came himself to 35

Jn 16:13–15; 1 Thes 3:2 begin it, and sent his apostles diverse
in diverse parts to instruct it, and they
set others under them, as Saint Paul set Timothy—so God hath from
age to age sent into every good Christian country good and holy,
virtuous men, as hath appeared by their godly living and holy 5
writing and manifold miracles which God hath wrought and
worketh by them... and with which wonderful miracles God beareth
witness for them... and with his own grace and assistance, which
Mt 28:20 he promised should ever abide, worketh
with the toward wills of the people of 10
his known Catholic church to the consenting and agreement of
the same doctrine... so that the Catholic church is the house of God,
and the pillar and sure ground of truth, that every singular person,
in the clearing of all doubts concerning the sure avoiding of all
damnable errors, may stand and lean unto. 15
And if any person depart from the faith of this church, or that
any particular church fall from the doctrine of the whole Catholic
church, and so depart therefrom: yet remaineth the remnant still
the very, full Catholic church, and is the same house of God, the
same pillar, and the same ground of truth, that it was before, while 20
the other was a part thereof; like as if a man did cut off a rotten
joint of his body—yea, and many rotten joints—yet were the remnant
the selfsame man still, and the selfsame soul should still
remain whole in the remnant.
Nor not every man that is in deadly sin is thereby forthwith out 25
of the church of Christ in earth, till he either depart out or be put
out... no more than a secret traitor in a king's household is by
his secret treason straight out of his checker roll... nor Judas himself
after his conceived treason, though he were out of Christ's
favor, was not yet out of his household, till his master checked 30
him and bade him walk like a traitor about his treason and so did
put him out, as the Catholic church of Christ putteth out such
heretics and such Judases now.
And thus, good Christian readers, here have ye plainly seen that
all the scriptures that Friar Barnes bringeth make even plain 35
against him, and plainly prove the known Catholic church to

be the very church of Christ, and in this world none holy church beside.

Now, good Christian readers, whereas Friar Barnes allegeth us divers places of Saint Augustine and some other doctors for this purpose—though I let them pass by the way, and answer them not forthwith... yet shall they not pass unanswered ere we part; but forasmuch as he laboreth with interlacing of his heresies and his railing to make such confusion in the matter that men should not, by his will, well perceive the point, I shall therefore assoil you those allegations in such convenient place as may give the matter most light. 5 10

And first ye shall consider that he will now tell you where this church is that he assigneth, of only so pure and clean persons, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter may find no fault with them. Lo, thus he saith... 15

Barnes

This is the very, true church, that is scattered through all the world... and is neither bound to person by reason of dignity nor yet to any place by the reason of feigned holiness... but she is a free thing through all the world, as Saint Augustine doth witness in these words: “The Holy Church are we; but I do not say ‘we’ as one should say ‘we that be here alone, that hear me now,’ but as many as be here faithful christened men in this *church*—that is to say, in this city, as many as be in this region, as many as be beyond the sea, as many as be in all the whole world (for ‘from the rising of the sun till the going down is the name of God praised’)—so is the Holy Church our mother,” etc. Here have you plainly... that the holy church is the congregation of faithful men wheresoever they be in the world. And neither the pope nor yet his cardinals be more this church, or of this church, than the poorest man in earth; for this church standeth alonely in the spiritual faith of Christ Jesus, and not in dignities nor honors of the world... as Lyra doth declare in these words: “The Church doth not stand in men by reason of the spiritual power or secular dignity. For many princes and many popes, and other, inferior persons, have swerved from the faith. Wherefore, that church doth stand in those persons in whom is the 20 25 30 35

true knowledge and confession of faith and of verity,” etc. O my lords, what will you say to Lyra? I have great marvel that you burn him not. It is high time to condemn him for a heretic... for he speaketh against your law 24, q. 1, “Quodcumque,” where your gloss declareth that God suffereth not the Rome church for to err... and Lyra saith plain that many popes *have* erred. And also that the church standeth not in dignity, but in confession of Christ and of his blessed verity. 5

More

In all this long tale, good readers, Friar Barnes telleth us no more but “the church” is free, because himself loveth liberty... and “the church” is bound to no man, because himself would be bound to no priors... nor “the church” is bound to no place, because such apostates would be bound to no cloister, but have all the world to roil in. 10
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Then saith he by the authority of Saint Augustine that “the church” is not the Christian people of any one country alone; and who said it was?

Then he showeth that Lyra saith “the church” standeth not in spiritual power or secular dignity, but in confession of Christ and his blessed verity; and no man findeth fault with Lyra for so saying... but we find fault with Friar Barnes for teaching false heresies instead of Christ’s blessed verity. Now, in telling us where “the church” is... he telleth us it is in the world; and truth it is, the *very* church is in the world—but he proveth us not yet that his *own* church is in the world, for he proveth no such church at all. 20
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For consider, good readers, that yet for his purpose is there never one word brought out. For yet hath he brought us no proof of any church here in earth whereof the people living here in earth and being the members and parts thereof be so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter may find no fault with them. For this point hath he yet brought us no proof... but of all that he hath yet brought, part proveth nothing for him, and the more part proveth clear against him. 30

And now shall ye see, by his own words following, that as gay a face as he made before with the scriptures that he brought forth, yet 35

himself perceived all the while well enough that all that he hath hitherto said proveth in that point, whereupon all dependeth, nothing at all for his purpose. For lo, now thus goeth he forward and findeth that fault with himself...

Barnes

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But now, here will be objected that I feign such a church as our logicians do *intentionem secundam*—that is, a thing that is nowhere. Where shall a man find a church that is so pure and so clean, that hath neither spot nor wrinkle in her, and that is without all sin, seeing that all men must of truth say “Forgive us our trespasses”? And if any man say (be he never so righteous) that he hath no sin, then is he a liar and there is no verity in him.

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More

Lo, good readers, here may ye clearly see that himself perceiveth all that he hath said hitherto able to serve of naught... but that, for all the scriptures that he hath laid to prove that there is such a church... and for all the words of Saint Augustine by which he would have seemed both to prove that there is such a fair, pure church and a clean, and also that Saint Augustine telleth us where it is—that is to wit, not all in any one place, but spread abroad in all places of the world where faithful people are inhabited—yet, for all this, Friar Barnes here confesseth now that all this serveth of nothing, but his purpose that there is in earth any such church remaineth still so far forth unproved that he seeth well himself that men may yet object unto him that there is no such pure and clean church in earth... but that, for anything that he hath brought forth to prove it, he seemeth of his own brain to feign it as logicians feign (saith he) the second intention. Which is, he saith, nowhere.

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And therefore, good readers, cutting off now for naught all that he hath said before, as he taketh it for naught himself: let us see what he will now say better upon this better advisement. For now will he not fail, of likelihood, to prove us plainly some people somewhere so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle of sin, that

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Saint Peter can find no fault in them. Lo, thus, good readers, he proveth it...

Barnes

To this I answer that this holy church hath sin in her, and yet is she pure and clean. Mark Saint Paul's words: "Christ hath given himself for her that he might make her glorious"; so that the cleanness of this holy church is the mercy of God toward her through Christ, for whose sake he layeth nothing to her charge; yea, and if any other person would... he is ready to give her his cleanness, and to let her by faith claim of right his pureness for her own. For between them all is common, as between man and wife. So that if the church look on her own merits and of her own works... she is full of sin and must needs say "Dimitte mihi debita." The which she needed not to say if she had none. But if she refer herself unto the merits of her blessed husband, Christ Jesus, and to the cleanness that she hath in his blood... then is she without spot. For by the reason that she sticketh by faith so fast unto her husband, Christ, and doth abide in confession of her sins, and requireth mercy for them... therefore is there nothing laid to her charge... but all thing is forgiven her.

And therefore saith Saint Paul, "There is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus." And that this may be the plainer, I will bring you Saint Augustine's words, the which was vexed of the Donatists with this same reason that is laid against me. His words be these: "The whole Church saith 'Forgive us our sins'; wherefore she hath spots and wrinkles. But by acknowledging of them, her wrinkles be extended and stretched out; by acknowledging, her spots are washed away. The Church abideth in prayer, that she might be cleansed by acknowledging of her sins. As long as we live here, so standeth it... and when we shall depart out of this body, all such things be forgiven to every man... wherefore, by this means, the church of God is in the treasuries of God without spot and wrinkles. And therefore here do we not live without sin... but we shall pass from hence without sin," etc.

Here have you clearly that the church of God is cleansed and purified by Christ for acknowledging of her sins... and not by her own pureness. Wherefore, such a church there must needs be, though that the

carnal eye cannot see her, nor fleshly reason can judge of her.
 Wherefore, we believe that article by *faith*—that Holy Church is a
 communion or fellowship of holy men—and know it not by seeing
 or feeling, as we do the fellowship of drapers or mercers... for then
 were it none article of the *faith*. And it is plain that all your
 exterior signs, with all your holy ornaments, as your holy
 miters, your holy cross-staffs, your holy pillars and poleaxes, your
 holy red gloves, your holy ouches, and your holy rings, your holy
 anointed fingers, your holy vestments, your holy chalices, and your
 holy golden shoes—yea, take also to help you Saint Thomas of
 Canterbury’s holy shoe, with all the holy boots of holy monks... and
 all these together cannot make one crumb of holiness in you, nor
 help you one prick forward, that you may be within this church.
 For if these things could help, then it were no mastery to make
 an ass to be of the church of God. But our holy mother the church
 hath another holiness, that cometh from God the Father through the
 sweet blood of his blessed Son, Jesus Christ, in whom is all her confidence
 and trust. Unto whom she sticketh only by steadfast faith;
 by whose pureness she is also pure, in that that she doth confess her
 uncleanness; for she believeth steadfastly that she hath an advocate for
 her sin to the Father of heaven... which is *Christ Jesus*. And *he* is the
 satisfaction for her sins. And he of his mercy, and not of her
 merits, hath chosen her for to be his. And because she is his,
 therefore must she be clean so long as she abideth in him.

This is well declared in Saint John, where our Master, Christ, is
 compared to the vine, and all the members of Holy Church to the
 branches... that as the branches can bring forth no fruit of themselves...
 so can Holy Church of herself bring forth no goodness except
 she remain in Christ by perfect faith. This is well proved
 by your own law whose words be these: “Therefore is the Church
 holy—because she believeth rightwisely in God,” etc. Hear you not
 the cause wherefore the church is holy? “Because she believeth rightwisely
 in God”; that is, she believeth in nothing but in him... and
 she believeth nor heareth no word but his... as our Master, Christ,
 beareth witness: “My sheep hear my voice, and another man’s
 voice do they not know”; also, in another place, “He that is of God

heareth the words of God." How cometh this, that the church
 of God hath so sure a judgment that she knoweth the voice of Christ
 from other voices, and cannot err in her judgment? Because
 that Christ hath chosen her... and because she is learned of God, as our
 Master, Christ, saith... and because she hath, as Saint John saith, 5
 the "inward ointment" of God, that teacheth his all manner of verity,
 so that she cannot err. But why can she not err? Because she may
 do what she will? Because allthing that she doth is well done?
 Because she may make new rules and new laws at her pleasure?
 Because she may invent a new Service of God, that is not in Scripture, 10
 at her will? Nay, nay, my lords. For she is but a woman and must
 be ruled by her husband; yea, she is but a sheep and must hear the
 voice of her shepherd. And so long as she doth, so long can she
 not err, because the voice of her shepherd cannot be false.
 This may be proved by your own law whose words be these: 15
 "The whole Church cannot err." Also, in another place: "The congregation
 of faithful men must needs be, which also cannot err,"
 etc. These words be plain what church it is that cannot err,
 that is the congregation of faithful men that be gathered in Christ's
 name, which have Christ's spirit, which have the holy ointment of 20
 God, which abide fast by Christ's word, and hear none other
 man's voice but his.

More

Here have I, good readers, rehearsed you the full declaration of his
 purpose together... which as it were well done that no man should 25
 vouchsafe to read over once, so were it good that whoso would
 needs read it once, should indifferently, without partiality, read it
 and advise it often. For in good faith, I doubt it not but he that so
 would, had he no learning at all, and were witted but right meanly—
 yet if he look not all to the scoffing, and suffer himself to be carried 30
 away with the fellow's fond railing from the consideration of the
 matter... he could not but perceive such folly and such falsehood, and
 such repugnance and contradiction in itself, that he should
 never after need any man else to answer him but himself. But
 then if the reader be learned, and look well farther upon the 35
 authorities that this man layeth us forth for his purpose, he shall

find them handled in such wise that he shall think it more than pity that either Holy Scripture or any good book else should ever come in such a false fool's hands.

For, letting the authorities stand for the while... what hath he told us in all this long tale? His purpose was, ye wot well, to prove us that here in earth there is and must needs be a church and a congregation of people so clean and so pure, without any spot or wrinkle of sin, that Saint Peter may find no fault in any of them. And how hath he now proved it? Take first out of his tale his pleasant scoffing upon miters and cross-staffs, pillars, poleaxes, and red gloves, ouches, and rings, and then his railing upon the holy ointment used in the consecration of anointed persons, and upon vestments... and chalices, and mocking of Saint Thomas with jesting upon his shoe, whose shoe was, I am sure, never half so black as is Friar Barnes' soul in sin, but if it be by Penance washed any whiter since he made his book; take out, I say, of his tale all this goodly garnishing, and how hath he proved us beside that there is and must needs be in earth a church and congregation of people so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle of sin, that Saint Peter may find no fault in any of them? Doth he prove it by any other than by riddles that he had read in Tyndale's book, of "sinning and yet not sinning" and "erring and yet not erring"? And yet hath he not the wit, when he saw the matter in the other man's book before him—yet had he not, I say, the wit well to perceive it, and to do so much as to put some distinction between deadly sin and venial, as Tyndale doth, and between damnable error and error that letteth not from salvation, as Tyndale doth also. In which things though Tyndale hath shamefully overseen himself, and deadly sinned and damnably erred... albeit he so far misseth the mark that he marreth all his matter—yet at the leastwise he showed himself that he *saw* it... whereas Barnes had not, as it seemeth, so much wit as to perceive it when Tyndale had in his book showed it him.

Howbeit, peradventure I blame his wit causeless. For I ween

the man perceived those points well enough. But for because he saw that Tyndale, when he brought them in, did thereby so intricate himself in the matter, and enmeshed himself in the net of his own folly, that he could never well wind out: Friar Barnes thought it best, therefore, to take a surer way, and rid himself with only Tyndale's riddles of "sinning and yet not sinning" and "erring and yet not erring," and leave out those other points... and walk so much more in the dark than Tyndale doth, though Tyndale keep himself in the dark more than meetly well. 5

For now, to prove us all his whole purpose (that there is in earth here a church and a company that be clean without any spot or wrinkle of sin, and that so clean that Saint Peter may find no fault), objecting against himself the thing that he seeth well every man would—that is to wit, that both by common experience of the people and by the plain word of God, the contrary of his position and purpose appeareth evidently true—he answereth in conclusion thereunto that the congregation which he calleth "the church" ever hath spots and wrinkles of sin, and that yet it is, for all that, very pure and clean, because that for her abiding in the acknowledging of her spots and wrinkles of her sins, and asking mercy for them, God layeth nothing of them to her charge. 10 15 20

Consider now, for God's sake, good readers, how perfectly Friar Barnes hath answered you, and how perfectly he hath proved his purpose. He promised us, you wot well, to prove us a church "pure and clean . . . without spot or wrinkle"—and now he bringeth us a church "pure and clean," as he saith, with spots and wrinkles both. Is there any man so bare-witted, that can so be satisfied and think himself sufficiently answered thus? 25

I had as lief he told us that if there were a woman with a crooked nose, as long as no man tell her of it... so long her nose stood right. For by him, though God lay never her spots nor her wrinkles to her charge, but is always washing her spots, and always stretching out her wrinkles—yet he confesseth that, for all the washing and all the stretching, as long as she liveth she is never without them. And his promise, ye wot well, was to prove us a church not pure and clean *with* them, but pure and clean *without* them. 30 35

Now, where he said "the church" is so without spot that Saint

Peter might find no fault in her, he beguiled me. For I had went she should have had none for Saint Peter to spy. And I marvel what he meant by that word “it shall not be lawful for Saint Peter to find any fault in her.” For I thought that it would always be lawful for Saint Peter to say true, and to call a spot a spot, and wrinkle a wrinkle, in her, all the while she had any... and that is, as Barnes now confesseth in conclusion, all the while she is here. But now meant Barnes all this while, as it appeareth, far of another fashion; that is to wit, that she should ever have spots and wrinkles while she liveth in earth... but that Saint Peter may not be suffered to tell her so... for if any man would lay her spots and her wrinkles to her charge, then is Christ, saith Friar Barnes, ready to give her his cleanness, and to let her by faith claim of right his pureness for her own—and which faith meaneth he? “Faith alone,” of likelihood, for all only faith justifieth, he saith.

But yet, good readers, ye wot well, for all this, till she come thereas she shall be glorious, which is in heaven and not here... and unto which though the Church shall in conclusion come, yet shall not every man come that is at any time parcel or member of the Church, no more than, though the children of Israel came in conclusion to the Land of Behest... and were divers times delivered again out of thralldom... that it therefore followed that all came thither, but many died in desert—yet in the *meanwhile*, I say, *till* God hath so fully given her his cleanness and his pureness that he hath fully washed out all her spots and stretched out all her wrinkles, and made her glorious in heaven, where, as Saint Paul saith, “who shall accuse the chosen of God?” (as who say, no man can), else, while she is yet here in earth, not glorified, nor her spots fully washed out... but be *in* washing, nor her wrinkles fully stretched out... but be *in* stretching... and while as fast as her husband washeth she spotteth, and as fast as he stretcheth she wrinkleth—I cannot in good faith see why Saint Peter should be afeard, or by what law it were unlawful for him, to say for the time the thing that for the time is truth: that is to wit, that she is not yet pure and clean without spot or wrinkle.

And thus, good readers, yet ye see once again that Friar Barnes proveth nothing the church that he promised, but when instead of one pure and clean without spot or wrinkle, he bringeth one not so clean but that she is spotted and wrinkled... he would win the field with a face, and make Saint Peter afeard to call her spots spots, or her wrinkles wrinkles. But it will not be, Barnes; it will not be. For though Saint Peter while himself was of that very church here in earth... and therefore yet wrinkled and spotted, and so sore feared reproof that at the word of a woman he was afeard to look a girl in the face—yet now that he is glorified in the church in heaven... and all his spots washed clean out, and all his wrinkles clean stretched out... he is now so far out of all fear of reproof that the thunder of your great word cannot let him to say true, for any fear of your gargoyle face that ye came disguised with at your last resorting hither.

But now let us consider somewhat of Friar Barnes' holy preaching by the way—whether it be so holy as he would have it seem.

The cause, he saith, why this church is here so holy, pure, and clean, without spot or wrinkle... and yet hath, he saith, ever spots and wrinkles, while it is in this world... is, he saith, because God hath chosen it without any merits of her, and because she acknowledgeth her faults. Here must we consider always, good *Friar Barnes' church* readers, that he putteth “the church” to be all of good folk and none evil, nor deadly sinners therein... for that is, ye remember well, the difference between the common-known Catholic church and his: that the Catholic church of Christ, here in earth, hath in it both good and bad... and Friar Barnes' church hath none in it but so good, so clean, and so pure that there is not an evil man therein... but though they never lack spots nor wrinkles, yet their spots be no spots, nor their wrinkles be no wrinkles, or, at the leastwise, though they be... yet Saint Peter may not be so bold to call them so... because themselves acknowledge them to be so.

Now, as for that he speaketh of election and merits, we will not much meddle with him. For we agree that God chooseth by prevention of grace every man that he taketh to him, before the man may anything merit, which can without grace nothing merit. But after may man by free will work, *with* grace and help, to merit

Man's free will worketh reward in heaven by good works wrought
with grace. in faith and charity, and not in faith
 alone, whatsoever Friar Barnes against
 free will and good works babble to the contrary.

But, now, concerning that he speaketh of satisfaction, and that 5
 Christ is our satisfaction... the words are good and true; for
 Christ's death *is* able and sufficient—and so is the least drop of his
 blood—for the satisfaction of the sins of all the whole world,
 and many be without any other satisfaction saved, as be all
 the children that after Baptism die in their cradles. But God hath 10
Of satisfaction not so ordered yet... that every man which
 hath age and discretion should so trust unto
 that satisfaction by which Christ with his Passion satisfied for all
 men's sins at once... that he should for his own sins by the
 fruitful works of penance make no satisfaction himself; no 15
 more than he would, though Christ be our advocate and pray for us, that
 we should therefore be the more slack and remiss in praying also
 diligently for ourselves. For he biddeth and teacheth us also to pray,
How to pray to saints and that without ceasing and fainting. Nor
 he taketh it not for folly, nor for sin, that 20
 for the honor we bear to God, we honor and pray to the saints
 also, that are his friends, to be intercessors for us; against which
 Friar Barnes hath made as very a foolish process as ever did heretic
 that spoke on that part since that heresy first began; and
 no less foolishly speaketh he in many places against satisfaction and 25
 against all the Sacrament of Penance.

And therefore where he saith that "the church" is made clean and
 pure by acknowledging her sins, it appeareth well that though he
 speak the same words that Saint Augustine spoke... yet he meaneth 30
 not as Saint Augustine meant. For Saint Augustine in divers other
 places declareth that a sinner should acknowledge his deadly sins
 by shrift and confession, and do satisfaction and penance...
 appointed him by the priest—as he doth both in divers other places...
 and also, at great length, in his book *De vera et falsa paenitentia*, where
Augustine, De vera et falsa he saith in this wise: "Therefore, he that 35
 paenitentia, chapters 10 and 15 repenteth, let him *utterly* repent. Let
 him show his sorrow with tears; let him
 represent and declare his life unto God by the priest; let him

prevent the judgment of God, by shrift. For our Lord commanded those that were made clean of their leprosy, that they should show themselves to the priests; thereby teaching that the sins must be confessed by bodily presence, and not be showed by a messenger, *Our sins must be confessed* nor by writing.” And after, in the fifteenth 5
by bodily presence. chapter: “Let every man put himself utterly in the power of the Judge in the judgment of the priest; let him reserve unto himself no power of himself, but that he be ready at the priest’s commandment to do for the repairing of the life of his soul all things that ever he 10
would do for to flee the death of his body, and that with desire, too... for because he getteth again infinite life.”

And thus it appeareth, as ye see, good readers, in what wise Saint Augustine would a sinner should acknowledge his deadly sins: that *How a man should acknowledge* is to wit, by shrift, contrition, and 15
his deadly sins satisfaction... not only voluntary besides, but also such as should be enjoined by the priest. And while Friar Barnes doth but mock the Sacrament of Penance... and because Christ is our satisfaction, will that men shall do no more for themselves: it appeareth well, I say, therefore, that 20
though he speak in this place as Saint Augustine doth in one place, yet meaneth he not as Saint Augustine meant in that place.

And therefore, by Friar Barnes’ meaning, a man needeth no more but acknowledge himself a sinner and all is safe. And then may “the church” be soon a great flock. For there be folk enough able to 25
make a great flock, that will be content to acknowledge their sin if that may serve alone, and they without peril suffered to sin on still.

And yet, though there were no more required but even a bare acknowledging of their sin—yet would neither Barnes nor Tyndale, 30
nor Luther, nor Lambert, nor Huessgen, do so much for God’s sake as to acknowledge *their* sin... but they will rather run to the devil in hell than win heaven with the bare acknowledging that their poisoned heresies, and the abominable sacrilege of friars’ and nuns’ “marriage,” is any sin at all. 35

And mark well this by the way, good reader: that by Barnes, in such times as men have between the beginning of their deadly

sins and the acknowledging of their sins—which times be in many one man many times in his days—in all those times, they be not of “the church”; and again, in all the times in which they acknowledge, they be, forthwith, of “the church.” So that by Barnes, one self man is of “the church” and not of “the church,” not only many times in his life... but also some one is peradventure of “the church” and not of “the church” divers times in one day. 5

And this is plain against Tyndale’s church. For *he* putteth “the church” to be a company of only such as *never* sin deadly, and therefore be never out of “the church.” Howbeit, he calleth them always-repentants... and yet showeth that sometimes they repent not, but be carried forth in their sin long... ere they repent; and so neither agreeth he with Barnes nor with himself neither. 10

But therein doth Barnes requite him as well again... for no more doth he neither. For sometimes he saith that it must needs be that there must be such a church that by the faith and the acknowledging of her sins, and the hearing of Christ’s voice, and cleaving to his word... and because he hath chosen her, is cleansed pure and clean and cannot err. And then again he speaketh in some place of that fashion as though it might be that there were sometimes no such church at all. For he saith she is clean “so long as she abideth in him,” and no longer; signifying that she might peradventure depart out of him, and then be no church of his. And *therefore* he saith that she cannot err—because she heareth the voice of her shepherd, and “because she hath the ‘inward ointment’ of God, as Saint John saith, that teacheth her all manner of truth, so that she cannot err.” 15 20 25

But then—to show us that we should not reckon ourselves sure of her doctrine, weening that she should be at all times in such case and so taught of God with his “inward ointment” that we might be sure that she would teach us nothing but such as God inwardly taught her—he telleth us how long we may trust her, and saith she is but a woman, and must be ruled by her husband... and she is but a sheep, and must hear the voice of her shepherd. And so long as she so doth... so long can she not err; as though he would say, “Sometimes, peradventure, she doth not, and then doth she err, and therefore then believe her not.” 30 35

And to prove that she may sometimes leave her husband and go from him, and not be ruled by him, and so be full of sin and error, he bringeth in the parable of Christ where he said, “I

Jn 15:1, 4-5

am the very vine, and ye be the branches.

And like as the branches can bring forth no fruit but if it abide in the vine... no more,” said our Savior, “can ye do but if ye abide in me.” And in this meaneth Barnes meetly well in part, and better than Tyndale. For by these words it well appeareth that those which are good folk indeed, and at one time very branches of that very vine... may by the devil’s means and their own foolish negligence and frowardness fall off from the vine and so bring forth no good fruit, but wither away and serve but for the fire... as did that schismatic traitor Judas, which was at the time of these words spoken one of the branches of that vine.

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And thus meaneth Barnes that he which is at one time good and of it may be another time naught and fall from it, and then is foul and unclean and full of errors. But in this is Tyndale against Barnes. For Tyndale saith he which is once good and a branch of that vine can never sin deadly after... because he cannot come into it to be a lively branch of that very vine but by God’s election and a “feeling” faith that can (as Tyndale saith) never fail nor depart out or fall off.

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But therein doth Barnes not err so far out as Tyndale doth... but taketh it according to Christ’s meaning, that by this parable giveth every man warning that they may fall off, and biddeth them beware they do not.

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But then in another point Barnes seemeth to run out at rovers as far beyond Tyndale. For whereas Tyndale falsely telleth us that never one member of “the church” may fall from Christ at any time, Friar Barnes telleth us here that the *whole* church may fall from him divers times, and that therefore she may divers times err, and that therefore her doctrine is not always sure, nor may not always be leaned unto nor surely be believed... but that every man must needs, upon peril of his own soul, examine and judge her doctrine, and

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so receive or reject her doctrine, by the word of God. And this must every man do, upon the pain of damnation, whether he have wit and learning meet therefor or not.

And now, since it is so that Barnes putteth in this case... not every singular *member* of “the church” (of whom some *may* fall off at one time, some at another, and some come in again, and some peradventure never... and yet, all the while, the body never gone, nor the head left without members, nor the vine left without branches); since Barnes, I say, repugnant not only to Tyndale’s tale but also to some other parts of his own, telleth us that “she,” that is to say, the whole entire church, may so depart and fall off from God that we can have no surety of her perseverance but that she may leave him and so fall in error—which he saith to make us think that we may therefore mistrust her doctrine, and trust it no longer than as long as she abideth in God... and because we cannot well know when she is with him and when from him, therefore he would that we should always mistrust her, and ever make an assay and a trial of her, every man for his own part, upon the peril of his own soul, examining himself her doctrine by the Scripture, as well man as woman, whether he or she can skill thereof or no—since Friar Barnes, I say, telleth us, in effect, this tale, contrary to some other parts of his own tale: I well may, and will, cut off all his bibble-babble that he maketh in telling us that the general councils may err because it may be, he saith, that they have not the Spirit of God with them. For what would it avail for me to defend the credence of the general councils unto Friar Barnes, when he so handleth the matter that he would make us ween that not only the general councils, which *represent* the whole *Church*, may err, but also that the whole church which he putteth himself, of people so clean and pure, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter may find no fault in them... though she cannot err while she cleaveth to God and heareth his word, and therefore thereby is such, yet she may fall from God, he saith, and leave the leaning unto his word, and so wax foul and filthy, and so fall in errors! I will therefore,

peradventure, at some other, convenient time, treat the matter of the general councils with Friar Barnes... in which treaty I trust to make almost every child perceive that Friar Barnes, all that he babbleth here of the councils, if he had asked and followed any wise man's counsel, but if he could have treated it more wisely should wisely have left it out. 5

And so doth appear already. For he hath not, in all that he saith, proved no general council fallen in any damnable error; which kind of error is the error that we speak of.

But, now, since he saith as ye have heard; and forasmuch, also, as whether a pope, or general council either, may damnably be deceived and err is not now our matter... but whether the Catholic, known church be the very church, and then whether "the whole church" may err; and since the points of the Catholic faith wherein Friar Barnes and we vary, and wherein William Tyndale and we vary, and wherein Friar Luther and we vary, and wherein Friar Huessgen and we vary, and wherein we vary with all the other hundred sects of heretics, and wherein each of them varieth with other as well as with us—except only one thing, the wedding of friars and nuns... for in *that* these new heretics be almost all agreed, which till within this twenty years never one of the old heretics would for very shame have granted—but, now, since, as I say, the points of the faith that they and we vary for be for our part not only determined by councils, but also received and approved as part of the common Catholic faith by the faithful consent and belief of all Christian nations... and the contrary part not only condemned and abhorred by holy general councils, but also by the sentence of all old holy saints' writings and by the catholic consent of all Christian people, before that these heretics that now receive them departed out of the Catholic Church for them... some sect of which both Tyndale and Barnes would were taken for "the church"... and neither of both can tell which, and therefore dare not name which, but saith it is unknown which: I shall therefore pass over, as I said, for this time Friar Barnes' bible-babble against the general councils, and shall yet also, till I come farther 35

in this matter, defer the touching of the texts that he bringeth forth of Saint Augustine and other holy doctors for the proof of his purpose... and I will first touch the point by which Barnes will make us to know his unknown church, if we happen to come where it is. For where we should seek her, that he telleth us not; as though it made no matter though we never found her, so that we know her if we hap to find her. And yet it appeareth that he thinketh it necessary to seek her and find her; for else, wherefore giveth he any tokens at all? But this point Barnes learned of Luther; and yet findeth he Luther so foolish that he is ashamed to tell all his tale, as I shall after show you. But first let us hear what a wise tale Barnes will in this matter tell us. 5 10

Barnes

Now must we declare by what signs and tokens that we may know that in this place or that place there be certain members of this holy church. For though she be in herself spiritual, and cannot be perfectly known by our exterior senses—yet, nevertheless, we may have certain tokens of her spiritual presence whereby we may reckon that in this place and in that place be certain of her members. As, by a natural example, though the soul of man in herself be spiritual and invisible, yet may we have sure tokens of her presence, as hearing, moving, speaking, smelling, with such others. So, likewise, where the word of God is truly and perfectly preached, without the damnable dreams of men, and where it is well of the hearers received, and also where we see good works that do openly agree with the doctrine of the Gospel... these be good and sure tokens whereby that we may judge that there be some men of Holy Church. 15 20 25

As to the first, where the Gospel is truly preached, it must needs light in some men's hearts, as the prophet witnesseth: "My word shall not return again to me frustrate... but it shall do allthing that I will... and it shall prosper in those things unto which I did send it." 30

Also, Saint Paul saith, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God"; and therefore it is open in Holy Scripture that when Peter spoke the words of God, the Holy Ghost fell down on them all. Wherefore it is open that God's word can never be preached in vain, but some men must needs receive it, and 35

thereby be made of Holy Church, though that men do not know them
 neither by their names nor yet by their faces... for this word is
 received into their hearts. The second token is that the receivers of
 this word do work well thereafter, as Saint Paul declareth of his
 hearers: "When you received of us the word wherewith God was
 preached... you received it not as the word of men, but even (as it
 was indeed) the word of God, which worketh in you that belief."
 So that if men do work after the word of God... it is a good token
 that there be men of the church, though that we (hypocrisy is so
 subtle and so secret) may be oftentimes deceived by these
 outward works. But nevertheless, charity judgeth well of all
 things that have a good outward sign and be not openly against
 the word of God. But it is no jeopardy though charity be deceived,
 for it is open to all jeopardies... but faith is never deceived.

Now, to our purpose, that where the word of God is preached
 truly, it is a good and a perfect token that there be some men of
 Christ's church—this may be proved by Chrysostom's words,
 "'They that be in Judea, let them flee up into the mountains'; that
 is to say, they that be in Christendom, let them give themselves
 to scriptures. Wherefore commandeth he that all christened men in
 that time should fly unto scriptures? For in that time in the which
 heresies have obtained into the Church... there can be no true
 probation of Christendom, nor no other refuge unto Christian
 men willing to know the verity of faith, but the scriptures of God.

Before, by many ways was it showed which was the church of Christ,
 and which was the congregation of Gentiles. But now there is none
 other way to know, unto them that will know, which is the very,
 true church of Christ, but only by scriptures. By works first
 was the church of Christ known, when the conversation of Christian
 men, either of all or of many, were holy... the which holiness had not
 the wicked men; but now Christian men be as evil or worse than
 heretics or Gentiles... yea, and greater continence is found among
 them than among Christian men. Wherefore, he that will know
 which is the very church of Christ... how shall he know but by
 scriptures only? Wherefore, our Lord, considering that so great
 confusion of things should come in these latter days— therefore
 commandeth he that Christian men which be in Christendom
 willing to reserve the steadfastness of true faith should fly

unto none other thing but unto scriptures... for if they have respect unto other things, they shall be slandered and shall perish... not understanding which is the true church," etc.

These words need no exposition, they be plain enough they do also exclude all manner of learning saving Holy Scripture. Wherefore, see how you can with honesty save your holy laws... and defend them against Chrysostom. Moreover, if Chrysostom complain of the incontinence that was in his days... how would he complain if he now lived, and saw the bawdry and fornication that is in the Church? Also, he sendeth men to *scriptures*, that will know the holy church... and not unto the "Holy Church," for in the Church were heresies, but not in Scripture. 5 10

Also Saint Paul witnesseth the same, saying, "You are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets." Here have you plainly that the very, true church is grounded—yea, and founded—of Holy Scripture... and therefore wheresoever that the word of God is preached... that is a good token that there be some men of Christ's church. But, now, as to the fruits and works of this church... she doth only fetch out her manner of living—and all her good works—out of the holy word of God... and she feigneth not, nor dreameth, any other, new holiness, or new, invented works, that be not in Scripture, but she is content with Christ's learning and believeth that Christ hath sufficiently taught her all manner of good works that be to the honor of our heavenly Father. Therefore inventeth she none other way to heaven, but followeth Christ only... in suffering oppressions and persecutions, blasphemings, and all other things that may be laid unto her... which, as Saint Augustine saith, she learned of our Master, Christ. Our holy mother the church throughout all the world scattered far and long... in her true head, Christ Jesus, taught... hath learned not to fear the contumelies of the cross, nor yet of death, but more and more is she strengthened, not in resisting but in suffering. 15 20 25 30

More

Here have ye heard, good readers, a fair tale with a proper example of the soul... and then two tokens after... by which ye may know in which company there be some of "the church," though ye cannot know which the persons be that be of "the church." 35

And in both these points ye have heard his whole tale, no word

in the way left out; nor one word hath he not after for any further proof; but, spending a leaf and a half in railing upon the clergy and ceremonies and sacraments of the Church, therewith he finisheth and endeth all his process.

And therefore, as touching the matter, ye have heard all his whole tale, garnished and made fair with the example of the soul, and the two tokens of "the church." But now is this tale fair as long as it is in telling and goeth fair and smooth by a man's ears, as the water goeth over the goose's back; for else, if it tarry still till it wet well to the skin, and be well felt and considered, then it loseth all the grace and will appear so foolish that the reader will think that this tale hath more tokens than twain to make him know that the writer had almost no more wit in his head than one that had no soul in his body. 5 10

I let pass that he noteth in the margin these words, "How a man may know the church," and then he telleth us in his text not how a man may know it, nor any piece of it... but how a man may know in what place it is... and yet not so much neither. For he telleth us not, "Go to such a place, and there thou shalt find it, or some members of it," but he biddeth us go and telleth us not whither... and sendeth us to seek, and telleth us not where... but telleth us only by what token we shall know whether in the place where we happen to seek, there be any such person or no. 15 20

But now let us suppose that he told us the first tale, which were yet more to the purpose than the tale that he telleth us now. And yet, because he maketh us his tale so plain by the example of the soul... let us put him again, for our part, some example of some simple soul... some good merchant that were fallen in company with Friar Barnes in the house of his secret hostess at the Sign of the Bottle at Botolph's Wharf, and finding him walking in a merchant's gown with a red Milanese bonnet, and not knowing that he were run out of religion... but weening that he were an honest man, told him that he were going toward Exeter... and forasmuch as he must carry money with him, he would fain find some good company that were going thither... by whom he might be both conveyed the right way and also go the more sure; for he had heard that there were in many inns many loitering fellows that 25 30 35

were false shrews and yet seemed as honest and as true as he... which false shrews would feign themselves to be merchants and say they were going thitherward too... but when they were gotten in credence and taken into company, then used to lead men out of the way and rob them, and kill them, too.

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Now, if Friar Barnes would say to this man, “Ye be happy that ye have met with me... for I will send you to an inn where ye shall be sure and never fail to find some honest, true merchants that are thitherward,” and then would send him to a certain place which he would name him: if this merchant, when he had heartily thanked Barnes and were going very glad of his chance in meeting with this good man by whose sending he should now be sure of good company in his journey, should happen yet to remember himself a little further as soon as he came out at door... and thereupon step in again and say, “But Master Merchant, I pray you tell me yet one thing, that I had like a fool forgotten before to ask you. In the inn that ye send me to, where I shall be sure to find these honest, true men that are going toward Exeter, are there not also sometimes some such false shrews as I told you of... that make as though they were honest, true merchants and going thither... till they may make men believe them... and when they be once gotten in company, then lead them wrong and rob them, and kill them?”—to this question, if Barnes told him there as he telleth us here, and said, “Yes, marry, sir,” that there be not only sometimes, but always, not a few such loitering in the same inn, that lie in wait to train men to them, and after betray them and destroy them... then would the man say, “Marry, sir, then I pray you tell me how I may know the one sort from the other.” Whereunto if Barnes should tell him as he now telleth us—“Nay, brother, I can tell thee no further... but this I will warrant thee: that though there are, as always there are, in the place that I send thee to, many such false thieves... and but very few of those true men that I told thee of... yet *some* such true men are there always there; but how thou shalt know which they be, and discern them from the thieves, that can I not tell thee... but that thou mayest as well be there deceived in the mistaking of them as thou hast now been deceived in the mistaking of me... whom

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thou takest for a merchant, and yet am I a friar”—when Barnes had once told the man this tale, would not the man tell him again, “Marry, then God a-merci for right naught! For now am I never the nearer... but thou leavest me as wise as thou foundest me... and so shall I thee too!” And thereupon would he take his leave honestly and bid Barnes, “Farewell, fool!” 5

Now, the tale that he telleth us is yet much more false and much more uncertain. For he telleth not us so much as the name of the place wherein we shall be sure to find any of *the* church... but biddeth us go take the Scripture with us and therewith wander about and adventure till we happen upon some place in which we find some man that doth preach us the word of God—that is to say, declare us that same scripture—truly; for well ye wot he will agree none other thing to be the word of God saving the Scripture only; and then wheresoever we happen to find any man that expoundeth it and declareth it truly, without any “damnable dreams of men,” and “where we see that it is well of the hearers received, and also where we see good works that do openly agree with the doctrine of the Gospel,” “these be good and sure tokens whereby that we may judge that there be some men of Holy Church there.” 10 15 20

First would I wit what he meaneth by “sure tokens”—whether he mean only tokens and signs whereby we may conjecture that some of *the* church be there though we know not which they be, as we may by a sign of a green garland perceive that there is wine in the house though we know not whereabout the cellar is; or else that we may so surely know it that we cannot be deceived therein... as we be sure by the smoke and the sparks that there is fire in the chimney. If he mean of the first fashion of sure tokening, then is it no sure sign and token, but an unsure guess and conjecture, for there is peradventure no wine in that house at all... but the wine drunk up, and the garland hang still; and then had the wine or the ale by the green garland or an ale pole have been for Friar Barnes a better example and more meet for his matter than the example of the soul known to be in the body by the signs and tokens of hearing, speaking, sight, and smelling, and such things as the body cannot do but when the soul is in it. And also, what am I then the 25 30 35

nearer if I may ween there be in that company some of *the* church, and yet peradventure there be none? Nor much the nearer, neither, by Barnes' church though there be some of them there indeed, as ye shall see soon after.

Now if he mean on the second manner—that by these tokens, that we hear the word of God well and truly taught by the preacher, and see it well received of the hearers, and good Gospel works wrought among people... we may be very sure that there be some of *the* church in that company—why should Barnes say, as he saith here, that we cannot be sure which they be? For if it may be surely known by those tokens that some of them be there... then must of reason those tokens make us most sure of those persons in whom we see them. And if they cannot make us sure of them in whom we see them, they cannot make us sure, as it seemeth, of them in whom we see them not.

Mt 7:15–16 For when our Savior said of hypocritical heretics, “Ye shall know them by their fruits,” he meant that ye should perceive the *same* persons for heretics and hypocrites, by the evil fruits of their *false doctrine*—that under a cloak of virtuous living and cleanness they should secretly sow and set forth false heresies, contrary to the known doctrine that himself had taught his Catholic Church—and that they should also be perceived by the fruit of *evil works*, with which he would, if men took heed and watched them well (as he bade *Mt 7:17–20* them do), cause them to be apprehended and taken, and their masks taken off and their hypocrisy to be discovered. But Christ meant not that the tokens found in one person should leave us unsure of him, and only make us sure that *some* heretic and hypocrite were there, as Barnes here saith by his tokens we shall be sure that “some” of *the* church be there, but I cannot be sure which person is any of them.

Now, if he said this only in whole great regions, his reason might have some place; for of a great multitude seeming good men, I may well reckon that though some be hypocrites, all be not so. But while Barnes saith *wheresoever* I find these tokens, there I may be sure that some of his church without spot or wrinkle are among them—the place may be so small, and the company so few,

that I could *not* be sure, but might well fear that though I see such good tokens in some of them, yet of that clean and pure church of Friar Barnes there were never one among them.

Yet ask I Friar Barnes farther, how proveth he that wheresoever we find these tokens, we shall be sure that though we cannot tell which they be, yet sure we may be that of his holy church some in that company there be. 5

In the answer unto this, he putteth a difference, indeed, between the token of the good works and the token of the true preaching. For as for the works, though they be very true Gospel works, they be, he saith, no perfect, sure signs, but only tokens whereby we may conjecture and deem well, but not be sure, because they may be feigned by hypocrisy... but the other token, of the preaching, that token is, he saith, a perfect token, so that in that company wheresoever we see that happen, we have a perfect token that there be in that company some men of Christ's holy church. 10 15

And this he proveth, as ye have heard, by the authority of the prophet Isaiah and of Saint Paul, and by the example of Saint Peter in the tenth of the Acts, where at the preaching of Saint Peter the Holy Ghost fell down on them all. 20

But as for that example, proveth not Barnes' purpose. For it proveth no farther but that *sometimes* it doth so, where the hearers be such as so do receive it; but Barnes must prove us that it is *ever* so.

The logic of heretics But this is Friar Barnes' logic, and Tyndale's, and Luther's also, and so is it of them all: upon a particular they boldly conclude a universal. 25

Now, as touching the words spoken of God by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, "My word shall not return again to me frustrate, but it shall do allthing that I will, and it shall prosper in those things unto the which I did send it." 30

What do the words prove for Barnes' purpose? If he prove us his purpose by these words, he must prove us first that the word of God whereof the prophet Isaiah there speaketh is none other word but only the preaching of the Scripture. For that is the word which Friar Barnes here speaketh of. And therefore: In the prophet Isaiah the "word" *may* signify that word of God of which word Saint 35

Jn 1:1 John saith, “In the beginning was the
 Word”—that is to wit, the only-begotten Son
 of God; as it there signifieth indeed, and not the word written in
 Scripture, though that of that Word be much written in Scripture. Then
 seeth every learned man that those words of Isaiah nothing prove 5
 the purpose of Friar Barnes, though it might there signify *also* the
 word written in Scripture. For it proveth, ye wot well, not for the
 preaching of the word of God written in Scripture, if it be doubtful
 and not evident whether the prophet spoke of the Scripture or
 not. 10
 But, now, whosoever look upon the place in the Bible, he shall see
 that Lyra, and the ordinary gloss, and the interlinear gloss also,
 do declare that though the words may be expounded of the Scripture,
 the prophet speaketh these words properly of the word of God
 that is God’s only-begotten Son. And the very text plainly 15
 showeth, upon all the circumstances, that the prophet there
 prophesieth in the person of the Father after this manner. As though
 he would say, “My Word—that is to wit, my Son, whom I have sent
 into the world for the redemption of man—shall not return
 again to me void or empty. For he shall bring with him the 20
 fathers, out of limbo. But he shall do *all*thing that I will. For
 he shall teach, both by words, example, and miracles, both the
 Jews and the pagans, and make one church of both, and shall
 in fulfilling of my will humble himself unto the death, even the
 death of the cross. And he shall prosper in those things unto the 25
 which I sent him. For himself shall gloriously rise again from
 death, and ascend up to me, and here sit in eternal glory on my
 right hand, one equal God with the Holy Ghost and me, and shall
 bring hither also a glorious church out of earth, to reign with
 us here in heaven.” 30
 Of *this* word, therefore, spoke the prophet—that is to say, of the
 Son of God, and of his returning again to his Father... of whose
 going forth from the Father, and returning again to the Father,
Ps 19:6-7 writeth the prophet David, “His going
 forth is from the high heaven, and his 35

meeting is unto the height thereof”... and is not properly meant by the preaching of the word written in Scripture. And therefore, as I told you, it nothing proveth the purpose of Friar Barnes.

And yet over all this, if the prophet spoke there of the word written in Scripture, and of none other: yet would it not prove that in every place where it were preached, it should needs take such hold... in some folk, that it should of necessity make in every such place some very members of the church pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle. For God hath none other will, for anything by Barnes proved yet, that his word should take such hold in every *place* than in every *man*; but, like as his word doth his will, and returned not again to God void, if it take hold in *some* men that hear it, though it take not hold in *every* man that heareth it... so doth it his will, and returneth not to him void, if it take hold in *some* place where it is preached, though it take not hold in *every* place.

And that it should not in every place take hold... appeareth by the words of our Savior where he saith to his disciples whom he
Lk 10:5-6 sent to preach, “Into what house soever ye enter, first say ye, ‘Peace be to this house.’”

And then if the son of peace be there... your peace shall rest upon him; or else your peace shall return again unto yourself.” In which our Savior showeth us that if a good man preach well, though there were not one in all his audience that would be the better for it... yet should it not be void; for the merit should at the least rebound back upon himself, but not of necessity take hold in every audience; so far forth that it might be preached unto a whole city and take none hold, but be rejected. For which

Lk 10:10-11 cause our Savior said also to those whom he sent to preach, “If any city refuse you and will not receive your doctrine, wipe off the dust of your feet at your parting, in witness against them; and I tell you truth, the cities Sodom and Gomorrah shall in the Day of Doom be more easily handled than they.”

And thus, good readers, ye see that these words of the prophet Isaiah will in no wise avail Friar Barnes... but utterly they leave his purpose all unproved.

Now hath he, then, but one anchor more unto that ship, and that is the words of Saint Paul where he saith, “Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God.” But surely this anchor lieth too far aloof from this ship, and hath never a cable to fasten her to it. For never heard I yet two things so loosely knit together.

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What manner an argument doth Friar Barnes call this: “Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God; ergo, in every place where the word of God is heard must needs be some faithful men”?

Though there were never man faithful without hearing of the word of God—as indeed there is not, ordinarily, in actual faith—may it not be, for all that, that there may be many that hear it together in one place, of all whom never one will be faithful, but have the faith in derision? This argument is so foolish that I marvel Friar Barnes would be so fond to bring it forth.

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And thus, good Christian readers, here ye see now to what point Friar Barnes is brought with his signs and tokens wherewith he promised us to make us know where were some members of his holy, pure, clean church, wherein he confesseth himself that some of his signs and tokens be but faint and insufficient. And then that one which he saith is perfect, ye see so unperfectly proved that of all the Scripture that he bringeth, there is not one syllable serveth him.

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And yet have I showed you also that if he proved all that he saith... yet were all his teaching of knowledge *where* some of “the church” be, without the knowledge *who* they be, a very fruitless knowledge, whereof the knower could never take spiritual profit.

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But now, good Christian readers, to the intent that the folly of Friar Barnes’ invention may the more clearly appear concerning his tokens with which he teacheth us to know his unknown church... let us yet a little consider his lesson better. Let us suppose that some good, honest merchant’s-wife, a woman honest of her conversation, being by some shrewd gossips of hers brought in acquaintance with some false, wily heretic, had begun to fall in some doubt and fear lest the faith that she had before learned of the Church,

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concerning the seven sacraments, and praying to saints, and praying
 for souls, and many things more, were untrue and dangerous
 to live and die in; and that she were not yet so far fallen to the
 wrong side but that she stood still in a doubt and in a mammering
 which way she might take, and fain would take the best. And 5
 being thus brought into this doubt, had, by some proctor of the
 evangelical fraternity, secretly brought unto her Friar Barnes’
 book. After which secretly read over by herself in a corner, for
 many things that she partly liked, partly misliked, in the
 reading, perceiving that he was then upon his passage over the 10
 sea again, longed sore to speak with himself ere he went; and
 thereupon being by some good brother and sister brought together
 where there were none present but such as were toward the
 fraternity, after solemn salutations and ghostly greetings of the
 congregation *in osculo caritatis*, she would break her mind unto 15
 him, and show him that by the good, gracious motion of such a
 man or such a woman, she had begun to enter into the consideration
 of her soul health... and not to be so negligent
 as she had before been, to believe every priest’s tale that standeth up
 in a pulpit, but to seek some sure way how she may surely be 20
 taught the truth and not deceived. And for because she had read his
 book, wherein she found divers doubts, of which she would fain,
 if he might have tarried, be somewhat satisfied, and also have used
 his ghostly counsel for her further instruction and sure setting
 forth in the way of the truth—since God had so disposed that he 25
 should so soon depart that she could not have that full fruit and
 comfort of his person, she would not for the short time of that
 their present assembly encumber him with her questions, which
 were likely to be but frivolous and womanish, nor be a let and
 impediment unto the fervent desires of the other brethren and 30
 sisters of the congregation, whereof every one longed to be comforted
 with his ghostly communication at that time especially, which
 was, as it seemed, the last in which they were likely to be fed
 with the pleasant conversation of his bodily presence. And therefore
 she would no more desire of him for the time but that he would, as 35
 our Savior when himself went his way did send his Holy
 Spirit to teach his apostles, and his apostles to teach the wide, wild,
 ignorant world, “so may it please you, good Father Barnes, while ye
 depart hence, to assign some means, and show me some way, by

which I may be sure always to have some good, gracious, spiritual man, some true member of the very church, of whom I may be sure to learn the very, true faith that our Savior, first by himself and after by his Holy Spirit, taught his blessed apostles, and by them the world that would learn... and yet, by the same Spirit, teacheth his very, holy church still, as ye show to my simple mind full well and clerkly in your goodly process wherein ye declare which is the very church. I beseech you, therefore, do no more for me for this once but, lest I be when ye be gone deceived by some false teacher, set me now, before your going, in some way whereby I may be sure ever of a true.”

To this would Friar Barnes of likelihood make her great congratulation, and tell all the congregation that they have all great cause to joy and rejoice in the Lord, whose high mercy hath so goodly begun to pour in the lively liquor of his grace into the dying heart of that good sister, and hath thereby so revived it with the warm breath of his Holy Spirit, that he maketh it begin to quicken and look up, and to long to behold and see the bright sun of his verity written in the Holy Scripture of God, and to rub her eyes and shake off the false imaginations of all the damnable dreams of men; and that himself is very sorry that he cannot, according to his hope that brought him hither, have his evangelical doctrine accepted of the King and openly received in the realm, which he so sore hath travailed to regenerate again unto God in the true faith, but is by the means of the false scribes and Pharisees rejected and rebuked, and saving for the King’s safe-conduct, should have stood in peril to be burned, and his books with him. Which safe-conduct, because it was granted but for six weeks, now more than almost past; for which cause he changed his notable, monstrous apparel that he came in with, and shaved his beard and went like a merchant, that he might be the less marked in tarrying after the safe-conduct and visiting the congregation, without whose liberal aid and alms he should neither have been able to sustain and bear, nor to recover and get again the money that he spent about his printing of his book and his coming hither and going over again. Wherefore, since he may not safely tarry here, but must, except he would be burned, go get him over

again... both that good sister and all the holy congregation, and himself also, which is as sorry to part from them as they from him, must conform their wills on all sides unto the will of God; and as for the absence bodily, he would recompense, upon his part, with being mindful of them in his prayer to the Lord, and trusted they would in like wise do. And so would he pray them to do—pray to the Lord for him—and so should either part, by their praying each for other according to the counsel of Saint James, 5

Jas 5:16 much more each profit other than if our Lady and all the saints in heaven, if there be any there, would pray for them both, because the saints be all departed hence and dead and be no longer of our function. And yet would he, for his part, to their further consolation, make and send them over some new books of the evangelical doctrine in their mother tongue, for the better edifying of their seely simple souls. 15

And this would he say for the comfort of the whole fraternity-and-sorority in general. And then for answer to the good sister in special, he would peradventure advise her to take the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and other books of his, and of his own, and of George Joye... and therein should she find the truth. Whereunto if she said that she might not, for fear of her husband's loss and her own peril, adventure to keep these books, because of the King's proclamation... he would tell her, and persuade her plainly, that the books of the Scripture she must needs keep despite of all the prince's proclamation, to die therefor. (For that he writeth plainly already; but as for the other books, he layeth not expressly so sore a charge upon them.) Wherefore he would enjoin her at the leastwise to keep the Scripture in English, and tell her that therein she should learn all truth. 20

But then is it likely that she might say that the Scripture is hard for her to understand... and therefore show him that the thing which she desireth of him is to know of him (since himself goeth away) how she might be sure to have a good, true teacher, that might in every necessary point of belief expound the Scripture and teach it her truly. 30

Then would he peradventure assign her some specially sped 35

man in the sects, and tell her she may learn of him. But then were she likely to say that he might haply be driven away for fear of persecution—yea, or peradventure die—before she should be fully learned and instructed in the necessary truths by the Scripture; which she could not think herself to be till she did in every such truth understand all the places of Scripture that either made for it or seemed to say against. And therefore would she fain know now of him by what means she might always be sure of a true teacher. 5

Then would he peradventure tell her that whosoever preach truly the word of God, according to that scripture... she might be sure that he were a true preacher, and of him she might surely learn. 10

But unto that she were likely to say, “Father Barnes, this same scripture is very hard... and in the most necessary points, diverse preachers expound it diversely—some for the sacraments, and some against them, some for the vow of chastity and some against it, some for good works, and some for faith alone, some for purgatory and some against it, and so in such other things—so that except I may be sure of the true teacher, unto whose credence I may trust in the construction, I shall always remain still in like doubt, and not understand the Scripture. And therefore shall I not be able by the Scripture to try the true preacher, but must by the knowledge of the true preacher try which is the understanding of the Scripture. And therefore I would have the true preacher to teach me truly to understand the same scripture. And for that intent would I know him—to the intent that I might, by that I know him for a true preacher, be sure that by his teaching I do not damnably misunderstand the Scripture, but am truly taught it. And now you tell me that whoso teach the Scripture truly is a teacher. And then must I, by this tale of yours, bring with me to him, or else I cannot know him, the thing that I cannot get but if I know him first!” 15 20 25 30

What were Friar Barnes here likely to say to this woman that might reasonably satisfy her? In good faith, I cannot say, taking an unknown church, as he doth. For if he would say, “Good daughter, 35

Acts 10:30–33 the goodness of God shall ever sufficiently
 provide you a true teacher, as he
 provided Saint Peter for Centurio,” she might tell him that Centurio
 was warned by God that he was a true preacher, “and if I
 had such warning of any that shall come, then were I satisfied.” 5

If Friar Barnes would say, “Whensoever the true preacher cometh,
 ye shall know him, and perceive his doctrine to be true,
 by the inward unction of the Holy Ghost, that shall teach you
1 Jn 2:27 inwardly, as saith Saint John. For as our
Jn 10:4–5, 14 Lord saith, ‘they that are mine hear
 my voice, and hear not the voice of a
 stranger’; and ‘I know mine, and mine know me.’ And of
 this have we an example of Eunuchus, which, as he was reading
 in the Scripture and could not understand it by himself,
Acts 8:27–39 God provided that Saint Philip should 15
 go by him and teach him, and anon
 Eunuchus believed him and was christened. And how did Eunuchus
 know that Philip was a true preacher, but by the inward
 unction and inspiration of God? And so, good sister, shall you
 be moved inwardly to perceive the true scripture”: surely methinketh 20
 that unto this, the woman were well likely to answer him
 that one example, at one time, of one man’s deed, as Eunuchus
 was, giveth us not for every man in every time a general rule. “For
 though *he* were therein not deceived *then*... yet some *other*, that would
 so readily *now* take for the true preacher every man that came 25
 first to hand, might be sore deceived therein, and ween that God
 gave him the motion, when it came of the suggestion of his enemy.
 For at that time it was well likely that Eunuchus had heard of
 Christ, and of his living, and of his miracles, and of his death, and of
 his resurrection to life, and such things as were then done and past 30
 before the meeting had between Saint Philip and him. And then
 was that prophecy, with divers others which Philip there
 expounded unto him, so plain and open—with his doctrine, his death,
 his rising again, and his miracles, and his other conversation in his

1 Jn 4:1-6 by 'believe every spirit,' but 'prove the
Mt 10:16 spirits, whether they be of God.' And then
 if we be not only 'simple as doves,' but
 also 'prudent and wise as serpents,' his inward unction will
 work with our diligence; but not if we be slothful, or will 5
 be willingly beguiled, and suffer the devil make us mad fools.
 And therefore he saith not, 'Believe at adventure,' but biddeth
 us take heed and be well ware that we be not beguiled by
 false prophets that will come to us in such wise that outwardly they
Mt 7:15 shall seem sheep, and inwardly be 10
 ravenous wolves."

To this would Friar Barnes say, "Forsooth, dear daughter in the Lord,
 those wolves be these monks, and friars, and priests, that be the
 common preachers of this carnal church that they falsely call the 15
 'Catholic' church, which do teach besides the Scripture damnable
 dreams of men, and make men believe that dumb sacraments, and
 ceremonies, and good works, should do good to the soul; which
 false preachers, with all their carnal church that hath now been, this
 eight hundred years, out of the right way, we new preachers of 20
 the very, true church, which is spiritual, do now by the word of
 God written in Holy Scripture convict and reprove."

To this were she well likely to say again, "Verily, Father Barnes,
 here ye bring me now even to the very point. For—since that the 25
 apostles of Christ be gone, that learned of his own mouth, and no one
 man left now, nor never since their time, whom men might so
 surely take for an undoubted teacher as them—it seemeth that God hath
 left the sure credence of doctrine in no one man, but in his whole
 church. And therefore, that man which agreeth in doctrine with the
 very church, I may reckon sure that his doctrine is very true in the 30
 necessary exposition of Scripture; not for his own authority, or
 surety of his person, nor for the surety that I can have that his
 doctrine agreeth well with Scripture—for I cannot know that but
 by that I know him for a true teacher—but for the surety that I
 have that the doctrine of the whole catholic, very, true church, with 35
 which his teaching agreeth, cannot be false. For if it might, then
 were there no sure, true church at all; and that must there needs be,
 as all sorts of sects agree, as I hear say. And therefore this true church

being known, if you show me how I may get a teacher whose
teaching agreeth with that... then dare I believe him well; and else it
will be hard for any such as I am to think with reason that she
should give sure credence to any man, or that she can be by the
Scripture sure, of so many sects of contrary construers, which one 5
construeth truly, when all the others say nay and be all ready to
swear that he construeth false. And therefore, good Father Barnes," will
she say, "I like it well that ye declare so well at length which is the
very church, because we should not be deceived with the false
prophets of the false church, of whom Christ bade us take heed and 10
beware. For the very, true church once known... we shall, as our
Mt 7:15-20 Savior saith, if we take good heed, know
these false prophets by their fruits. For
look they never so simply, and speak they never so saintly... yet if
their living or their teaching be contrary to the doctrine of the 15
very, true Holy Church, it is then very true that their fruit is rotten and
false, and themselves false prophets of some false church, and, for all
their sheepish semblance outwardly, right ravenous wolves are
they within.

"And therefore, good Father Barnes, I would have wished that ye had 20
taken a little more pain in declaring and making open by what
means the very, true Holy Church which ye do assign might be
perceived and known... to the intent that by the knowledge of her and
of her preachers which must needs have credence, and be known 25
for true teachers, because they be members of her that is true, and
their doctrine agreeth with hers whom God will not suffer to say
damnably false, we may perceive and reprove the false prophets of all
other churches. For I am sure, good Father Barnes, that when ye went
about to give us tokens whereby we might have some knowledge of
this church, ye perceived well that of necessity it is a thing that 30
need were to be known, for the good that may follow if it be known,
and the harm that would ensue if it remained unknown. For else ye
would have taken no labor about it, to seek us out such tokens
by which we might have knowledge of it.

"And surely methinketh that the chief commodity that I 35
can have of the knowledge of it is this: that I may, when I know her,

be learned and instructed by her, and be surely nourished by her in the
Our mother the holy church spiritual food. For Holy Church is our
 mother, as ye call her yourself... and therefore
 is it she which engendereth us to God, and which both with milk
 and stronger meat must feed us and foster us up... and none other nurse 5
 is there by whom we can be truly and faithfully brought up. And therefore,
 if we might not know her... we were in danger either to be
 hunger-starven or else instead of wholesome food, to be fed with
 poison.”

But now peradventure Friar Barnes would answer to this that “it 10
 maketh no matter though we know not her. It is enough that *she*
 know *us*, and come and give us good and faithful food, and preach
 truly to us, though we know not that it is she.” But unto this the
 woman would, I ween, never stick for an answer, but would shortly
 tell him that he said sooth, if every man were as a young babe that 15
 lieth swaddled in a cradle, to whom only the mother might have
 recourse to feed her own child.

“But now be we,” would she say, “such as be thus far well
 warned that not only our mother Holy Church is only she that can and
 will feed us well, and will gladly offer to give us good, wholesome food... but 20
 that also there be a great meinie of other, wicked women which
 go about to poison us... and which, because they know that we be
 well advertised that they so intend, and that only our mother will
 feed us well, each of them laboreth, by all the means that their wily
 malice can devise, to make us mistake our mother, and each of them 25
 calleth herself our mother, and laboreth to be believed... and out of
 one self good ground, of Holy Scripture, both our very mother
 bringeth and offereth us wholesome fruit, and these false, feigned mothers,
 out of the selfsame ground of Scripture, by their false handling,
 bring us and offer us poisoned fruit... and yet so subtly handled that 30
 it is hard for us to perceive either by sight or taste which is the
 good food and which is the poisoned, till he that taketh it come to
 his death by the infection.

“But, now, if we may once know which of all these is our
 very mother, then are we safe and sure. For then are we sure 35
 that as all the remnant will give us no meat but naught... so
 will she give us none but good. And therefore, whoso love his life
 will take all that she offereth us... although it be bitter and sour in

taste and not very seemly in sight... and refuse all that the other offer us, be it never so pleasant in the eye, nor never so delicious to the mouth.

“And I verily think that the thing standing in such case, our Father in heaven, so mighty, so merciful, and so wise as he is, and so tenderly loving his children as he doth, perceiving the peril that might and must needs fall upon them by the mistaking of some such false, malicious woman instead of our very mother, will not leave us in such case, but that he will cause our very mother to be well known from all the false counterfeits, to such as list to look and attend well thereto, both by tokens of her and also tokens of them. 5 10

“And verily, good Father Barnes, it seemeth that ye saw this yourself full well. For it appeareth upon your words that there is no true preacher but thereas is the very church. For ye show for a perfect token of the true church that thereas is the true preaching, there be always some of the true church. And ye write that this token is perfect. Now, then... if wheresoever is true preaching, there is always some of the very church... it must needs follow, to my poor wit that am but a woman, that wheresoever be none of the very church, there is no true preaching. And then if there be no true preaching but where there are some of the very church... ye see what need it is that the very church be known, to the intent we may be sure where to have the true preaching... without which we can never, ye wot well, learn the true faith, nor truly, too, be taught to understand the Scripture. Which till we do... we be never able to judge which preacher of so many contrarious expoundeth and declareth it right.” 15 20 25

Now would Friar Barnes peradventure answer her and say, “Therefore have I showed you, lo, by what tokens ye may perceive where some of the very church be.” 30

But unto that were she likely to say again, “Yea, verily, Father Barnes, well-favoredly, for so far as ye go. But I would, as I said, have wished you to have gone therein somewhat further—which I think verily ye would have done if your leisure would have served you. For, now, of your two tokens, the one yourself confesseth *Barnes’ first token to know “the church”* to be but faint and insufficient—that is to wit, good works that are commended in Scripture—because that, though it be well done in every doubt to deem the best, yet hypocrisy may 35 40

deceive us and make us take for a good man, and a member of the very Holy Church, some false, feigning hypocrite that is a very dead member of some false church, and a limb of the very devil indeed.

“And yet over this, as well that same unperfect token whereby I should have knowledge of the very church (that is to wit, works according to Scripture) as also the other token, that ye call the perfect token—that is to wit, that in what company soever I hear the word of God truly preached (that is to wit, the Scripture
The second token truly declared, without any damnable dreams of men), there I may be sure that
 in that congregation be some of the very Holy Church—both these tokens serve but for cunning folk that are sufficiently learned in the understanding of Scripture already... and these be they that have least need to know the very church. But none of these tokens can serve such beginners as I am, that have need to know the very church to learn of her the right understanding of the Scripture—because she is our very mother, as yourself calleth her. And therefore we have the need to know her, that we may be bold to take the food of doctrine at her hand, because we wot well our very mother will give us but good... whereas we stand else in peril of poisoning, if by mistaking our mother, we take the meat of doctrine at the hand of any of those venomous harlots that counterfeit their countenance and would we should take one of them for our mother.

“And also, though the tokens, both twain, were sure and perfect for so far as they go—that is to wit, though that I were sure indeed that in such a company be some of the very, true church—yet since I cannot know by them which persons of that company they be, as ye confess I cannot... what should this knowledge avail me? It may peradventure hinder and hurt me! For if I doubted lest there were haply no such true members of the very church in that company... I would be the more wary of anything that they should teach me. But, now, while though I know not who, yet I ween myself that I know well *some* of them be true... I may percase the more boldly, and with the less fear, take that the false shall offer me, for the hope I may have that I have peradventure by hap fortunèd upon that person that is one of the true. For why to use

diligence and forbear haste, and be wary and believe not till I surely find and know the true? That were, by your words, utterly vain! For ye say I shall *never* know them, nor never know farther but that there be some of them.”

Now, good readers, what hath Barnes, holding his heresy of his unknown church—what hath he to say more to this woman? In good faith, nothing that will be worth a fly. But the woman may soon find more yet to say to him. For she may say to him further: “Yet I remember me now, Father Barnes, another thing. Ye will that I shall know *the* church by the true declaration of Scripture. But how shall I be sure which be the very books of Scripture? For you say plainly that the Epistle of Saint James is not Holy Scripture; and other men say yes. And ye say that ye can prove that epistle false by words of Saint Paul... and then were ye likely to make me to doubt as well of Saint Paul as of Saint James. For why should I better believe the one than the other, while they were both Christ’s approved apostles? For though ye say that it was of old doubted by some folk whether that epistle were written of Saint James or not—yet after that doubt moved, the whole Church hath firmly believed it to be his, without any doubt of any man in a thousand years together, till within this twenty years. 5

“And then as ye say now by that piece, so may there another come and say by another piece... and so go about to prove every piece false by another, wheresoever any seem to say anything which the words of some other part seemeth contrary. And then when they shall in this wise contend and strive thereupon... whereas ye say I shall by the true construction of the Scripture perceive where be some of the very, true church—how will ye first make me know which of them all assigneth me the very, true scripture?” 10

To this when Friar Barnes would answer and falsely bear her in hand that the Epistle of Saint James hath been *always* doubted of; and that such books as have been *always* by the *whole* church taken and accepted for Holy Scripture, of those may she be sure that they be Holy Scripture... for “God giveth his church that gift, that it can truly discern the words of God from the words of man”—this will, I wot well, 15

Note 20 25 30 35

Friar Barnes say. For this saith not only his old master Saint Augustine, out of whose rule and religion Friar Barnes is run away... but his new master also, Friar Luther, after whom he runneth out of religion and out of rule now.

But when Barnes would answer her so: then would she soon bring him to the bay and tell him that the church by which she knoweth which is the Scripture is not any unknown church... but the known Catholic church of all Christian nations remaining in the common, well-known faith. 5

And then, since she may boldly believe that church in that great point, and learneth that lesson of none other church but that... which is the first lesson of all the faith, and whereupon, as Friar Barnes agreeth, all the whole remnant dependeth, since that, by him, there is nothing any sure truth but if it be written in Scripture: she may therefore (would she say) take that church for the teacher of all the remnant, and him for a true teacher... whose faith agreeth with that church; and those folk whose faith is contrary to that church—which shall soon be known, for they be forthwith accused and reprov'd upon their false preachings heard—they she may and will take for the false teachers and false expounders of Scripture, till Father Barnes can give her better knowledge of his holy true church unknown, whereof she is never the nearer yet. 10 15 20

Lo, thus might a wise woman that could no more but read English rebuke and confound Friar Barnes upon the sight of his own royal process in which he would now teach us to know which is the very church. 25

Howbeit, to confound him we shall not greatly need to seek one that can read. For what hath he to say to a poor woman that could not read? 30

If his own secret hostess, the goodwife of the Bottle of Botolph's Wharf, that, but if she be better amended, halteth both in body and soul, were in the congregation present at this communing... and then would himp forth among them and say, "By Saint Malkin, Father Barnes, all your tokens of the very, true church will not stand me in the stead of a tavern token, nor of a mustard token, neither. For I may for the one be sure of a new-baked bun, and for the 35

other I may be sure of a pot of mustard; but for your two tokens
 of your 'holy church,' I cannot be sure of one farthing's worth of
 true doctrine for them both. For how shall I perceive that any true
 members of your 'holy church,' in only whom ye say is the
 true faith, be present in company, when your tokens be the true
 preaching of Scripture and the good living after the Scripture? How
 can I get any good by those two tokens when I cannot read at all?"—
 what could Friar Barnes say to his hostess here? Surely nothing
 hath he... but should in the end be fain to fall to the destiny of
 God's election, and say (as he signifieth and somewhat muttereth in
 his book... but then should he be fain to speak it out and say) that
 when they come to the preaching, all those that are elect of God shall
 be secretly moved and taught inwardly, and shall by the instinct
 of the Spirit of God, though they know not whether the person be
 good or no that preacheth, perceive yet the true word of God
 upon the hearing... and shall understand it as Tyndale saith that
 the eagle perceived her prey. And the other sort, whom God hath
 not chosen, though they hear it shall not understand it... but
 whether the preacher be good or bad, they shall be never the better,
 nor shall not discern the true preacher from the false, but be deceived
 by the false and not perceive the true, for anything that they can
 do. "And therefore every man," will Barnes say, "that shall be saved,
 shall attain the salvation by the only election of the Lord, without
 any part of their own devoir anything doing thereto, live
 they never so long. For though that all be called... yet only those that
 God hath elected shall be saved... and shall, as our Savior saith, be
Mt 7:14; 22:14 but a very few. And anything that the
 one sort or the other shall or can work
 shall neither help toward nor froward... but election and destiny
 shall do altogether." And here this anchor in conclusion shall he be
 fain to cast out... with which when he would ween to stay the ship,
 he draweth it quite under the water. For I ween his hostess would
 soon have said somewhat thereto. For I wot well she is not tongue-tied—
 I have heard her talk myself. She would, I ween, therefore
 have said unto him thus much at the leastwise: "*Why*, Father
 Barnes, when God calleth upon us all, and we come together at his
 calling, and my neighbor and I come both to church with one purpose,

to learn the right way to heaven... would ye make me ween that God
were so partial that without any difference of cause between her
and me—I being as well willing to learn to please him as she—that
when I have at his calling followed him so far, as well as she, and
with somewhat more pain, too, for I halt, ye wot well... he 5
will, for all that I halt, make her perceive the truth and go forth
farther with him, till he bring her to heaven... and leave me still in
darkness and ignorance, and let me fall into hell, for none other
cause but only for he list to choose her and leave me unchosen?
“If he gave her *more* than me for his only pleasure, I could find 10
no fault. But marry, sir, that he would give her *all*, and me not only
nothing, but also condemn me to perpetual fire, because himself
would not cause me to perceive the truth... and no cause why
he would not but because he would not choose me, and no cause why
he would not choose me but only because he would not—in good 15
faith, I take God for so good that I can never believe you therein.

1 Tm 2:3–4 “Yet methinketh that these common
Ez 18:30–32; 33:11 preachers whom you dispraise say better.
For they tell us that it is in Scripture that
God would *all* folk should be saved and come to the knowledge 20
of the truth, if they will themselves... and that therefore by one means
or other he *calleth all*, but he *chooseth* only those that will come
and hear and learn and do thereafter... and who would so do, he saw
ere he made them, and therefore even then chose them.

“But, for because they be but few in respect of them that will not, 25
Mt 22:14 *therefore* there are few chosen though
many be called... and not because God will
call all, and then of those that come and are willing to learn, will
cause some to be taught and some not, without other cause or
difference but because himself list to choose the one and refuse 30
the other—as though it were an evil master that would call many
children to school, and when he had them there, then set divers
ushers under him to teach them, and would make some whom he
favored causeless... to be taught right, and suffer some whom he
hated as causeless, to be taught wrong... and after come and hear all 35

their lessons himself, and those that have been taught right, make
 much of them and cherish them because they say right, and those
 that have been wrong taught, allto chide them and beat them
 because they say wrong. In good faith, Father Barnes, I take God for
 so good that I cannot believe that he will so do... but rather as 5
 these common preachers say: that God hath provided sufficient
 learning for *all* sorts, of which they may be sure if they will come
 to it; and also that of such as come and *learn* well indeed,
 yet all *do* not well indeed... but by the true teaching believe and perceive 10
 the things that they *should* do, and yet do it not, but do many
 things even clean the contrary. And therefore I have heard them
Lk 12:47-48 preach that it is in Scripture that the
 bondservant which knoweth not the
 will of his lord and do it not, shall be beaten because of his negligence...
 but except he will not know it of purpose, else he shall be 15
 beaten but a little; but he which knoweth the will of his lord and
 then do it not, shall be sore beaten. And when I heard this preached,
 methought it went sore against the doctrine of our brother
 Tyndale, that saith, as our own brethren report, in his *Answer*
to Sir Thomas More, that when the wit perceiveth a thing, the 20
 will cannot choose but follow. For that is plain false, if the scripture
 be true that saith that a man may know the will of his lord and
 yet leave it undone.
 “And meseemeth also that the same scripture maketh much against
 our brother Tyndale and our brother Frith, and against the preaching 25
 of all our evangelical brethren, concerning purgatory. For I
 doubt not but that many which have known the will of the Lord
 and left it undone, and yet were never sore beaten therefor in this
 life... do yet, ere they die, so repent that they escape from hell... and
 therefore do receive that beating nowhere but if there be a purgatory. 30
 “Nor it will not help, that I heard once one of our brethren
 answer and say: that when he repenteth, then he doth the will of
 his lord... and therefore shall not be beaten at all. For if that scripture
 be as they preach it... then though he shall not be beaten for that time
 when he did his lord’s will... he shall yet be beaten for the other 35
 times, in which he left his lord’s will undone.
 “But surely, Father Barnes, as I told you, methinketh that these

common preachers say well in that point, that they say that God hath provided surety of doctrine—that is to say, of true preaching the word of God... and making it to be so understood as men may be sure that they may avoid all damnable error if they will—or else they were not to be blamed for falling in thereto. 5

“And they that tell us that we shall be damned but if we believe right, and then tell us that we cannot know that but by the Scripture, and then the Scripture cannot be so learned but of a true teacher, and they tell us we cannot be sure of a true teacher, and so cannot be sure to understand it right... and yet say that God will damn us for understanding it wrong or not understanding at all—they that thus tell us put me in mind of a tale that they 10

M. Henry Patenson tell of M. Henry Patenson, a man of known wisdom in London and almost everywhere else, which when he waited once on his master in the Emperor’s court at Bruges, and was there soon perceived, upon the sight, for a man of special wit by himself, and unlike the common sort... they caught a sport in angering of him... and out of divers corners hurled at him such things as angered him and hurt him not. Thereupon he gathered up good stones... not gunstones, but as hard as they... and those he put apace into his bosom, and then stood him up upon a bench and made a proclamation 15

Patenson’s proclamation aloud, that every man might hear him... in which he commanded every man, upon their own perils, to depart, except only those that hurled at him, to the intent that he might know them and hurl at them again and hurt none other body but his enemies. For whosoever tarried after his proclamation made... he would take him for one of the hurlers, or else for one of their counselors... and then have at their heads, whosoever they were that would abide. 20

Now was his proclamation in English, and the company that heard him were such as understood none... but stood still and gaped upon him and laughed at him. And by and by, one hurled at him again. And anon as he saw that, ‘What, whoresons!’ quod he. ‘Ye stand still, every one, I ween, and not one of you will remove a foot, for all my proclamation; and thereby I see well ye be hurlers, or of counsel with the hurlers, all the whole meinie of you... and therefore have at you all again!’ And with the word he hurled a great stone out at adventure among them... he neither wist nor rought at whom... 25

30

35

but lighted upon a Burgundian's head and broke his pate, that the blood ran about his ears, and Master Henry bade him stand to his harms hardily... for why would he not beware then and get him thence betimes, when he gave him before so fair, courteous warning? 5

“Now, good Father Barnes,” would his halting hostess say, “ye seem now, by your tale, to make as though God Almighty would use of a strange affection the same fashion that M. Henry used of folly; that is to wit, to make us a proclamation in such wise indited as we cannot understand it without we may be sure of a true interpreter... and then give some of us, such as him listeth, a secret, privy knowledge of such one... and all the remnant, that fain would and cannot find out and know the true expounder of his proclamation, for lack of that token which he keepeth from them—hurl stones at their heads because they fulfill it not. In good faith, Father Barnes, methinketh therefore that this lesson that ye teach us herein is a very perilous blasphemy! 10 15

“And yet abide—I remember me, lo, Father Barnes, upon another thing,” would she say; “that if ye bring all to this point in conclusion—that there is no more but every man go where he will, and hear whom he list... and always he that is elect shall by the inward inspiration happen upon the true preacher, and the true preaching, and the true knowledge of the very word of God, and the true understanding thereof, and only thereby get heaven... and all the remnant, for the only lack of God's election (to the getting whereof themselves, ye say, can nothing do), shall fail of all these things and fall in continual error, out of which they can have no means possible to escape, but thereby must needs fall into eternal fire—if it thus be, ye may put up again both your tokens into your purse, for any need that any man hath of them. For they that be sure, by the secret inspiration, that they be truly taught, and thereby know themselves for elects, and so be sure they shall be saved—what need they to care whether any of the very church be in that congregation or not? And on the other side, those whose destiny shall be, for lack of election, to be damned, and therefore shall not learn the truth in the congregation be there never so many of the 20 25 30 35

very church therein—they, lo, to know whether there be any therein or no, can stand them in no stead at all. And thus, Father Barnes, taking your secret, unknown, spiritual church... ye might spare all the labor that ye have hitherto taken in giving us tokens to know it by, for any stead that your tokens can stand us in. And therefore, if ever any church here in earth shall stand us in any stead toward any surety of true doctrine—as indeed it must, if any man may tell another how he may be surely taught the truth—it must needs be, in any wise, some such church as needs must be known for such that a man may be sure to learn thereof.”

What would Friar Barnes have answered unto his hostess, if she had told him this... and that he then had seen the other goodwife, her neighbor, begin to gape again, as she that were yet ready to bring in some other fault yet found further in his tale, as there might, in good faith, meseemeth, many be found, not only by learned men, but even by unlearned women too, such faults as neither Friar Barnes nor all the learned heretics of all their hundred sects should be well able to void... so strong a thing is truth, and so feeble a thing is falsehood, and so hard to be borne out and defended.

But then would Friar Barnes have waxed a little warm, and bid them sit still and hold their babble, and tell them that Saint Paul *1 Cor 14:34–35* wist full well what he did when he would not suffer women to take upon them to preach and teach in the church, nor so much as ask a question among the congregation... but if they doubted of anything that they would learn, let them ask it of their own husbands, at home. And so would Friar Barnes bid those wives do with sorrow. For if they might be suffered to begin once in the congregation to fall in disputing, those aspen leaves of theirs would never leave wagging.

But then would the wife of the Bottle have answered him again quickly, and tell him that she had always taken him for wiser, and would have went he could have taught better. “And some sorrow,” would she say, “*have* I had for the favor of the sects... and so hath my husband had, too. And my Lord Chancellor told me that I was little better than a bawd, because I received two nuns in by night, that John Burt brought me (otherwise called

Adrian); especially because I kept them close in a high garret in mine house and suffered two men to resort up thither to them. Howbeit, in good faith, I had provided that if they list to sleep... the two men might, if they would, lie together by themselves and let the nuns alone. For there were two beds in the garret. But yet, as folk be ready to deem the worst, I was with some folk taken for half a bawd there, and all for the furtherance of love between the brethren and the sistren of the evangelical sect, methought they were in so good a way. Howbeit, since I see now that you, Father Barnes, that were once a doctor, can say no better for it... by our Lady, I begin so to mistrust all the matter that, save for selling of mine ale and uttering of my chaffer to get a penny by them, I rought ne'er though there came never none of them anymore within my door." 5

Now would with this the other, good, honest wife of likelihood have resorted again unto her example of her "very mother" and of these false witches... of which every one would be taken for her mother, to grow first in trust with her, and then after poison her. And then would she conclude, "If it be, Father Barnes, such an unknown thing which church is my mother Holy Church, and then one there is with whom I was christened and hitherto brought up... and though I see many things in her which I would wish were amended, yet, for all that, she counseleth me to be good, and she telleth what I must do if I will be good—howbeit, therein, of truth, all you other churches vary with her, and tell me she teacheth me wrong. But then so do you also each of you with other, and each of you telleth me that other teacheth wrong. And she telleth me the Scripture proveth for her part... and each of you saith that the Scripture proveth for your own part, and that she lieth... and each of you saith also that other lieth... and she saith that ye lie every one. And which of you declare the Scripture truly and which untruly, passeth my capacity to perceive. But then I see that the scripture which each of you would seem to construe truly, and yet each contrary to other... you do not so much as know which it is but by the means of her. And I see also that all you were once with 15 20 25 30 25

her, and be fallen at variance with her, and so be come from
 her for anger. And I see that though she be not so good as I would she
 were... yet for anger and envy, since ye be come from her ye misreport
 her in many things, and would make her appear much worse.
 And I see also that such vices as are well known for vice, which 5
 ye find and rebuke in her, be rife and well known in yourselves.
 And I see also that many such holy men have been brought up
 with her as yourselves confess for saints... and among all your
 churches I never heard of any one. And I see also that some things ye
 teach among you, almost every one, such as all those holy saints 10
 abhorred and had in abomination... as, for example, the wedding of
 friars and nuns. And I see also that in our church, as bad as we be, yet
 God continueth his miracles... and among all your churches that
 be gone from ours, he worketh never one. And I see also that
 each of your churches would fain seem to be the true church... for 15
 each of yours affirmeth that only itself hath the truth, and the
 true church is it which only church hath the truth. And then
 again, each of you seeth his own part so feeble and so far unable
 to be defended in that point that, since no one church of all yours
 may be match to our church out of which ye all came—and then 20
 that each church of yours, or all your churches together, being each
 to other so contrarious and repugnant, should be the true church,
 were, ye wot well yourselves, a thing more than impossible—ye be
 fain for this cause to send us to an unknown church. By which
 sending, while ye would withdraw me from ours... yet ye confess 25
 the contrary of all that ye go about. For ye would seem, each of you,
 to have the very truth... and then were you the true church and the
 sure teachers. But, now, since ye say the true church is unknown,
 and each of your churches is known... it appeareth by your own tale
 that none of all your churches is the true church. And if it be not the 30
 true *church*, then hath it not the true *doctrine*, which it pretendeth...
 but is one of the false churches and hath the false doctrine. And therefore
 if it so were indeed that our church were not the true church,
 nor were not my right mother indeed... but that the very church
 and my very mother were only some one such as ye would send 35
 me to seek, that is to say, some unknown church: yet, Father Barnes,

by your own tale, it were none of all your churches. And therefore I were but a fool to leave the known Catholic church, whom I have hitherto taken for my very mother, and come from her to yours, which, as yourself confessest, is not the true church, and therefore not my very mother... but that my very mother were one whom ye neither tell me where I may find her, saving that ye bid me go seek her... and ye say she is somewhere abroad in the wild world, which world is a place too wide, ye wot well, for a woman to over walk well”—and at that word would Himp-Halt, his hostess, hop forth again and say, “Marry, sir, that it were indeed for me!”—“and also, if I would wander all about to look her, yet if I happed to come in her company, ye tell me no sure mark whereby I might well know her, but only that I should perceive her to be there... but I should not yet wit which were she, and then were she for me... almost as good be thence. And therefore, Father Barnes, in good faith, till ye can tell me a wiser tale of my new mother... I might think myself a fool if for such a tale as you tell, I would leave of mine old.”

And thus are we now, good readers, with these only women using no reason but such as a woman might find, and yet such as no man may assoil, come to a point of Friar Barnes’ unperfect tokens by which we may so know his church as we be never the nearer for the knowledge of it, for any knowledge that he giveth us of it.

But, now, if he have not proved us his church at all... then is he, ye wot well, much further off from making us have any knowledge of her. For he must make us first know that such one there is, before he make us know in what company some of her parts be.

Now wot ye well that the church which he took upon him to prove, must be a church so clean and so pure, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter may find no fault in her. Now, whereas he goeth about to prove it by two means—one by the Scripture, and another by the doctors of the Church—I have already proved you that all the places of Scripture that he hath brought in for that purpose, he hath in such wise handled that, while he liveth, he may be ashamed thereof. For they not only prove nothing for him... but also prove clear against him.

And all his places of the doctors of the Church that he bringeth in for the proof of that purpose, I have purposely deferred, because I would answer them together, last of all. For since he taketh in that point another way than Tyndale doth, or Frith, or lightly any other heretic of them all, in laying forth for his part holy doctors of the Church, to make it seem that the old holy saints say for his part: I have thought it therefore good to examine them orderly, each after other... whereby ye shall shortly perceive that the words of those holy doctors do no more prove his purpose than do the texts that he brought of the scriptures, which, as I have proved you, clearly prove against him.

His first authority be these words of Saint Augustine in his fiftieth sermon made upon the words of our Lord, saying, “Of Christ is the Church made fair. First was she filthy in sins; afterward, by pardon and grace, made fair.” Upon these words Saint Augustine none other meaneth but that all the beauty of any that is in the Church, and in any man of the Church, cometh of God... and that every man that is of the Church was born in sin... and that all they which, from the Jews or Gentiles, turned to God and came to the Church had before lived in sin, and were therefore filthy, till by the Sacrament of Baptism, at their entry into the Church, they were purged and cleansed from their sin—by the grace and pardon of God, and the Sacrament of Baptism—and after, when they be defiled again by sin, they be again cleansed, purged, and made fair by grace and pardon of God and the Sacrament of Penance, and other holy sacraments taking their effect, strength, and virtue of Christ’s Passion. But he findeth not in all that sermon any word wherein Saint Augustine saith that whosoever is once cleansed and made fair is never after foul... nor that as soon as he is by any deadly sin foul, he is by and by no part of Holy Church. For Holy Church is not called holy because every piece thereof is holy (otherwise than the holiness of their profession), but because of that holiness that is in it beside... nor is not called fair because every part is fair, but because of such fairness as is in it beside... as there may be some weak part in

a strong body, and some sore part in a whole body, and some dead part in a quick body, and some foul part in a fair body, and some white part in a black body... and in a good company some naughty folk. And in such manner spoke our Savior to his apostles where he said, "You be clean"—not that they were all clean; for he forthwith added unto it, "But ye be not all clean," meaning by Judas, the

Jn 13:10-11 traitor that was one of them... and though he was a traitor in his heart, was yet a foul, unholy member of that fair, holy church. Like as if a good king had in his checker roll, attending daily upon him in his household, diverse and many false traitors that went about secretly to betray him—all the while they be suffered there, till they be taken for their treason and put out, they be still of the court and of the king's household. And the household, albeit that some will say there was a shrewd household, because it had such shrews in it—yet was it, for all that, a good household, because it had good beside.

And likewise as in the whole world the variety of good parts and bad giveth a beauty to the whole... so in the church of Christ, himself seeth how the foul parts do set out the fair, and rather beautify than blemish the goodliness of the whole. And though the Church be of some folk called foul, for those persons that are by deadly sin foul therein... as the Evangelist said

Mt 26:8-9 that "the disciples" murmured at the loss of the ointment whereat none of them murmured but one: so is she fair, for all that, indeed, by the fairness that is in her both by reason of Christ her glorious head, and of many other fair members that are ever in her, and by reason of the goodly composition and comely temperature of the whole body. For which cause the Church may well say of itself the words that she speaketh in the Canticles: "I am black, but yet am I beautiful."

Sg 1:5 Yea, and though there be more foul than fair therein, by reason whereof, after the common use, it might be called foul and not fair... as a man of India is called black, for all his white teeth: yet is it otherwise here, for the other special causes. The one, for that be it never so unholy in living, it is called holy for that it hath holy profession, whereby it is dedicated unto Christ. The second, that there is in

this world none holy that goeth to any other church out of it, or that will not be of it. The third cause is for that the holiness that is in it, be there never so few holy therein, is far fairer and holier, and more pleasant in the sight of God, than the foulness and unholiness of all that are foul and unholy therein—especially for the beauty and holiness of the very chief and principal head thereof, our Savior Christ himself. 5

And therefore, as I say, these words of Saint Augustine, meaning none otherwise by them than Saint Augustine meant in them, make nothing in this world for Friar Barnes' church, that is (as he saith) so fair that it hath neither spot therein nor wrinkle; for that saith not Saint Augustine. And therefore this place of Saint Augustine nothing helpeth him... but by other places of Saint Augustine which I shall bring you forth after, ye shall see the mind of Saint Augustine so plainly declared in this point *against* Friar Barnes, that Friar Barnes shall be as weary of Saint Augustine's words as ever he was weary of Saint Augustine's works... for weariness whereof he ran out of Saint Augustine's rule. 10 15

But first shall I peruse those other places of Saint Augustine which Friar Barnes bringeth in himself. The next place of Saint Augustine that he bringeth in is this... 20

Barnes

“The Holy Church are we; but I do not say ‘we’ as one should say ‘we that be here alonely, that hear me now,’ but as many as be here faithful, christened men in this *church*—that is to say, in this city, as many as be in this region, as many as be beyond the sea, as many as be in all the whole world (for ‘from the rising of the sun till the going down is the name of God praised’)—so is the Holy Church our mother.” 25

More

Now, good readers, this text of Saint Augustine hath Friar Barnes alleged to be in his Sermon 99 that he made *De tempore*; in which sermon I find it not. And lest there might have been some oversight either in himself or in the printer, by miswriting or by misprinting those figures of algorism, because the figure of 9 and the figure of 6 be all in manner one, if they be contrary turned—I assayed them, therefore, every way... and sought and read over not only 99 Sermon, which he assigneth, but also 96, 69, and 30 35

66... and I find his text in none of all those places; and then to go seek these words throughout all Saint Augustine's works were a great, long business. For surely it seemeth that the man hath alleged his text in a wrong place of purpose—because he would not have it found, for something that himself seeth, of likelihood in the same sermon, that would mar all his matter. Wherefore, till it happen me to find the place by chance in reading of Saint Augustine's works... we will take the words only which himself rehearseth—and then prove they no piece of his purpose against the known Catholic church. For Saint Augustine doth in those words nothing else but show that *the* church is not restrained unto any one country, *The Donatists restrained "the church" to one country.* as those heretics held which were called the Donatists, which said the very church was only in Africa, and was by God provided to rest there and spread no further abroad... and for the defense of their frantic heresy, did as Friar Barnes and these other heretics do now—bring forth certain words of Scripture construed after their own foolish fantasy. But Saint Augustine, as I say, showeth in those words that *the* church is the *Catholic* church; that is to say, the universal multitude of all true Christian people and all faithful Christian nations, wheresoever they be, through the world. Now, good reader, what maketh this for Friar Barnes' purpose, in proof of his unknown church against the known Catholic church? Well he wotteth himself that the known Catholic church doth not say that *the* church is, nor can be, but in one country... but he well knoweth that by the known Catholic church that false heresy of the Donatists is as fully condemned as are these other false heresies, of his.

“Yes,” saith Barnes, “for here ye may see, lo, that neither pope nor cardinal be no more of this church than the poorest man in earth.” Why, who said him ever nay thereof? But what is that to the purpose? For as a poor man is as well of the Church as is the pope... so is a cordwainer as well an Englishman or a Frenchman as is the king of either other country. But yet, like as reason will not agree that the cordwainer in his country bear as much rule as the king, so will it not agree with reason that every man in the Church bear as much rule

as the pope—whom Friar Barnes doth himself, here in this same process of “the church,” acknowledge and confess for Christ’s vicar in “the church.”

And therefore it is all beside the purpose that he runneth forth still in this purpose and allegeth these words of Lyra: “The Church doth not stand in men by the reason of spiritual power or secular dignity... for many princes and many popes and other, inferior persons have swerved from the faith. Wherefore, that church doth stand in those persons in whom is the true knowledge and confession of faith and verity.” 5

These words of Lyra hath Barnes alleged to be written in his exposition upon the nineteenth chapter of Saint Matthew. But I have looked over Lyra upon all that chapter... and there find I no such saying. And therefore of likelihood Barnes playeth here with Lyra as he playeth with Saint Augustine in the place that he alleged before; that is to wit, allegeth it in a wrong place because he would not have it found, for fear of something that would appear upon the place read and considered. 10 15

But upon these words of Lyra he maketh a great exclamation, and crieth out, “O my lords, what will ye say to Lyra? I have great marvel that you burn him not. It is high time to condemn him for a heretic. For he speaketh against your law 24, *Quaestione prima*, ‘Quodcumque,’ where your gloss declareth that God suffereth not the Rome church to err... and Lyra saith plain that many popes *have* erred, and also that the church standeth not in dignity, but in confession of Christ and of his blessed verity.” 20

Barnes would here seem, lo, to have found a great thing in Lyra’s words. But in good faith, I find nothing here in Barnes’ own words but his own double folly. First he saith Lyra condemneth the law... and then he showeth that he speaketh not against the law, but against a gloss. Is not that word wisely proved? 25 30

Then see yet how wisely he proveth that Lyra reproveth the gloss. He saith that the gloss saith that God suffereth not the church of Rome to err, and “Lyra saith plain that many popes *have* erred.” And what then? Lyra saith not that the church of Rome hath erred, nor Lyra saith not that the pope of Rome is the whole church of Rome... no more than the Bishop of London is the whole church 35

of London, or the Archbishop of Canterbury the whole church of the province.

Now, where Lyra saith that “the church standeth not in the dignity, but in the confession of Christ and his blessed verity,” what saith he other than all the whole Catholic Church agreeth—not only the good folk but the naughty too, as many as any wit have to perceive the thing? Like as a city and a realm standeth not so much by the dignity of the rulers as it standeth by wisdom, good order, true dealing, and justice; but yet as these things would fail in a city and in a realm if there were no rulers to see them kept—yea, and the rulers being of a right second sort, yet would the people be much worse if they were all without—and the people is therefore bound to obey them, and not every lewd fellow to jest and rail upon them: so is it in the whole Church also. And therefore no man findeth any fault with Lyra, neither to burn him nor to be angry with him... but every good man hath good cause both to be angry and to burn up, too, such pestilent, seditious persons as not only by jesting, railing, and belying all those that are in dignity, provoke to rebellion the people that should obey them... but also under pretext of teaching the true faith labor to destroy the true faith and infect good Christian people with false, poisoned heresies. And among all those, one of the very worst sort, and whereupon all the remnant are in a manner built, would, under color of bearing favor to the good, virtuous people that are in the Church, make men believe that the whole church whereof those good men be part, were not “the church” indeed, because they would have it unknown, that men might have no surety of any true doctrine, but that heresies might pass uncontrolled, while every lewd fellow might construe the Scripture as himself list, and no church provided of God to control him and judge who construed wrong, and by which church men might be sure of the necessary truth.

And yet to make it the more uncertain and the more unsure... Barnes bringeth the church here in earth to that kind of goodness that except such as be newly christened or very young—and yet scant they either, which be not yet, ye wot well, very meet to be made preachers—else Saint Augustine, whom Barnes bringeth for him,

saith plain against him, that there is in earth no such; as I shall anon by his plain words prove you.

But first, for the place of Saint Augustine which of Barnes' bringing in I last rehearsed you... ye see that Saint Augustine saith in them no more but that the Church was not only the Christian people present at his sermon, nor only those Christian people that were in that city, nor only those that were in Africa, but also all the faithful Christian people that were in the world beside. In which words he saith so little for Friar Barnes' purpose that I, which dispute against him, say the same thing myself: that all Christian nations professing the true faith of Christ—that is to say, the common, Catholic *The church of Christ* faith wherein the known Catholic church agreeth—be the very *holy* church of Christ here in earth, and make among them the common-known *Catholic* church... of which the very good men are part; and are *all* called the “faithful” people of Christ, because of the unity of the true faith of Christ. In which as for the necessary points, this whole corps agreeth without contradiction and repugnance, both good people and bad. And therefore are they called all by that name, to make a distinction and severance between that one catholic church of one belief and faith, on the one part, and all miscreant paynims, all false Jews, all false heretics, and all seditious schismatics, upon the other part—of all which as no sect agreeth with other... so do they all impugn the true faith of the known Catholic church... in which and of which be also all the unknown good, virtuous people that have true charity with their faith. But Saint Augustine meaneth not that like as all the Church be *faithful*—that is to say, agreeing together in the true belief—so they be, all the meinie, virtuous in all points besides... and especially so fully virtuous and holy as holy Friar Barnes appointeth: pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle.

For, letting other places of Saint Augustine alone for the while... look but upon this place only that we be in hand with—which if I might find once in its proper place, I should, I ween, see farther things therein. But now consider no more, for our purpose against Barnes, but even the beginning of Saint Augustine's words

as Barnes bringeth them in himself. Lo, thus he beginneth: “The Holy Church are we; but I do not say ‘we’ as one should say ‘we that be here all only . . . ,’ but as many as be faithful Christian men in this *church*,” etc. How think you, good readers? Doth Saint Augustine here mean by “faithful Christian” no more but only such as this faithless friar assigneth... 5
that is, only those that are not only faithful in the believing the necessary points of the Christian faith, but that were in their soul also, besides, so thoroughly pure and clean that they had not so much as either spot or wrinkle in them? As though Saint Augustine would say to his audience in his sermon in this wise: “Will ye 10
know, good Christian people, who be true members of Holy Church? That shall I shortly show you, lo! Not everybody that believeth right... but *we*—that is to say, you and I—that not only believe right, but also be holy, pure, and clean, without either spot or wrinkle.
“‘But yet, when I say ‘we’ be the Church, I mean not you and I only, 15
as though there were no more of the Church but myself and such others of you as, being at my sermon, be such holy men as I am... but also all such others as be so pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle, as you and I be, wheresoever they be, either in this town or in this country or elsewhere in all this wide world.” 20
Lo, good readers... if Saint Augustine meant as Barnes maketh—that in this word “faithful Christian folk making the whole Church,” he meant not all Christian people that agree in profession of faith with the whole corps of Christendom, but only such as besides the profession of the true faith, were also so holy, pure, and clean that they neither 25
have spot nor wrinkle—then were this tale in effect, as I have rehearsed you, that he called *himself* such a perfect holy man; which word I ween never man heard of his mouth.
For there is no Christian man but he may and must profess of himself that he believeth right and hath the true faith. But there 30
be not, I suppose, many good, holy men that will say of themselves that they be holy, pure, and clean—and especially without spot or wrinkle. And therefore it appeareth well that this word “faithful Christian folk” is not always taken and meant, by him that speaketh it, for only pure and clean holy men. And so those words of Saint 35
Augustine nothing make for Friar Barnes.

And therefore ye may see that in like wise doth Barnes mistake the gloss that he allegeth (*Dis. 24, A recta*) which saith that the church which cannot err is “ecclesia omnium fidelium”; that is to say, the church of all faithful folk. Which words Friar Barnes taketh as though the writer there, by these words “all faithful men,” had meant no more but all such as were not only true believers, but also such as were so pure and clean that they neither had spot nor wrinkle. But the writer of that gloss meaneth nothing so... but meaneth as Saint Augustine meant in his words before-rehearsed, calling all “faithful” folk all Christian people, all the Christian nations... all the whole corps and body of the Catholic Church, that against paynims, Jews, heretics, and schismatics agree in the profession of the common Christian faith, both in the points of belief... and in the rules of living... though their living have indeed many spots, and many blots, and many writhen wrinkles against the rules which they profess, and which they acknowledge and confess themselves bound to keep. And that the gloss there meaneth of our known Catholic church, as I say, and not of any unknown church, as Barnes would have it seem, every man may perceive that can and will consider well the place. For in that gloss his purpose is no more but to show that there is more surety of doctrine in the consent of the whole Church—that is to wit, the whole corps of Christendom together—than in the church of Rome alone. And therefore that gloss can nothing serve Friar Barnes... but it utterly destroyeth Friar Barnes’ false glossing of Saint Augustine’s words, and openeth well unto us what thing Saint Augustine meant in this word “all faithful men.” For surely neither Saint Augustine nor that gloss meant by these words “omnium fidelium” men clean and pure without any spot or wrinkles, no more than doth every man that prayeth “pro omnibus fidelibus” that God may make them all good men... or “pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum” that it may please God to bring them to heaven, all such as are in the painful way thitherward—men do not mean in the prayers only such faithful folk as neither have spot nor wrinkle of sin.

Now, where that the gloss saith there must needs be such a

church—so say I too. For I say plainly that *the* church must needs be.

The Church cannot be destroyed. For all the devils in hell, nor all their instruments upon earth, shall never be able to destroy it, but pull they never so many from it, and leave they the remnant never so few—yet shall the remnant always be *the* church, and a well-known church so built upon that high mountain, that is to wit, upon Christ, that it shall always be sightly and cannot be hidden. For as our Savior saith, “The city that is set upon a mountain cannot be hidden”—meaning that his church should be well seen, and his true faith well known... and not that his church in which his faith should continue, and in which and of which it should be learned, should be such an unknown thing as they that would learn... could neither wot where to find it nor of whom to ask for it, nor so much as know it if it fortuneth them to fall upon it by hap, as Friar Barnes would here bring it to.

Also the other gloss that Barnes bringeth forth (*De paene., Dis. 2, “Si”*), that saith, “The whole Church cannot err”—what maketh that gloss for Barnes? It speaketh *against* Barnes! For Barnes saith that his own church which himself assigneth, though she cannot err while she cleaveth to her Spouse... yet she *may* leave him and fall from him, and then *err*. And so this gloss that Barnes bringeth saith clear against him; howbeit, no more than he seemeth to do himself. For if it be true that he saith of his church—that she may fall from God and not hear her husband, and then thereby err—then is it false that he saith in another place: that there must needs be such a church as cannot err; which thing he would prove by this *gloss* of the law, that saith, “The whole Church cannot err.” And yet ye see well that this gloss, taking it after the best fashion for it, saith not as Barnes saith—that the very church is no more but that very secret sort of faithful folk that be without any error, and that be pure and clean without spot or wrinkle—but it saith that “the whole Church” (that is to wit, the known Catholic church) cannot *all* err; but that though that God would suffer some parts or members of his church to err, yet he will not suffer the whole corps or body of his church to err. This maketh plain against Barnes, that bringeth it forth. For it affirmeth that the truth always

remaineth in the known Catholic church; for of the *known* church it speaketh there.

I cannot, therefore, marvel enough of Barnes in bringing forth these glosses for him, that make so clear against him... and then to see him so boldly say thereupon, “These words be plain what church it is that cannot err.” As though these glosses had said as he saith: that the church which cannot err is only the unknown church of folk pure and clean, without any spot or wrinkle; of which things neither nother gloss speaketh one word! And yet whereas Barnes saith, “These words of these glosses be plain”—as plain as he maketh them of themselves... yet hath himself made a plain change of one word in the one of them, to make it seem the more plain for him. For whereas he rehearseth the gloss by these words—“The whole Church cannot err”—this word “err” is not there... but the very words be, “The whole Church cannot *fail*.” Then be not, ye wot well, those words “err” and “fail” precisely and plainly both one, neither in writing nor in voice, nor yet in signification... no more than the two Latin words “errat” and “deficit.” For a man may fail and yet not err. As he that doth adultery and wotteth well he doth naught... he faileth and falleth from God, and yet erreth he not in faith.

A man may also err and yet not fail nor fall away from God... since every error is not damnable. As a man might err and not fail nor fall from God thereby, nor be damned therefor... as Jacob did in *Gn 29:23–25* weening that Leah had been Rachel... or *Gn 27:19–29* as his father, Isaac, did in weening that Jacob had been Esau.

But I say not this for that I care much for his change; but I mean that I would not have him come forth and make such great boasts of the plainness of the words, when he hath himself made a change in them to make them seem the more plain for him... and when the words, for all his plain change, make yet so plain against him.

But verily methinketh that in one thing he useth no good, honest fashion—in that he saith first: “This may be proved by your own law whose words be these: ‘The whole Church cannot err.’ Also, in another place: ‘The congregation of faithful folk must needs be, which also cannot err.’”

All they that read these words of Barnes in English, he maketh them ween that the words which he rehearseth for his purpose were the words of the very law itself; but then are they indeed no words of the law, but of certain glosses that other men have made upon the law. And this himself confesseth in the margin of his book. But that he doth in Latin... letting them that understand no Latin ween still that it were the very laws. Why doth he boast that he will prove it by the very laws... and then instead of the laws, bring us forth but glosses? 5

His quotation is in the margin in this manner—"De paene., Dis. 2, 'Si,' in glossa"—for these words "The whole Church cannot err." And then for the other words—that is, "The congregation of faithful men must needs be, which also cannot err"—his quotation is in the margin thus: "24, quae. 1, A recta et in glossa." So that he would we should ween that at the leastwise those words were both in the text and in the gloss. 10 15

But, now, whoso look upon those two laws... shall soon see that the cause why *he* did not... was because he durst not. For the law 24, *quae. 1, A recta*, speaketh clear against him. For that law saith nothing else but that the very, true faith, without error, hath been ever preserved in the See Apostolic... and as the law calleth it *The church of Rome, mother of all churches* there, the mother of all churches, the church of Rome. And therefore this law, ye see well, was not for his purpose to bring in... but instead of the law, he layeth us forth a patch of the gloss. 20 25

Now, the other law—*De paene., Dis. 2, "Si"*—that law durst he not bring forth for fear of angering his evangelical brother Tyndale. For that law is the words of holy Saint Jerome... wherein he confuteth, at great length, those heretics that then held the selfsame heresies that Tyndale holdeth now: that they which be once born of God can never after sin; and the other, that he which after his baptism doth once any deadly sin shall never get forgiveness *Two devilish heresies* after. These two devilish heresies which Tyndale hath now begun again in his false exposition of the First Epistle of Saint John, which false exposition of his I have before confuted (in my Fourth Book), holy Saint Jerome doth at good length openly confute in the words which 30 35

are there, by Gratian, incorporated in the decrees. Which words if myself had remembered in time... I would have brought them in in the stead of mine own, and would peradventure have left mine own out for them. For there saith Saint Jerome the selfsame things against those other heretics, of old, that I say there against this new... and—as he better could!—saith them far better than ever I shall be able... as I would make you soon perceive if I could, in translating his words into our English tongue, give it the quickness and strength that he giveth it in the Latin. 5 10

But as I said, this law durst not Friar Barnes bring in for fear of Tyndale, which would for hurting of his heresies have found him brawling enough for all his life after. But Barnes will, I warrant you, give him no such occasion of displeasure.

Now, if Barnes answer me that he had no cause to bring in any of both those laws, since they made nothing for his purpose, but the glosses only: I shall tell him again that then he should not have said it that he would prove his purpose by the *laws*, but by the glosses only. And I say also that then he should have left out the glosses too. For as the laws prove not his purpose, no more do the glosses neither, as I have clearly declared you. 15 20

And yet, when he hath handled himself so falsely, and yet so foolishly therewith, in the alleging of these laws, that if he had any spark of shame left in his body, he might not well look any man in the face for fear that these his false follies were espied—it is now a world to see with what a courage and boldness he boasteth and rejoiceth, and what a joy he maketh, as he were even made a king by the finding of a bean in a Christmas cake. For now he calleth his lords about him and saith... 25

Now, my lords, gather you all together, with all the laws that ye can make, and all the holiness that you can devise, and cry, “The Church! The Church! And the councils! The councils that were lawfully gathered in the power of the Holy Ghost!”—all this may you say and yet lie. And if you have not indeed the Holy Ghost within you, and if you do hear any other voice than Christ’s... then are you not of the church but of the devil, and thieves and murderers, as Christ saith. For you come *before* him; that is, you come into the fold of Christ without him. You bring not his voice... but you 30 35

come with your own voice, with your own statutes, with your own word, and with your own *mandamus, mandamus, praecipimus, praecipimus, excommunicamus, excommunicamus*. These be the voices of murderers and thieves, and not of Christ. Therefore you cannot *but* err! For you be not taught of God; you have not the holy ointment, you have not the word of God for you; you hear not the voice of the true shepherd. Therefore must you needs err in *all* your councils! 5

What ground, or color of ground, hath he to reign so lordly and rail so royally upon all the laws? May he so boldly set them all at naught because himself hath so falsely belied twain, and so foolishly handled their glosses? No sultan in a stage play may make more bragging boasts, nor run out in more frantic rages, than may Friar Frantic Barnes, if he take this for reason. For here speaking of laws and laying but the glosses... and the laws against him, and his glosses nothing for him—yet, as though all the world were his, he falleth forth in a rage against all laws, and all general councils... and saith, “They have not the voice of God with them... but they must needs err in all their councils, because they say *mandamus, mandamus, praecipimus, praecipimus, excommunicamus, excommunicamus*.” For he saith that these words “be the voices of murderers and thieves, and not of Christ.” 10 15 20

This fellow cometh forth with a proud face upon all the world, when he would, by his princely authority more than an imperial majesty, proclaim all men for murderers and thieves that dare be so bold as to use any of these words *mandamus, praecipimus, or excommunicamus*. These words I see not sent out by murderers nor thieves, but by princes and rulers *against* murderers and thieves, and against all other vicious and misruled persons, and among others, against ungracious heretics—which is all this man’s grief. 25 30

And that these words of commanding have been used by folk somewhat better than thieves and murderers, may appear by the Scripture itself. For the holy evangelist Saint Mark saith of our Savior thus: “He commanded his apostles that they should carry nothing with them as they went by the way.” And Saint Paul writeth 35

Mk 6:8

than any man useth now... wherewith many shall be murdered in soul, not by any cruelty upon his part, but by justice, through their own deeds. And therefore *excommunicamus* is not the voice of only murderers and thieves, as Friar Barnes maketh it.

But surely, good readers, ye must pardon him. For it appeareth that the man was in a sore fit of a fury when he fell into this rage... the fumes whereof ascended so hot up to his head that he raved and wist not what he said. And in that disease he cannot tell how much harm he doth himself with letting his crown grow so. For his hair keepeth his head too hot. It were more need in such a fit of fury, for fear of breeding some impostume in his brain, to poll his head of every whit, and let it lie bare, and lay thereto *refrigerans Galeni*, tend it well with oxyrrhodin. 5 10

Here ye see that in this heat he saith all the councils must err. Howbeit, in another place, at such time as his fit was not so sore upon him, he saith no more but that all the councils *may* err... because that, though there be some good men in it, yet the whole assembly doth but *represent* the Church, and all the whole Catholic Church is not there indeed. For thus he saith: "Gather all your councils together, and yet of them can ye not make Holy Church. But peradventure there may be many in your councils good and perfect men, and of Holy Church! But they and you together make not the universal holy church that cannot err." And in another place Barnes saith, "It cannot help to say that the council cannot err because that Christ did pray for his church that her faith should not fail. For I answer to this that though the general council do represent the whole universal church, nevertheless in very deed there is not the very universal church but representative. For the universal church standeth in the election of all faithful men; and *all* faithful men of the world make the universal church, whose Head and Spouse is Christ Jesus; and the pope is but the vicar of Christ, and not the very head of the church. This is the church that cannot err," etc. 15 20 25 30

By these words of his ye may, good readers, perceive two things. One, that there shall never general council, be it never so great and be it never so full, have any full credence or any great authority with Friar Barnes, in anything that shall be there concluded, if any one man (yea, or woman either) of all the whole Catholic 35

Church—though the Church were now all the whole world—were absent from the treating thereof.

Now, this point, ye wot well, would soon be eased: no more but the council house, if it be haply somewhat too little, let make it in God's name so much the larger. For other let I can see none. For as for coming together from all countries to the general council, Friar Barnes seeth well that may be done well enough. For why not as well as friars from all places to a general chapter? And as for robbing of any man's house while he were from home, were a thing out of fear. For while they must come all the meinie—man, woman, and child—who shall tarry behind to rob his neighbor's house? And to put doubts that some shall peradventure be sick and may not come—this were but finding of a knot in a rush. For come they must, whether they may or no. For else is there not the council of the whole Church, and then may it err, and therefore will not Barnes believe it.

Now, as for victuals... they may provide at home and bring with them in bags and bottles, every man for three days at the least, as the Scots do for a skirmish.

The other point is, that ye may see by these words, that if all the whole Church were at the council... then would Friar Barnes agree that it could not err... and so would he therefore give undoubted credence thereunto, and believe that such a general council could not be damnably deceived in the construction of Scripture.

Now think I that though Friar Barnes will not believe any general council but if the whole Church be there—yet he looketh not that in any council everything should stay, and nothing pass, till all the whole assembly were agreed so fully upon one side that there were not so much as any one man there of the contrary mind. For though some one man might in some one matter be of a better mind at the first than the multitude... yet in a council of wise men when it were purposed, it were likely to be perceived and allowed. And in a council of Christian men, the Spirit of God inclineth every good man to declare his mind, and inclineth the congregation to consent and agree, upon that that shall be the

best—either precisely the best, or the best at the leastwise for the season; which whensoever it shall be better at any other time to change, the same Spirit of God inclineth his Church, either at a new council or by as full and whole consent as any council can have, to abrogate the first and turn it into the better. But when the council and the congregation agreeth and consenteth upon a point... if a few willful folk, far the least both in number, wit, learning, and honest living, would reclaim and say that themselves would not agree, yet were their frowardness no let unto the determination or to the making of the law... but that it must stand till it be by another like authority changed.

But these changes that I speak of, I mean in things to be done, and not in truths to be believed. For in diverse times, diverse things may be convenient... and diverse manners of doing. But in matters of belief and faith, which be truths revealed and declared by God unto men... though that in diverse times there may be more things farther and farther revealed, and other than were disclosed at the first—yet can there never anything be by God revealed after, that can be contrary to anything revealed by himself

before. And therefore in things to be *done*, Friar Barnes may find that diverse councils have in diverse times diversely determined. But in articles of *faith*, as necessary articles to be *believed*, Friar Barnes shall never find while he liveth that any one general council orderly called together impugned and reproved another. That grace, our Lord be thanked, hath he given his known Catholic church ever hitherto, whatsoever Friar Barnes babble.

And when God shall give me another leisure (after such other things done as I have intended first), I purpose to make this point appear well and plain by the selfsame councils that Friar Barnes hath brought in for the proof of the contrary; and that shall I then make plain and open to men unlearned. For as for such as are learned in the matter... may now, already, perceive that this that I have even now already said assoileth, concerning the councils, all that ever Friar Barnes hath said in all his process.

But now, because Friar Barnes saith that the cause why the councils

may err is because they be not the whole Catholic Church but
 only by way of representation... and saith that the whole universal
 church “standeth in the election of all faithful men,” and that “*all*
 faithful men of the world make the universal church, whose Head
 and Spouse is Christ Jesus,” and the pope “vicar” under Christ, and 5
 confesseth and saith that this church cannot err: letting now pass,
 therefore, for the while, that he seemeth before to say the contrary,
 where he saith of this same church that by falling from her Spouse
 she may err, let us now for Barnes’ pleasure imagine that this same
 church that he speaketh of... that is to wit, all the faithful people from 10
 all parts of the world—and because we would be sure there should
 be none of them all thence, let us take it that all the Christian *nations*
 were from all places upon one fair day come into some one fair
 plain field, whereof I know none fairer than the plain of Salisbury...
 providing that, for fear of a rain, the whole plain have a 15
 fair roof set upon it; for less, I ween, than the whole plain
 were too little; for we must put that there were not only all the
 men, but also all the women too, for they be part of this universal
 church... and we will not only take in here all the Christian nations,
 but also whosoever Christian man or woman were in any nation 20
 yet unchristened, or whosoever in any such place had a
 Christian purpose, and favored the name and faith of Christ with intent
 to be christened. And yet, because I would be out of all brabbling
 with Barnes, we would take into the number not only all false
 secret heretics openly professing the Christian faith and secretly 25
 muttering the contrary, of which wretches there be some in the
 known Catholic church always... but also all false open heretics,
 and schismatics, which by plain profession of their schisms
 and heresies are gone out or cast out of the known Catholic
 church, and are known for her mortal enemies. Lest Barnes would, 30
 as I say, pretend that all they, or some of them, were of the very
 church... we will take in them too. And now I trow we have a full
 assembly of the whole Church, and rather more, too, than left anyone
 out.

But yet this general council would I not have held at this 35
 day. For although I mistrust not but that God would work
 all well enough by the means of the good men, though there were

many bad, therein—yet to the intent that Friar Barnes should the more fully be satisfied and put the less doubt therein, I would the council were in some time before the time that these folk say the Church was led into error. And since they call that time the time of this eight hundred years last past, let us take the time in which Saint Gregory was pope; for that is now more than nine hundred years ago. And Saint Gregory was a good man and a good pope, and so good that I think none heretic dare for shame say the contrary. 5

Now, let us then suppose also that there had in the same time been a fond, frantic friar, and that his name had been Luther; and that there had then also been a naughty nun, and that her name had been Cate; and that this fond, frantic friar had wedded this naughty nun; and that there had been then one William Tyndale that had been so mad as to say they did well, because the friar himself, for the defense of his own lechery, had told him that by the Scripture he might lawfully do it; and that there had been then also another friar, called Robert Barnes, that misliked it not... but was himself also run out of religion, abjured of heresy, and perjured by relapse, and roiled about like a layman, railing against religion and all the known Catholic church, in contempt of his vow and his oath too... and of all good Christian people upon earth, and withdrawing their honor from all the saints in heaven. 10 15 20

Suppose me now that in this full general council of the whole universal church assembled, this matter were proposed, and there the same Friar Frap and Kit Cate his make, and those others that would allow them, were brought forth to be heard... being at that time but these persons that I have rehearsed you—what they would say thereto. And thereupon Luther himself having the words, whereof he would never lack plenty (till frenzy lack folly), would there not only defend but also *boast* his beastly marriage, and say that vows of chastity could bind no man, for no man ought to make them... but it were sin and presumption for any man to make them, but if he had that gift given him of God, for it is a thing which every man cannot do, and a gift which no man can give himself, but if it be given him of God. And therefore whoso 25 30 35

maketh any such vow weening that he have the gift because he
 feeleth no contrary grudge at that time... yet whensoever he feeleth
 after any fleshly motion in his frail members, he may then
 perceive well, and be very sure, that he hath not the gift... and that
 therefore he was deceived by the devil when he made himself a
 friar. And that he may now therefore run out of his religion and
 follow the flesh. And when he findeth a nun that feeleth the like,
 and that each of them feel other, and like well each other for their
 feeling faith... then may they both be sure that they may boldly
 break both their vows, and wed themselves together. And thereby
 shall they feel, by their fleshly feeling faith, that they two be two
 special elects predestinated by God before the world was wrought
 to go together in this world and bring forth holy fruit to serve the
 devil at his dinner.

What would the general council of the whole church have said
 unto that friar, and what unto Fleck's mate, and what unto that
 devilish doctrine? There would Saint Gregory have used those words
 that he writeth of Ananias and Sapphira, saying, "Ananias vowed
 his money unto God, which money afterward he, being
 overcome by the persuasion of the devil, kept back; ye know with
 what manner death he was punished. Wherefore—since he was deathworthy
 that withdrew from God the *money* which himself had
 given to God—consider how great jeopardy thou shalt be worthy at
 the Divine Judgment, that withdrawest not money, but *thyself*
 from Almighty God... unto whom thou hast vowed thyself under a
 religious habit."

And I dare boldly say that all that whole general council... of all
 the whole Catholic church of all faithful folk with all the secret
 unfaithful folk that then were lurking in it, and all the faithless
 heretics that were at that time gone from it or accursed out of it,
 except the friar and his nun and his few foolish adherents...
 would with one voice, with *mandamus, mandamus, praecipimus,*
praecipimus, excommunicamus, excommunicamus, have condemned
 that abominable heresy to the very devil of hell.

And I am sure that so would it have been if any man durst there
 have held any one of many other heresies that these fellows
 hold now.

Then what might Luther and Barnes have said to that general council? For that were the council that could not err. For there were the whole catholic church in which number were both the church of all elect, repentant sinners that Tyndale deviseth, and the church of all faithful people that Barnes deviseth... 5
 saving for lack of all spots and wrinkles, for that lacketh no man in this world. Howbeit, if there were at that time any such, as Barnes saith there must needs be... then in that council they must needs be. For thereto have we brought all, both the good and the bad. 10

Now, if Friar Barnes, and Friar Luther, and William Tyndale, would then have said that the *very* church did not condemn them... for the very church was not that great multitude that there condemned them of heresy... but the very church was *themselves*—that there were condemned and persecuted for the truth—and such other good, faithful folk as were unknown among that company and secretly agreed with *them* in faith, that no vow of chastity should let them, but that friars and nuns might lawfully wed when they list: to this would Saint Gregory soon have answered and said, “Sirs, they that are the good, faithful folk that ye speak of... 15
 which only folk, for faith and goodness, ye call ‘the church,’ cannot be dissemblers of their faith, but professors of their faith. But, now, except yourselves... all this people condemn your faith for heresy. Wherefore it appeareth that either they be good men and say as they think, and then be you condemned by good men; or else, if they say as they think and the thing that they think is naught... then are they evil men... and then are they not your secret church of good men; or else they say one thing and think the contrary... and then are they evil men also... and so none of your secret church of good men are they neither; or, finally, they say true and be evil folk for other sins... and then be they yet none of your secret church of good men, and also do rightfully condemn you in that they say true. And therefore either we that here excommunicate you from us be the very church, or some *part* of us is *the* church—and whither of the two soever it be, ye be then condemned by the whole church, which ye confess cannot err— 25
 or else is there none other shift but, since ye have here no more 30 35

fellows, ye must needs affirm that ye your own selves be the very church, and no more persons but yourselves.”

To this must it needs have come, ye see well, good readers; there were none other remedy. And when it were once come unto that... then were it no doubt but that Luther, Barnes, and Tyndale would not have letted to say, “Marry, we—with Luther’s wife, the nun—*be* the whole church. For *we* have the *right* faith, and *ye* be all in the *wrong*. For *we* have the *Scripture* for us... by which we will prove the vow of chastity unlawful, and our wedding lawful”—and so forth, in such other articles as far out of color as that. “And since the *Scripture* is on our part... we be the very church.”

Saint Gregory would have lacked none answer to this... but would have said, “When all *we* think that *ye* understand the *Scripture* wrong—and not only we, but all learned men before us hitherto—why should we believe that you few see further in the *Scripture* than all they to whom it belongeth as well as to you few, and which have studied it as well as you, and have had both as much wit as you and also much more grace than you, as appeareth well by the writings of holy doctors and saints that construed the *Scripture* against your heresies before all our days?”

If Barnes would then have said as he saith here—“Whether you that are this council that here condemn us be the very church or no it must be tried by the *Scripture*; for that is the thing by which we must know the very church; which may be proved by the words of Saint Chrysostom, which be these...”

Barnes

“‘They that be in Judea, let them flee up into the mountains’; that is to say, they that be in Christendom, let them give themselves to scriptures. Wherefore commandeth he that all christened men in that time should fly unto scriptures? For in that time in the which heresies have obtained into the Church... there can be no true probation of Christendom, nor no other refuge unto Christian men willing to know the verity of faith, but the scriptures of God. Before, by many ways was it showed which was the church of Christ, and which was the congregation of Gentiles.

But now there is none other way to know, unto them that will
 know, which is the very, true church of Christ, but only by
 scriptures. By works first was the church of Christ known, when
 the conversation of Christian men, either of all or of many, were holy... 5
 the which holiness had not the wicked men; but now Christian men
 be as evil or worse than heretics or Gentiles... yea, and greater continence
 is found among them than among Christian men. Wherefore,
 he that will know which is the very church of Christ... how
 shall he know but by scriptures only? Wherefore our Lord, considering
 that so great confusion of things should come in the 10
 latter days— therefore commandeth he that Christian men which
 be in Christendom willing to reserve the steadfastness of true
 faith should fly unto none other thing but unto scriptures... for if
 they have respect unto other things, they shall be slandered and
 shall perish... not understanding which is the true church,” etc. 15
 These words need no exposition, they be plain enough they do
 also exclude all manner of learning saving Holy Scripture. Wherefore,
 see how you can with honesty save your holy laws... and defend
 them against Chrysostom. Moreover, if Chrysostom complain
 of the incontinence that was in his days... how would he complain 20
 if he now lived, and saw the bawdry and fornication that is in the
 Church? Also, he sendeth men to *scriptures*, that will know the holy
 church... and not unto the “Holy Church,” for in the Church were
 heresies, but not in Scripture.

Also Saint Paul witnesseth the same, saying, “You are built 25
 upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.” Here have you
 plainly that the very, true church is grounded—yea, and founded—of
 Holy Scripture... and therefore wheresoever that the word of God
 is preached... that is a good token that there be some men of Christ’s
 church. But, now, as to the fruits and works of this church, she 30
 doth only fetch out her manner of living—and all her good
 works—out of the holy word of God... and she feigneth not, nor
 dreameth, any other, new holiness, or new, invented works,
 that be not in Scripture, but she is content with Christ’s learning,
 and believeth that Christ hath sufficiently taught her all manner of 35
 good works that be to the honor of our heavenly Father. Therefore
 inventeth she none other way to heaven, but followeth Christ only...
 in suffering oppressions and persecutions, blasphemings, and all

other things that may be laid unto her... which, as Saint Augustine saith, she learned of our Master, Christ. Our holy mother the church throughout all the world scattered far and long... in her true head, Christ Jesus, taught... hath learned not to fear the contumelies of the cross, nor yet of death, but more and more is she strengthened, not in resisting but in suffering. 5

Now, my lords, compare yourselves to this rule of Saint Augustine... and let us see how you can bring yourselves into the church, or else to prove yourselves to be holy. The church suffereth persecutions (for as Saint Paul saith, "They that will live devoutly in Christ must suffer persecution")—and you withstand all things and suffer nothing. You oppress every man, and you will be oppressed of no man. You persecute every man, and no man may speak a word against you—no, though it be never so true. You cast every man in prison, and no man may touch you but he shall be accursed. You compel every man to say as you say, and you will not once say as Christ saith. And as for your holiness, all the world knoweth what it is. For it standeth in clothing and in decking; in watching and sleeping; in eating and in drinking this meat or that meat, this drink or that drink; in pattering and mumbling these psalms or that psalms without devotion. Briefly, all your holiness is in Books, bells, candles, chalices, oil, cream, water, horses, hounds, palaces, and all that is mighty and glorious in the world. Thereon hang you, therein glory you; thereon crake you; thereon boast you; thereupon build you. Is this the nature of the church? Is this holiness? Of whom have you learned this manners? 10 15 20 25

More

If Friar Barnes had alleged all this in that general council... Saint Gregory could have told him that as touching Saint Paul, he spoke not in that place precisely of the Scripture, as though he would have said that the Christian people were edified and built only upon the writings that the prophets and apostles had written. For many things have made (and yet make) unto the edification of Christian people, that were by the apostles delivered without writing—as is plain by other words of Saint Paul himself, 30 35

2 *Thes 2:15* where he biddeth the Thessalonians
 keep “the traditions which ye have
 learned either by preaching or by our epistle.” And in many places
 edified he much people where we find not that he gave them any
 writing at all. And the Ephesians themselves, to whom in those 5
 words he writeth that they were edified and built “upon the
 foundation of the apostles and prophets,” what prophets’ writings
 that they had then read, I cannot tell, but as for writings of
 apostles, or evangelists, it is well likely that they had yet at that
 time read never one. 10

And Saint Gregory would peradventure have marveled if
 Saint Paul would have said as Friar Barnes beareth us in hand he
 said: that Christendom were only built upon the apostles and
 prophets. For it is most especially built upon our Savior himself;
 and so might Saint Paul in those words very well and 15
 properly mean, saying, “Ye be built upon the foundation of the
 apostles and prophets; that is to say, ye be built upon the same
 foundation that they be built on—that is to wit, Christ, that is
 and was the very foundation as well of them as of you. Though they
 were laid on before and you after... yet the very foundation upon 20
 which ye be built and they, both, is that cornerstone that is
 laid in the head of the angle that joineth both the sides in one.”

Eph 2:19–22 And this exposition of Saint Paul’s words
1 Cor 3:11 to the Ephesians will well agree with his 25
 other words, written unto the Corinthians,
 where he saith, “No man can lay any other foundation than that
 that is already laid; that is to wit, Jesus Christ himself.” Whereas
 Friar Barnes so taketh Saint Paul’s words there unto the Ephesians...
 as though Saint Paul had said unto them, “The foundation that
 ye be built upon is the writing that the prophets and the 30
 apostles have written for your edification... and therefore must you see
 that you believe nothing, nor do nothing, but such as you find
 written in the writings of the prophets and the apostles”—then if
 they had never a book written of the apostles that were at that time
 come to their hands, as it was likely there was not... how would 35
 then those words frame?

And also if he meant but so... then took he away the authority from

all the Scripture beside... except only the writing of the apostles and prophets—and from all that himself told them beside, by mouth.

But yet if Friar Barnes would there have said unto Saint Gregory all those words with which in his book here he railleth on, by and by, against the things used in the known Catholic church—bells, Books, candles, vestments, chalices, holy chrism, oil, and holy water, and watching, forbearing flesh, drinking of water, fasting, and praying (which Barnes calleth pattering, and mumbling of these psalms and those psalms without devotion... as though himself had an eye and an ear in every man's heart!)—Saint Gregory would soon find him good places enough in Scripture for these kinds of works, plenteously and full. And as for such works as be vicious indeed, which Barnes planteth in among these as though all were of one sort... Saint Gregory would agree them for naught... and so do they, too, that use them. But yet would Saint Gregory tell him that if he were honest or true, he should not lay the faults of the naughty parts to the blame of the whole body... in which be many full good. And specially if he would dispraise the evil works, he should not yet, as he doth, dispraise and call evil the things that are very good, and which devoutly done (as with many they be) are greatly pleasant to God; and specially he should not among other things despise and reprove bells for calling folk to God's Service... nor vestments, candles, Books, and chalices, without which, or at the leastwise without some of which, neither Mass may be said nor the Blessed Sacrament in the Mass consecrated and received... but if he would have every priest have all by heart, and the Blessed Blood of Christ without chalice laid and licked up upon the altar cloth.

But then would Saint Gregory have said farther to Friar Barnes, and to Friar Luther, too... that since they were so precise that they would have no works wrought but only such as they found in Scripture, he would ask them why they be run, both, out of religion... and the one wedded a nun, and both broken their holy, sacred vows... and stubbornly defend that work which they find so fully condemned and

abhorred in Scripture.

Ps 76:12

Dt 23:22

Eccl 5:3-4

To the words of Saint Chrysostom Saint Gregory would, I
 trow, have answered Friar Barnes... that they were none of his. For it
 is well perceived and known that the work which is called *Opus*
imperfectum, the “Imperfect Work upon the Gospel of Saint Matthew,”
 which was first by the error and oversight of some writers 5
 entitled unto Saint Chrysostom, and the same title so suffered
 since to stand... was never his work indeed, nor never translated
 out of the Greek, but made by some Latin man, as Friar Barnes
 hath already had sufficient warning by more than one that can a
 little better skill thereof than I and he both... and I verily believe that 10
 against his own conscience he ascribeth that work to Saint
 Chrysostom. For albeit the man was cunning, well spoken, and in
 many things writeth very well... yet if Friar Barnes have read that
 work—except he understand him not, or else be himself, besides
 his other heresies, an Arian too—else must he needs perceive that 15
 the man was infected with that fault... and therefore was it no marvel
 though he would as fain bring the very church in question, and
 out of knowledge, as now Friar Barnes would himself. But Saint
 Chrysostom himself, in his own sermon upon the selfsame words of
 the Gospel, “They that be in Judea, let them flee into the mountains,” 20
 which is his seventy-sixth sermon upon Saint Matthew, hath not such a word.
 But he whom Friar Barnes here bringeth (whose work was, as I have
 said, by error and oversight entitled in the name of Saint Chrysostom),
 forasmuch as by the authority of the Church, his heresy
 against the Godhead of Christ was condemned, did as evermore 25
 such men have done: that is to wit, labored first to have, if it
 could have been, their own sect taken for the very church. For so
 would the Arians have seemed to be, and the Catholics they called
 heretics. And when that thing would not be obtained, then
 labored they that at the least, the *very* Catholic Church might seem 30
 uncertain, and be taken for a church unknown... and hang upon
 every man’s disputation, so that they might the better bring their
 heresy forth still in question, and beguile here and there some unlearned
 and newfangled people with the color of their false expounding
 of Holy Scripture, while there should be no certain, known 35
 church by which the true exposition and the false should be
 discerned and judged.

And therefore that man, albeit he was, as it seemeth, in the time when

that heresy of the Arians was almost overwhelmed, and therefore durst not plainly speak much of it... yet could he not hold but somewhat show himself in that work in his nineteenth sermon, that he writeth upon these words, “Attendite a falsis prophetis,” wherein he not only laboreth sore to diminish as much as he may the credence of the Catholic Church both concerning the virtuous works which were used therein and the miracles which were daily done therein, which two things he perceived to stand sore in his light for the knowledge of *the* catholic church... but also inveigheth against it, and findeth a special high fault with it, for because it taught to believe the equal Godhead of the Three Persons of the Trinity. And therefore would Saint Gregory have told Friar Barnes that it was not Saint Chrysostom, but some man that was to be read warily and with good judgment, and in this matter his words worthy no credence.

And yet if Friar Barnes would have stuck still as stiffly for that work as he doth against the Epistle of Saint James... and would needs have it taken for Saint Chrysostom’s—then would Saint Gregory have told him that the words which himself bringeth out of that work be plain against Friar Barnes himself. For well ye wot that Friar Barnes teacheth that the *very* Catholic Church is in this world a church ever unknown. And he that wrote the words which Barnes bringeth forth (whom he calleth Saint Chrysostom) saith no more but that in some times *the* church may, by reason of so great or so many sects of heretics arisen and sprung up therein, be brought in doubt and question which of so many sects, or of some few so great, were the very church; and yet in all this meaneth he which *known* church of the great, or of the many, were the true... and not, as Barnes would have it, that it were some few scattered persons unknown, here one and there one... either of them all, or of divers of them, or of none of them, but peradventure men of some other kind of faith agreeing with none of them all.

Moreover, these words of Saint Chrysostom, if they were his, do confess that the very church was once known... and therefore would Saint Gregory tell Friar Barnes that they do utterly confound Friar Barnes’ heresy. For his heresy is that *the* church is such a spiritual

thing that neither itself nor any member or part thereof at any time can be known.

Furthermore, where in those words Saint Chrysostom (if those words and that work were his) saith that to know which is *the* church we must fly to the Scripture, Saint Gregory would tell Friar Barnes that since Saint Chrysostom sendeth us to the Scripture to know thereby which of all those divers churches... being together all at one time... is the very church... he meaneth that by the Scripture the same church may be known; whereof it followeth again, against Friar Barnes, that the selfsame words by which he would prove us that *the* church cannot be known, do plainly confound Friar Barnes... and say that *the* church *may* be known. 5 10

And Saint Gregory could, I wot well, have given him tokens enough—open, plain, and evident, written in the plain Scripture, of which I have myself showed some already and more shall I in the last book of this work—by which every man may plainly perceive that this known Catholic church is the very, true church of Christ. 15

Also Saint Gregory would have told Friar Barnes that when Saint Chrysostom (if those words were his) doth send us to seek *the* church *by* the Scripture, he thought it necessary that *the* church were found. For else he might have sent them only to the *Scripture*, to learn the true faith and good living every man by himself, and leave *the* church unsought. But it appeareth, since he sendeth them to seek it there... he meaneth not only that they there may find the means to find it and know it, as I said before... but also that to find it and know it is a thing so necessary that needs it ought to be had... because of the true doctrine to be taught them by the same church, as well in any other thing that God hath by his Holy Spirit taught the same church... as also, in things necessary to salvation, the true understanding of the same scripture. 20 25 30

And then, since he would that the readers of the Scripture should find out the true church to learn of it the true exposition of the Scripture; and of an unknown church no man can learn by giving it credence as to the true church: thereupon would Saint Gregory yet again conclude that these words of Saint Chrysostom if they were his... do clearly confound Friar Barnes. And therefore would he 35

finally put Friar Barnes in choice whether he will have those words taken for Saint Chrysostom's or no. If he would not have them taken for his... then would Saint Gregory bid him go scrape that authority out of his book again and say no further but that "one man writeth thus, but I wot ne'er who, saving that an Arian he was." Now, if he will have them Saint Chrysostom's words, then appeareth it plain (would Saint Gregory say), by the same words, that Saint Chrysostom, in the selfsame few words which Barnes bringeth forth for him, doth four or five times clearly and plainly confound him. 5

Now, if these folk would yet have stuck still, and say the decree of that council made against them was naught, for they themselves, only, be the very, true church of Christ: then would Saint Gregory have said at last, "Why, sirs, how can that be? For ye wot well that of known churches, there was never none that durst profess themselves for the very church but ever they found themselves so far in that point too weak that they were fain in conclusion to say that the very church was a secret church unknown, whereof some of themselves might at the leastwise be some part. And this do all you your own selves so fully affirm that never heretics affirmed it more stiffly. Go to, therefore," would Saint Gregory say to some officer there present, "and tell these fellows with a stick, and let us have the number and the names." Now, when this officer had come with his stick and patted them upon the pates, and the crier with him... and as he hit them, rehearse them thus—"Friar Luther, one; Cate his nun, twain; Tyndale, three; Friar Barnes, four"—when here were all, then would Saint Gregory have said, "What? Here be but four of you, and here be your names rehearsed and your persons present, and you be all known, and your false faith and abominable, beastly sects, by your own beastly profession, altogether known, and therefore you cannot be the church of true, good men unknown. For though a hypocrite may be unknown for naught, yet he that by his open evil and abominable deeds doing, and open profession of false, abominable heresies, showeth himself naught, cannot be for that time secretly a good man. And so be you, when ye have all babbled, well and justly condemned by the whole Catholic 10 15 20 25 30 35

church... which is also well known, and which by your own reasons, and by Barnes' express words, is here well proved to be the church that cannot err... and therefore it is well proved that all you do plainly and damnably err."

And furthermore, since they were then proved to be not the very church after their own doctrine, because they were then made open—since of truth, they being open or secret is *not* the thing that maketh it the true church, nor is the substance of the matter, but an accident thereunto—it appeareth plainly that they which by being made open be proved after their doctrine not to be the true church, were always a false church before they were made open.

But now suppose me farther that forthwith after this... some man would among them say unto Saint Gregory, and to that whole assembly, that they were come thither together from all parts of the world with their marvelous labor and their importable pain... and that now their three-days' victual that they brought from home is more than half spent, and shall be great difficulty for some of them, that dwell farthest off, to get home again with the remnant. And that therefore, if it might so be thought good to the whole council, while they were all, the whole flock of all Christian people, together upon that fair plain, it were well done to take an order and make a law among them there, that for any need that should at any time after happen, there should nevermore all the whole people be called again together... but out of every part some convenient number conveniently called together. And that such an assembly so gathered together should represent the whole people, and should have the selfsame authority, full and whole, in all laws after to be made, and all doubts of Scripture or questions of the Catholic faith to be declared, that the very whole Christian people should have if they were all present there, man, woman, and child... since it were very likely that the necessity of a general council should often happen... and not well possible that all the whole people, being so main a multitude and dwelling so far asunder, should so often, though it happed so this once, from all parts of the world come whole always together to the general council... and since it were not to be doubted but that Christ—which promised

Jn 14:16–17; Lk 24:49; Acts 2:1–4 and performed the sending of his own
Jn 14:26; 16:13 Holy Spirit unto his church to teach it
Jn 14:18; Mt 28:20 and lead it into every truth, and that he
Mt 18:19–20 would never leave them comfortless, nor
 like children fatherless, but would himself 5
 be with it all the days unto the end of the world, so
 far forth that wheresoever were so much as two or three of that
 church, not scattered out thereof, as Saint Cyprian saith, but,
 being in it and of it, gathered together in his name, he was
 and would be himself in the very midst among them—would 10
 not fail to assist them with his Holy Spirit when they were assembled
 so many in such manner, where either their deed and
 declaration must needs stand and be firm, or else all run at
 rovers and nothing be certain or sure. I doubt nothing but that if
 this had been thus proposed, it would have been there, in that full 15
 council, agreed and ordered and decreed that the general
 councils should be after, not of the whole number of all Christian
 people, but of some such convenient number as conveniently
 might assemble... and the same, though it were not the whole
 Catholic Church indeed, but, as Friar Barnes saith, “only representative,” 20
 should yet have the same authority and the same full
 credence given unto it as though there were at it all the whole
 Christian people.
 And thus ye see now that both in Luther’s heresies and Tyndale’s too, and
 Barnes’ also, touching the wedding of friars and nuns, and the authority 25
 of general councils, and the proof of the known Catholic
 church, and the reproof of their “catholic church unknown”... I
 have even with this one example, of all the whole Christian people
 assembled at a general council, plainly confuted them all.
 But, now, if Friar Barnes will here say that with all this imagination 30
 of such a whole assembly at a general council I can
 nothing prove, because it is but an imagination that never could
 come to pass: I answer him that if he so say, he shall speak very
 unlearnedly. For be the thing never so false, and impossible too... yet
 may it be put and admitted, to consider thereby what would follow 35
 or not follow thereupon *if it were* both possible and true; or else

of, of Luther, Tyndale, and himself, would not have been condemned, but, rather, approved and allowed for good things and true... nor that general council then, being such as I have put, would never have ordained that there should be any general council after of any fewer than all the whole Christian people... or if there should, yet would they not have determined that ever any such general council, gathered of any fewer than altogether, should have the same authority or credence that it should have if the council were assembled of all. 5

If Friar Barnes or any of all his fellows be so bold as to tell us this... then may they boldly bear us in hand whatsoever they will in this world. For this may every man well wit: that they would determine when they were come together as they all knew to be good and true while they were asunder. But then are we very sure, whereof I think neither Barnes nor Tyndale, nor Luther neither, can for shame say the contrary... but that until within this twenty years past last, all the world—good and bad, Christian and heathen—would have had in abomination that any man vowing chastity should have wedded a nun when he list, and upon his own sensual, frantic fantasy, break his promise made unto God. And therefore I dare be bold... and, as I trust, with the consent and agreement of every good man's conscience, to affirm in this matter a great deal farther against them than I said before. For I dare well say not only that they should have been condemned by that one general council that I have put as gathered in some one year of Saint Gregory's papacy... but also if there had been the like gathered in every year of his time, and in every year since his time till within this twenty years last past, and in every year before unto the very apostles' time, and every year *in* their time, too, and in every year since Christ was born, and every year since the world was first replenished well with people... that same shameful sensual, beastly sect would have been condemned for abominable. 10 15 20 25 30

And also, that the due assembly of certain parts representing the whole body should have the full authority of the whole body... is a thing by the common assent and experience of the whole world, 35

Christian and heathen, so fully seen and perceived that no man can doubt but that it would have been so there determined, for the power and authority of every general council of Christendom lawfully called and assembled together, that though they were not—as they could not well be after Christendom so greatly increased—the congregation of all the whole Christian people, yet should their determination and decree be of like strength and power as if they had been all assembled there together on a green. 5

Acts 15:2, 30–31; 21:25 And well ye wot that in the first council, that the apostles kept at Jerusalem, they called not all the whole congregation of Christian people to it, and yet all Christian people obeyed it. 10

And whereas Friar Barnes saith that the general councils be but ambassadors and therefore cannot do so much as the princes may themselves that send them... I say that princes give their ambassadors full authority, in such things as they send them for, to do as much as they might themselves if they were there present in their own persons; for else, if they sent them very far for matters that required speed, they might as well keep them at home. 15

And whereas he saith that men must examine the general councils by the Scripture, to see whether they do well or wrong: I say that the council in the making so must do, and so do indeed, and that the Spirit of God guideth them therein and leadeth them into all necessary truth of faith. And that when they have done—their determination is not then to be examined by Friar Barnes, or such others as list to misconstrue the Scripture to the contrary to defend their false heresies. 20 25

Now shall I further say that whatsoever all Christian people would determine if they came to one assembly together... look what strength it should have if they so did, the same strength hath it if they be all of the same mind though they make no decree thereof, nor come not together therefor. For when all Christian people be by the same Spirit of God brought into a full agreement and consent that the vow of chastity may not be, by his pleasure that made it, broken and set at naught, but that whoso doth break it committeth a horrible sin... and that whoso holdeth the contrary of this is a 30 35

heretic: then is that belief as sure a truth as though they had, all the whole company, come to a council together to determine it.

And when this is a truth once so revealed by God for a perpetual necessary truth, and the contrary thereof for a perilous perpetual falsehood, and the texts of Holy Scripture touching that point by the holy men so taken and taught, and through Christendom with all men so believed... then what time soever two or three begin upon their own heads to vary from all the remnant, and against all the remnant do stiffly hold the contrary, they hold a plain false heresy, and after that as many as fall to their opinion and take their part be in the like peril and in like damnable heresy, wax their number never so great. For ever shall they leave the true known church behind... which, wax it never so small a flock, shall yet never fail... but continue; and as it still continueth, and always continue shall, in the old-approved truth, so is it always still, and always still shall be, the very, true church of Christ; and wheresoever the same known church remain, every person in every other part of the world that is christened, or longeth to be christened, and consenteth with that church in faith, is a member of the same; and this is, whatsoever Barnes babble, the very, true church, with which the Spirit of God is assistant and will not suffer it to fall into damnable error. And that it so is have I already proved in more places than one, both of this work and mine other, and by more places than one of open, plain Scripture, too.

And thus ye see plainly that Friar Barnes hath utterly failed of proving his own secret church... and therefore he goeth about, as Tyndale doth... to disprove the Catholic known church too. But of so many means as I have proved it by... he dissembleth all the remnant, and bringeth forth only this one: “dic ecclesiae”... by which

Mt 18:15-17 our Savior commandeth that whoso find himself offended, except the party by whom he is offended will amend by his own secret monition or else at his advertisement given him before witnesses one or two, he shall complain upon him to “the church,” and “the church” shall order him... and then if he will not obey “the church,” he shall be taken as a publican or a very paynim. This place Friar Barnes bringeth forth and assoileth in this fashion...

Barnes

But now will there be objected that our Master, Christ, commandeth if my brother offend me that I should complain to “the church”; now is this church, that I have set out, spiritual, and no man knoweth her, but God only; she is also scattered throughout the world; wherefore, how can a man complain to that church? I answer: Our Master, Christ, doth plainly speak of a man that hath wrong, the which must needs be a particular and a certain man. And therefore, likewise, he biddeth him complain not to the universal church, but to the particular church. Now, this particular church, if she be of God and a true member of the universal church, she will judge righteously, after Christ’s word and after the probations brought before her. Nevertheless, oftentimes cometh it that this particular church doth fully and wholly err, and judgeth unright and excommunicateth him that is blessed of God, as it is open in your own law whose words be these: “Oftentimes he that is cast out is within, and he that is without is kept within,” etc. Here have ye plainly that the particular church may err; wherefore, that church that cannot err is alonely the universal church which is called the communion and the fellowship of saints—the which addition was made by holy fathers (for in Saint Cyprian’s time was there no mention of it), by all likelihood to declare the presumption of certain men and of certain congregations that reckoned themselves to be the Holy Church.

More

Here saith Friar Barnes four things in this answer. The first is that Christ doth there plainly speak of a man that hath wrong. The second, that because he that hath wrong must needs be a particular and a certain man, therefore God biddeth him in like wise go complain not to the universal church, but to the particular church. The third is that this particular church, if she be of God and a true member of the universal church, then she will judge righteously, after Christ’s word and after the probations brought before her. The fourth is that this particular church doth sometimes wholly err.

Now, as touching the first point... Friar Barnes here saith that

Christ spoke there of him that hath wrong done to himself; as though Christ meant of no more, but would only send him that had wrong to complain to “the church” for his recompense. But methinketh surely that if Barnes take it thus, he taketh it wrong. For I say that though Christ doth not so forbid the man that is wronged to complain... that it were always deadly sin for him to complain, yet he rather counseleth him to bear that wrong and patiently suffer it than to complain upon his brother for it. And therefore I say that Christ *here* plainly speaketh of every man that secretly findeth his brother (that is to wit, any other man) in any deadly point of false belief or sinful living, though the party that findeth him therewith have neither harm thereby in body nor goods nor good name—yea, and though he might by the man whom he so findeth in such a fault have great advantage temporal to do no more but wink thereat and find no fault therein. This man, I say, if he be good, is, for all that, offended by him that such evil doth or saith... in that for the unity of charity between all Christian brethren, he cannot but be grieved with his Christian brothers evil. For as Saint Paul saith, “If one member taketh
1 Cor 12:26 hurt, all the members be grieved therewith.”
And therefore in every such case doth Christ there send him that without any worldly wrong done to himself is in such wise offended by the fault and sin that he seeth in his neighbor—*him*, I say, sendeth Christ unto “the church” to complain, and not him specially from whom his neighbor hath anything taken. Which thing well appeareth by the words
Mt 18:15 of Christ where he saith, “If he hear thee, then hast thou won again thy brother.” He saith not, “Then hast thou gotten again thy good.”
Now, Friar Barnes, in one of the articles which was laid against him at his abjuration, had preached such words that the thing which he saith here that Christ plainly meant... he seemeth there to take for deadly sin, not in him only that sueth when he is wronged... but, over that, in the lawyers that were of his counsel, and the judges too, and in the makers of the laws, also. For there, as himself rehearseth his article, these were his words: “All

these laws, and all these lawyers, and all these judiciaries, that say a man may lawfully ask his own good before a judge and contend in judgment, have destroyed all patience, devotion, and faith in Christian people.”

Surely if Barnes’ words were true, then do all these folk a high deadly sin, and such a sin as there can of none other come any more hurt, I trow. But I am sure his article as himself rehearseth it will never be defended with all that ever he bringeth for it, nor all that ever he may bring forth besides. But letting the remnant pass till some other time... himself there rehearseth, among other things, that Master/Doctor Wolman laid against him these words that we be in hand with here: “If thy brother offend thee, complain unto the church.” And thereto saith Barnes, “I answer that this place made not for suing at the law—alleging Saint Augustine for me—for it speaketh of the crimes that should be reprov’d by the congregation, and not of the correction of the temporal sword. For it followeth, ‘If he hear not the church, take him as a heathen or a publican.’ This is the uttermost pain that our Master, Christ, assigneth there, the which is no pain of the temporal law.”

Now, good readers, consider well that answer that himself saith he there made unto Master Wolman concerning those words of the Gospel, “If thy brother offend thee, complain unto the church”... and then consider therewith this exposition of his with which he would gloss the same words here to avoid that the *very* Catholic Church should be no unknown church.

First, it is not unknown that Friar Barnes hath in more places than one declared his opinion plainly by which he would that “the church” as he meaneth here, while he maketh a distinction between it and the temporal court, should have no jurisdiction at all. And now he is content that they must have a court for the reprov’g of certain crimes... except he be so mad as to mean here that the party wronged should nothing else but make some wondering upon his adversary in the marketplace, without any court or judge.

Now, in this exposition here... he restraineth it only to the complaint of him that is wronged... and so will that no man

shall anything complain unto “the church” but only of his own wrongs done unto himself... whereas the order of charity would rather that a man shall neglect his own wrongs, in the complaint whereof may be suspicion of anger or avarice... and complain to “the church” upon other men’s wrongs, whereunto he were likely to be moved only of charity. 5

Also, what crimes be there wherewith a man may be wronged, that the church of God doth not reprove?

Moreover, if Christ here speak specially of him that is wronged, and specially biddeth him go complain to “the church”... he seemeth to send him for the redress and recompense of his wrongs. 10

And therefore, when all his whole tale of his exposition here, and his answer there, is set together, it amounteth to no more but that whosoever is wronged by another, he may lawfully complain to the spiritual court, but not to the temporal court; and why so, now? “Marry,” saith Barnes, “because that in the spiritual court the party that offendeth shall but have his crime reproveth... but in the temporal court, he shall fall under the temporal sword.” Friar 15

Barnes meaneth not here, I trow, that upon every complaint made and proved in the temporal court, the party that hath wronged his neighbor shall have his head struck off. Now, the reproveth that the Church reproveth if the party that have done the wrong, when he is reproveth thereof, set not thereby, is, ye wot well, in conclusion to be excommunicated out of the Christian company, and taken as

Excommunication a naughty wretch and a very paynim, which pain is, among good Christian people, more dangerous and fearful than to be compelled to make the party aggrieved a right great amends—namely since our Lord 20

Mt 18:18 saith forthwith thereupon that the sentence of the Church in earth shall be confirmed in heaven. 25

And therefore, whatsoever Barnes say... if any man sue another upon any greedy covetousness of worldly goods, though it be the getting again of his own... or of any anger, or other corrupt affection: whether he sue in spiritual court or temporal, in his 30

35

own matter or any man's else, he doth offend God and sin—
more or less, after the qualities and circumstances of his own
mind... and of the time, and the place, and the matter. And whosoever,
on the other side, complain and sue of good mind
and affection for the amendment of his neighbor that either hath 5
offended and wronged himself or another, or only done harm
Whoso sueth of good affection to himself; whoso, as I say, of good
offendeth not God therein. affection complain and sue for his
amendment in any court of Christian
people, be it spiritual or be it temporal, competent for the matter 10
according to the laws and lawful usages of the country where he
complaineth... offendeth not God therein—no, not though he consequently
recover his own good again by the means, or his recompense
for his wrong and harm, so that there be none evil circumstances
therein, that engender occasion of slander... as was in 15
suing openly among infidels, and especially before paynim
judges, which thing Saint Paul specially therefore reproveth.
1 Cor 6:5-6 And therefore Friar Barnes in his answer
made to Master Wolman avoiding this
place of the Gospel with such a distinction between the temporal 20
court and the spiritual court, made a very sleeveless answer. And
the scoff with the proverb of Apelles, “Ne sutor ultra crepidam,” had
no very proper place; as though Master/Doctor Wolman, being
doctor of the law, might no more meddle in that matter and question
of suing at the law than a cordwainer might in making of a hose. 25
Was it not well resembled? And where he writeth of Master Wolman
these words, “It is not yet a hundred years ago since that same
master/doctor was butler in the same house whereof I was
master and prior”—when one of late told Master Wolman of
those words, he said if it so were as Barnes wrote, yet had there been 30
within the same hundred years as great changes as that, and not
fully so good, in that same master/doctor Barnes as in that same master/doctor
Wolman. For it was, he said, somewhat a better change to see
a butler changed into a doctor than a prior into an apostate,
and a doctor into a heretic. 35
But, now, to our purpose, if Friar Barnes restrain those words of

Christ, “If thy brother offend thee and will not amend neither at thy secret warning nor at thy warning with one or two witnesses, then finally complain unto the church”—if he restrain them thus as he seemeth here to do, to such folk only as have wrongs done unto themselves—he doth expound the place plain wrong, both for the causes foreremembered and also for that it appeareth by the text that Christ biddeth him at the second monition (if the first avail not), he shall take to him “one or two” witnesses... meaning thereby that he should take no more than very necessity requireth for the proof of the matter, if the willfulness of the party that offendeth do drive the matter into the open court. And then was by the law two competent witnesses sufficient for a proof, and no fewer.

Now, when Christ would he should take unto him as few as he might, because he should not utter his brother’s fault unto any one more than very need should require—if Christ had spoken those words unto none other but only him that were wronged himself, he would never have said, “Take unto thee one witness or twain,” but “Take unto thee twain always, at the least.” For else, taking to him but one, there should have lacked half the proof. For he that did the wrong... would not witness against himself, and he that took the wrong could not be taken a witness for himself. And so if Christ had meant no more than Barnes saith here he did... Christ’s counsel had been insufficient for the matter. For his provision might have been observed and the matter yet rest unreproved. But of truth, our Savior, like as he spoke and meant sufficiently... so his counsel provided sufficiently. For when he bade him take “one witness or twain,” and yet meant that he should take no more than there needed—the man that would observe it to the very point, if the wrong were done properly to himself, he should take twain, lest his complaint should be frustrate for lack of sufficient proof. And if the matter pertained not properly to himself... he should take but one, because himself might in that case be the other.

And thus, good readers, as for the first point of Friar Barnes’ answer concerning the understanding of those words of Christ,

“If thy brother offend thee,” etc., “complain to the church”: ye see that Friar Barnes hath not handled it very well. Let us now to the second.

The second point is, ye wot well, that because he that “hath wrong . . . must needs be a particular and a certain man,” therefore God biddeth him, in like wise, go and complain “not unto the universal church, but to the particular church.” 5

By this it appeareth that Barnes meaneth that he that is not wronged is not sent to the particular church. Let us now suppose that a man would in a corner go teach another man heresy, and labor to make him believe that neither theft nor adultery were any sin at all; and that a third man hearing him and secretly reproving him... and thereby finding none amendment, nor by the witnesses at the second time being called thereto... would fain follow the counsel of Christ, and therefore asketh Barnes whether he shall for his brother’s amendment, though himself be not wronged, complain to “the church” or not—it will be hard to say nay. Then to which church will Barnes bid him go? Whether to the particular church, or to the universal? If this man be a particular man as well as he that were wronged, and therefore must complain to a particular church as well as he that were wronged—whereto doth Barnes say that Christ speaketh plainly of him that is wronged... as though he spoke of none other, nor as though there were no particular man but he that is wronged... but that every other man, not wronged, were a universal man, and must therefore, if he have any cause of complaint, go complain himself to the universal church that Barnes describeth us, and telleth us that we can never know her nor any member of her! 10 15 20 25

The third point is very subtle... and a thing that if Friar Barnes had not said it, I would never have thought it possible... that is that the particular church, if she be of God and a true member of the universal church that Barnes assigneth—that is to wit, of only men pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle of sin—she will judge righteously, after the word of God and after the probations brought before her. Who would have went that good men would have judged well, and true men truly! 30 35

The fourth point is that this particular church may all, wholly, err.

This is, lo, so little marvel, and over that, so little to the purpose, that I will grant it Friar Barnes freely, and a great deal more, too. For I will grant him also the thing that himself saith nay 5
to, and yet is it true: that is to wit, that so may the whole universal church do too, in such wise as the law meaneth by which Barnes proveth that the particular church may err. And I speak here of his own universal church of all holy, virtuous men, clean without spot or wrinkle, if they were all suddenly known by 10
revelation, and were as many of them as ever was at any time people, good and bad both, living together in this world, and all assembled together; yet might they in judgment err and be deceived, all the meinie at once, believing many false records, and many false 15
likelihoods, in a private matter, against a secret and an unproved truth... which is the error that the law meaneth, which law Friar Barnes allegeth.

And therefore ye may see, good readers, whereabouts Barnes goeth when he putteth you here a difference between the particular church and the universal church, in that the one may err and the other cannot... and then bringeth us in those laws for the proof, which laws do speak of that kind of error in which kind of error they may err particular and universal both. 20

Ye may plainly perceive here that Barnes doth but trifle in this great, earnest matter and goeth about to blear the reader's eye with error happening in the examination of an outward act... wherein is to him that erreth no peril of soul... whereas himself knoweth well that the error whereupon all this matter goeth is damnable error in doctrine of things pertaining to the necessary points of faith or virtuous living. Now, where Christ did bid him 25
that was offended by his brother complain to "the church," Friar Barnes saith that was a particular church—who would have went that, lo! If Barnes had not told us so, we would have went that Christ had bade him complain to no particular church... but go 30
seek that universal church which he could not know though he found 35

her... or else tarry till he could get all the known Catholic church together upon a green.

But I ask Friar Barnes whether Christ did there bid the man so
 offended complain to an unknown particular church, or to any
 other particular church than unto such a particular church as 5
 were a part of the whole known Catholic church. Let Friar
 Barnes answer this. Christ neither bade him seek an unknown
 church nor an unknown part of a church, nor a known part
 of an unknown church... but bade him well and plainly go complain
 to "*the church*"... as a thing that was easy to perceive, without 10
 any sophism or subtlety. For every man might well know that he
 might neither complain to a church unknown nor to all the
 whole church at once. But because Christ would provide that all the
 whole church should have one faith and one truth of doctrine in rules
 of living and necessary understanding of the Scripture concerning 15
 all such points... therefore our Savior bade him go to *the*
 church... whereof every known part that he should so complain unto...
 he should not fail to find, in the necessary truth of doctrine, to agree
 with the whole universal church—both the known church of good and
 bad, and with the secret, unknown church of only good men... for in 20
 the one be all the other—and therefore that church that he should go to
 should be able, after the fact and the deed truly known, to judge,
 reprove, and redress that wrong and that offense with which the complainant
 was wronged or offended. And if one were of good zeal
 offended with him that did exhort him to heresy, telling him 25
 that it were true faith and doctrine that fornication, adultery,
 running out of religion to apostasy, breaking of vows, and friars
 wedding nuns, and perjury, were no sin at all... a man could not
 fail in any particular church part of the known Catholic church
 to have all this doctrine judged and condemned for heresy. Howbeit, 30
 if he should complain to some of those known particular churches
 that are in some parts of Almaine, sects dissevered and departed
 from the known Catholic church—there should he have some of these
 heresies judged for true Catholic faith. And therefore is it plain that
 Christ sending him so plainly to complain to "*the church*," and meaning 35
 no false church, but his own true church... and then making no
 doubts of the finding thereof, intended to make his true particular

churches—that is to wit, the parts of his true catholic church—well and openly known and perceived as well from all the churches of heretics as from all the churches of paynims. For Christ would not send him where he should be beguiled in doctrine to the damnation of his soul!

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And then if Christ's particular churches to which he sendeth the man to complain that is offended by false doctrine be churches known... then it followeth that Christ's whole church, whereof all the known particular churches of Christ be known parts, is and must needs be a known church too... but if Barnes be so mad as to say that of a whole tree growing together, all the pieces of it as it standeth may be seen and known... but the whole tree standeth itself invisible for all that, and can in no wise be known.

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And thus, good Christian readers, it is more than shame to see how Barnes answereth those words of Christ which plainly prove the very church of Christ to be a known church. In avoiding whereof Barnes triflith in such fashion, so boldly and so careless... that he seemeth to reckon all that ever shall read it no wiser almost than even very wild geese. For if ever he thought that any man should read it that should have any wit at all in his head, the man would, I ween, have been full sore ashamed to handle this matter, of Christ's own holy words, in such a trifling manner as he doth.

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Yet saith Barnes that this known Catholic church cannot be the very church, because it is not persecuted. For “the very church,” saith Barnes, “inventeth none other way to heaven, but followeth Christ only... in suffering oppressions and persecutions, blasphemings, and all other things that may be laid unto her... which, as Saint Augustine saith, she learned of our Master, Christ. Our holy mother the church throughout all the world scattered far and long... in her true head, Christ Jesus, taught... hath learned not to fear the contumelies of the cross, nor yet of death, but more and more is she strengthened, not in resisting but in suffering.”

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These words, every man seeth well, touch not the clergy only, and yet maketh Barnes as he meant no more but them... but he meaneth that himself and his holy fellows be *the* church because they be run away for fear of persecution. But Saint Augustine saith not that *the* church is strengthened in suffering of persecution for holding false heresies, for teaching that men be not bound to

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fast the Lent... but may eat flesh on Good Friday... and that the people be no more bound to come to God's Service on Whitsunday than upon Shrove Tuesday... on which day though they be bound to leave undone some things that many men use to do... yet are they *not* so specially bound to spend that day in the Divine Service as they be the other, for all Barnes' babbling upon his abjuration. Nor *the* church did not suffer persecution for teaching that friars may wed nuns, and break their vows, and run in apostasy, and set naught by perjury, and rail against all orders of holy religious living. For in all these things is Saint Augustine, whom he bringeth for him, very fully and wholly against them. 5

And as for persecution to be suffered by the Catholic Church, it sufficeth that men be of the mind gladly to suffer when necessity of sufferance shall happen by paynims and infidels... and not that they cease to be Christ's church but if they suffer heretics arise and remain among themselves, first with false doctrine to contend and inquiet them... and after with rebellion to beat, rob, despoil, and kill them. For Saint Paul saith, "Put away the evil man from among yourselves." 15

1 Cor 5:13 For Saint Augustine, whom he bringeth for him, did after good and long deliberation plainly write in this point against him, as appeareth expressly in many of his epistles, written both unto the secular powers, whom he exhorted against heretics to repress them and amend them by force... and also to divers of those heretics themselves, wherein he declareth wherefore. 20

And yet besides all this, the Church doth indeed abide and endure the shameful contumelies of these wretched heretics... nor is not ashamed of the contumelies of the cross... though these blasphemous wretches rail against the cross and call it idolatry to creep and kiss the cross... and in some places forbear not to cast the very filthy mire upon the cross. 25

And yet further, in some parts of Almaine this known church of Christ hath many times suffered, and yet suffereth, no little persecution and very martyrdom... both in their goods and lands and in their bodies, too. 30

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But yet saith Barnes that this known church can in no wise be the very church of Christ... because it persecuteth heretics; and for the proof thereof he allegeth the words of Saint Hilary written against the Arians, which are these...

Barnes

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“The church doth threaten with banishments and imprisonments, and she compelleth men to believe her which was exiled and cast in prison. Now hangeth she on the dignity of her fellowship the which was consecrated by the threatening of persecutors; she causeth priests to fly that was increased by the chasing away of priests; she glorieth that she is loved of the world the which could never be Christ’s except the world did hate her,” etc.

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How think you, my lords? Do not you all these things that be laid to the Arians’ charge? Your own friends—yea, your own *conscience*—must needs accuse you of all these things, and yet will you be called Christ’s children! I lay nothing to you but that holy doctors lay unto you.

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More

Whoso consider well Saint Hilary’s words shall find therein the sorest thing that lightly could have been brought forth against Friar Barnes. For in these words appeareth that the Catholic Church did never persecute heretics by any temporal pain, or any secular power, until the heretics began such violence themselves. For yet in Saint Hilary’s days the true Catholic Church did it not.

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But the Arians, that were heretics, as ye perceive here by Saint Hilary’s words... when they had corrupted and gotten into their sect great princes, used their authority against the Catholics in banishments and imprisonment, and much other cruel handling... all which the good Catholic people suffered and used none other defense... saving the sword of the word of God, and the censures of the Church which that holy clergy pronounced and declared against Arius, and all his adherents, in that holy council held at Nicaea.

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But afterward, when that sect was by the goodness of God abated and the right faith well and fully restored, and concord, rest, and

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quiet grown among Christian people, and that yet again after
 that, some heretics began to raise a new brabbling... good
 princes remembering the great harm and unrestfulness that had
 grown by such heretics as had brought up sects and schisms
 in the church of Christ before... did of their own good minds, for 5
 the preservation of the peace, prohibit and forbid those heresies
 upon certain pains, and in like wise commanded the books of
 those heretics to be burned. And albeit that some very good
 men and holy doctors would have been very glad to treat and use
 those heretics so tenderly that they should have had no bodily 10
 harm, insomuch that holy Saint Augustine was first of the same
 mind himself... yet afterward considering the matter better, he
 perceived the contrary to be so much better, and so much harm
 growing to good men and displeasure of God if it so should continue,
 that he letted not in writing to confess his own oversight and 15
 revoke his first opinion, and was not only content that such
 obstinate heretics as to the trouble of good quiet people... and
 disturbing of the Catholic faith, with the peril of many poor
 simple souls, would stir such schisms and heresies, should be by
 fear refrained, and by force repressed, and by pain punished; but 20
 also required, by his own writing, the secular powers thereto... and
 he thought it a benefit to the heretics themselves to be reduced
 from their errors into the right faith... rather, for fear and pain
 here temporal, than to persevere in their heresies and fall into the
 fire perpetual. For many which by fear and force begin a good 25
 thing in trouble and adversity fall after, by grace increased, into
 the love of the goodness which in their wanton wealth they
Prv 9:10; 15:32 hated; for “vexation giveth understanding,”
Mt 10:28 and “the beginning of wisdom is
 the fear of God”—for which he bade his 30
 apostles fear him that might not only kill the body, but cast
 also the soul into hell.
Saint Augustine Saint Augustine in this point declareth
 his mind plainly, concerning
 the repressing of heretics by temporal punishment, both by 35
 his epistles addressed unto such noble secular men as he required

thereto... and also by his writings wherein he plainly declareth unto the heretics themselves the causes wherefore it is well done—which, save for the length, I would here set you in.

But Saint Augustine was not in this mind alone, but so was Saint Jerome, and many other holy men also. And unto the same have, by the Spirit of God, for the weal of Christendom, all Christian nations fully and wholly agreed... and have been, by the importunate malice of heretics raising rebellions in divers regions, driven of necessity to set in sundry times sorer and sorer punishment thereunto. And yet, as ye see, so strong is the devil in their obstinate hearts that scantly can all suffice. 5 10

But yet layeth Barnes another reason to prove that the very church of Christ cannot be a known church in no wise. For he saith that we believe the very church of Christ by *faith*, and it is an article of our *faith*... and therefore it is no known church, nor can be no known church; but that it must needs be a church unknown, of only holy people, pure and clean without spot or wrinkle. And that the very church must needs be such a holy company—so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle—he proveth thus... 15

Barnes 20

Mark Saint Paul's words: "Christ hath given himself for her, that he might make her glorious." So that the cleanness of this holy church is the mercy of God toward her through Christ, for whose sake he layeth nothing to her charge. Yea, and if any other person would, he is ready to give her his cleanness, and to let her by faith claim of right his pureness for her own; for between them all is common, as between man and wife. So that if the church look on her own merits of her own works, she is full of sin, and must needs say "Dimitte mihi debita"—the which she needed not to say if she had none. But if she refer herself unto the merits of her blessed husband, Christ Jesus, and to the cleanness that she hath in his blood... then is she without spot. For by the reason that she sticketh by faith so fast unto her husband, Christ, and doth abide in confession of her sins, and requireth mercy for them... 25 30

therefore is there nothing laid to her charge, but all thing is forgiven her. And therefore saith Saint Paul, "There is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus." 35

More

I have, good readers, somewhat touched the words before. But now ye see that he saith that this church hath always sins in her, and so always spots and wrinkles. But yet because she sticketh fast unto her husband, Christ, in faith, and abideth in confession of her sins, and requireth mercy for them... therefore is there nothing laid unto her charge, but all that thing is forgiven her, and that therefore she hath neither spot nor wrinkle left in her. And this he proveth, as ye see, by Saint Paul saying, "There is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus." 5 10

I have said unto Barnes before, and yet I say again, that though Christ hath, as Saint Paul saith unto the Ephesians, "given himself for her, that he might make her glorious"—yet meant not Saint Paul that every man for whom Christ hath given himself to make him glorious shall indeed be glorious; for some will forwardly refuse to be made glorious. And that company that shall be glorious shall yet not be glorious here in this world... but shall be here in this world *gracious*, that they may in *another* world be glorious. And yet not at every time gracious in this world, neither... but sometimes fall frowardly or negligently from grace, and so stand long in such ungracious state... and yet, through God's calling on them, turn again willingly by grace unto grace... and so pass at the last through grace into glory. But he may be of Christ's church here many years in earth, and haply neither gracious nor glorious... and he may acknowledge his sins and ask mercy, and believe every article of the right faith, and trust to be saved, too... and yet, by willful purpose of continuing in some horrible sins, stand still in a damnable state. And as it may be that some shall amend and be saved... so may it be that some will never amend, but shall therefore be finally damned. And yet, though he was not one of Christ's elects... yet was he a member of his Mystical Body, his Catholic Church, here in earth, and may believe in him, and trust in him, and acknowledge his sins, and ask mercy, and for lack of good purpose may miss of mercy too. 15 20 25 30

But Barnes, to make men ween that only faith were sufficient for salvation (according to his pestilent heresy which he did 35

once forswear... and now, forswearing himself, holdeth and defendeth
 again), telleth us a gay tale of a glorious church that hath all her
 sins forgiven her by sticking to her Spouse by only faith,
 with acknowledging her sins and asking mercy for them... and
 that a man may be bold if he thus do, sin he never so fast, nor 5
 purpose he never so little to amend. He layeth us falsely forth Saint
 Paul, and telleth us that Saint Paul saith there is no damnation
 to them that “be in Christ Jesus.” But by holy Saint Paul and holy
 Christ Jesus too, it is, good Christian readers, a right heavy hearing that
 ever such a man as this is should be heard speak among Christian 10
 people... when he so holily bringeth in the words of the blessed
 Apostle as though he meant to make men love Christ Jesus, and then
 maliciously pulleth away the very words wherein all the weight
 hangeth, to make men ween that to stick to God by faith alone,
 with a false hope of salvation for only acknowledging of their 15
 sins and asking of mercy, were sufficient to save their souls...
 so that, so doing, they could never be damned though they did
 no more, howsoever they purpose to persevere in their sins beside.

But Saint Paul, to reprove Barnes’ false doctrine, saith not as he
 rehearseth him, that there is no damnation to them that are in 20
 Christ Jesus, but he saith there is no damnation to them that are
Rom 8:1–13 in Christ Jesus, that walk not after the
 flesh—declaring plainly that though
 they be in Christ Jesus after such a manner of being in him as
 Barnes describeth us, yet if he walk after the flesh, he shall be 25
 damned. For Saint Paul saith plainly, “If ye live after the flesh,
 ye shall die.” And after the flesh may a man walk, and after the flesh
 may he live, and yet do all that Friar Barnes here saith in these words
 that “the church” doth. For he speaketh, in all these holy words of his,
 nothing of leaving the sinful ways of the flesh, or of any such 30
 purpose, either... but to make men ween that no such thing needed,
 but only believe, and trust, and acknowledge our sins, and ask
 mercy, and believe only, and trust surely, and live still as we list.
 For by faith alone we stick to Christ, as Barnes would have it seem. And
 then how sinful soever we be... yet be we without sin, clean and 35
 pure... for then Christ’s pureness is ours, he saith, as all things

be common, he saith, among friends... and therefore no damnation can there be to them that are in such wise in Christ Jesus, howsoever they live or whatsoever they do. And thus may ye see, good Christian people, how shamefully this evil Christian man falsifieth Saint Paul's words, to the deceit of unlearned folk, and damnation of good simple souls. 5

But now is it a world to see how he laboreth to carry the reader away from the perceiving thereof. And yet hath God made Barnes himself so blind that the more blind he goeth about to make the reader, the more he stumbleth unawares upon the truth, and taketh it up and bringeth it so forth, and also showeth it, to his own shame, the most foolishly, that I never saw the like in all my life. For lo, these are his words forthwith upon the others... 10

Barnes

And that this may be the plainer, I will bring you Saint Augustine's words, the which was vexed of the Donatists with this same reason that is laid against me. His words be these: "The whole Church saith 'Forgive us our sins'; wherefore she hath spots and wrinkles. But by acknowledging, . . . her spots are washed away. The Church abideth in prayer, that she might be cleansed by acknowledging of her sins. As long as we live here, so standeth it... and when we shall depart out of this body, all such things be forgiven to every man. Wherefore, by this means, the church of God is in the treasuries of God without spot and wrinkles... and therefore here do we not live without sin, but we shall pass from hence without sin," etc. 15
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More

Now, good Christian readers, here have you heard Friar Barnes say that he would rehearse you Saint Augustine's words to the intent that he would make you the matter the more plain for his purpose. But of truth, he hath played in the rehearsing of them as he played in the rehearsing of Saint Paul's words—that is, as ye have heard, rehearsed them falsely with pulling the chief part away, to make them seem the plainer for his purpose. And therefore, to the intent that I may make his false handling of Saint Augustine, and his false intent therein, appear as plainly unto you as I have already made appear unto you his like handling, and his like intent, in handling 30
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of Saint Paul: I shall rehearse you Saint Augustine's words a little more fully and truly than Friar Barnes hath done... beginning where Barnes beginneth, but not ending where he endeth. For he endeth I wot ne'er where... but maketh two lines of his own, and then endeth with "etc.," as though his own words were Saint Augustine's. But thus saith Saint Augustine, lo...

Augustine, De verbis apostoli, Sermon 29 "The whole Church, lo, saith 'Forgive us our sins'; ergo, she hath spots and wrinkles; but by confession of them the wrinkle is stretched out, and by confession the spot is washed out. The Church continueth in prayer to be cleansed through confession... and as long as we here live, so she continueth still, and every man when he departeth out of his body is forgiven of his sins—every man, I say, of such manner of sins as he then had that were venial. For they be forgiven also by daily prayers... and he departeth hence cleansed, and the Church is laid up pure gold into the treasuries of our Lord. And by this means the Church is in the treasuries of our Lord without spot and wrinkle. And then if the place where she is without spot or wrinkle be *there*... what thing shall we pray for while we be *here*? That we may obtain pardon of our sins. What good doth the pardon? It taketh out the spot, and he that forgiveth stretcheth out the wrinkle. And where is our wrinkle stretched out, as it were, in the press or tenterhooks of a strong fuller? Upon the cross of Christ! For even upon the cross—that is to wit, upon that stretcher or tenterhooks—he shed out his blood for us. And ye, O faithful people, know what witness ye bear unto the blood which ye have received; for, of a truth, ye say *Amen*. Ye know what thing the blood is which was shed out for many in remission of sins.

"Mark, lo, how the Church is made without spot or wrinkle. She is stretched out, in the stretcher or tenterhooks of the cross, as a church well washed and cleansed. Now, *here* may ever this thing be in doing. But our Lord doth exhibit and present unto himself a *glorious* church, without spot or wrinkle, *there*. He goeth about this thing, and is in doing of it, even here, but he exhibiteth her

such *there*. For man saith, ‘Let us have neither spot nor wrinkle. Great is he that goeth about it; and he goeth about it well, and is the cunningest workman that can be. He stretcheth us out upon the cross, and maketh us smooth, without any wrinkle, whom he had washed and made clean without spot. He that came without spot and wrinkle was stretched out upon the stretcher, or the tenterhooks, but it was for our sakes—not for himself, but to make *us* without any spot or wrinkle. Let us therefore pray him to make us such... and when he hath so done, then to bring us to the shops and there lay us up where shall be no pressing nor stretching.’ Now, thou that spokest thus, art thou without spot or wrinkle? What dost thou, then, here in the Church, which saith ‘Forgive us our sins’? *She* confesseth that she hath still sins to be forgiven. They that confess not the same, it followeth not therefore that they have no sins; but because they confess them not... their sins therefore shall not be forgiven them. Confession healeth us, and a well wary living, *Confession* and a humble life, and prayer also, with faith and contrition of heart, and unfeigned tears flowing out of the heart vein, that the sins without which we cannot be, may be forgiven us. Confession, I say, *1 Jn 1;9* maketh us whole, as the apostle John saith: ‘If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just, and will pardon us our sins, and cleanse us from all wickedness.’ But, now, though I say we cannot here be without sin... we may not commit manslaughter or do adultery, therefore, or such other deadly sins as at one stroke slay the soul. For such deeds doth not a Christian man that hath a good faith and a good hope... but those sins only which are with the pencil of daily prayer overwiped.”

Now, good Christian readers, ye shall first understand that whereas Friar Barnes maketh as though Saint Augustine had spoken those words against the Donatists, which “vexed,” saith he, Saint *The heresy of the Donatists* Augustine with the same reason that is now laid against him—he maketh us two lies at once. For neither did the Donatists vex Saint Augustine with that reason that is laid against him, nor Saint Augustine made not that sermon against them. First, as for them, *they* vexed Saint

Augustine with *this* heresy: that they affirmed the very church to be only in Africa... and none to be of the very church but if he were of the sect of the Donatists. And now, ye wot well, no man vexeth Friar Barnes with that heresy. For *we* say that *the* church is the whole number of all Christian nations not being by new heresies divided from the old stock, in what places of the world soever those people be—and be they never so many countries, or be they never so few—that remain in the same known church that hath been by a well-known succession preserved and continued from Christ’s days unto our own, and in the profession of the same faith, which is called the Catholic faith because it is the faith of the same whole catholic church. And therefore this thing with which Friar Barnes is vexed now is *not* the same with which the Donatists did vex Saint Augustine.

Now, if Barnes will say that though it be not the same... it is yet *like* the same, because we assign “the church” to be in these only countries in which it now remaineth—what can we other say than that for the time in which it stretcheth no further, it is but in these countries? But we deny not but if there be dwelling among Turks or Saracens any Christians, or men that long to be Christians, which agree with the known church of these Christian-continued nations in faith... all those folk are of this known church also.

And over that, whensoever the same countries that are unchristened now shall hereafter, as I trust once they shall, become christened again, and be believers of the common, Catholic faith, and so become members of the common-known Catholic church... then say we that there shall “the church” be too. But the Donatists said, and would have seemed to prove it by the very Scripture, too, that “the church” should not remain but in Africa. And therefore the Donatists vexed not Saint Augustine with the same thing with which we vex Friar Barnes.

Yet if Friar Barnes will say that it *is* like, in that that like as those heretics were called “Donatists,” so these heretics call the Catholic, Christian people “papists”—yet can it not be like for that. For Saint Augustine called the successor of Saint Peter the chief head in earth of the whole Catholic Church, as well as any man doth

The pope Christ's vicar now. And also Friar Barnes cannot allege
in earth that point against us... for himself, ye
wot well, confesseth that the pope is the
vicar of Christ here upon earth.

Finally, the question that is between Friar Barnes and us is not the 5
same that was between the Donatists and Saint Augustine. For
between Barnes and us, the question is whether the very church be a
known church of Christian people good and bad both... or an
unknown church of only good, holy, virtuous people, pure and
clean without either spot or wrinkle. And in this point were both 10
Saint Augustine and the Donatists agreed: that the very church
was a church known.

And thus, good readers, ye may see that Friar Barnes saith untrue in
this point where he saith that Saint Augustine was vexed by the
Donatists with the selfsame reason that himself is now vexed 15
with us. But this he feigneth to make it seem that the *known*
Catholic Church were now of the same opinion that those heretics
the Donatists were then... and that Saint Augustine were of
the mind that himself is now: that the *very* Catholic Church
were an unknown church, of only good folk pure and clean without 20
either spot or wrinkle of any manner sin. And he would
make us ween that Saint Augustine therefore wrote those words
against the Donatists to prove against them that the very church
here in earth were an unknown church of only such holy saints
as were without any sin. 25

But, now, to prove you that Friar Barnes maketh us a lie in that point...
ye shall understand, good readers, that Saint Augustine spoke those
words not against the Donatists, but against other sects of
heretics, called the Pelagians and the Caelestians.

And to prove you farther, that Friar Barnes maketh you therein not 30
only a lie, but also a very foolish lie... ye shall see him convicted in
this point by the very words of Saint Augustine himself in the
selfsame sermon. For in all that whole sermon is there not only no
words spoken of Donatists... but that also he declareth himself, by
plain and open words, to speak those words against the Pelagians 35
and the Caelestians, as I said before. For lo, in the very words next

before those with which Friar Barnes beginneth... Saint Augustine saith thus: “Ubi es tu, haeretice Pelagiane vel Caelestiane?” (“Where art thou, heretic Pelagian or Caelestian?”).

And thus ye see clearly that Saint Augustine wrote not those words against the Donatists, as Barnes belieth him... but against the Pelagians and the Caelestians, as his own express words do declare you. 5

But now ye will peradventure marvel for what intent Friar Barnes hath made this false, foolish change in which he may be so plainly reproveth. Ye shall understand, good readers, that he did it not for naught, but of a great wiliness with a very little wit. For ye shall understand that those two sects, between them, brought up and held the same heresy that Barnes bringeth forth now... that is to say, that “the church” in this world is a company of only good folk, and so good that none of them have either spot or wrinkle of sin. First, Pelagians said that every man might by his only natural strength make himself such one if 10 15

Caelestius he will. And then Caelestius added unto it that there is no man a good man but he that so doth indeed... and that the very church hath none but only such good men in it—which must needs, ye wot well, be an unknown church. And that their heresy was this... appeareth plainly both in the beginning of this sermon and also in the end of Saint Augustine’s work written to Quodvultdeus. And therefore against that heresy of theirs which heresy now Friar Barnes holdeth stiffly for a very truth... doth Saint Augustine write those words which Barnes himself here bringeth for himself, laboring to prove his heresy true by the authority of Saint Augustine, with the selfsame words by which Saint Augustine plainly proveth it false. I cannot, in good faith, well devise whether this pageant be played by Friar Barnes more falsely or more foolishly. 20 25 30

For whereas those heretics said that the very church had none in it but such as were so clean and so pure that they neither had spot nor wrinkle... Saint Augustine saith, as ye have heard, that not only the mean sort of the very church, but also *all* “the whole 35

Church” (no number thereof except; no, not the very best) prayeth, in the Pater Noster, God to forgive them their sins. And therefore saith he that those heretics lie that say the whole very church here in earth hath none thereof but only such as have neither spot nor wrinkle of sin. 5

And then goeth Saint Augustine further and saith that such as be in “the Church,” and therefore live not without sin, get forgiveness by acknowledging of their sin, and asking mercy, and

Whereby sins are forgiven by prayer, and with faith and contrition of heart, and unfeigned tears flowing from the vein of the heart, and with a wary living—with all these ways he saith that the sins be forgiven, to him that useth these ways to get forgiveness with. For then he saith that as God hath washed away our spots with the water of Baptism... so he stretcheth out our wrinkles upon his own cross. 10 15

And yet he saith, for all this, that no man liveth here so clean but that as long as he liveth here, he so spotteth himself again, and so catcheth ever some wrinkles, that he liveth never without, nor long cannot, not for necessity of our nature, peradventure, but through our willful frailty and negligence. And then showeth he farther yet, that in those sins without which no man liveth... he meaneth not abominable deadly sins, as manslaughter, or adultery, or such other horrible “deadly sins as slay the soul at one stroke.” For such sins Christian men, he saith, that have “a good faith and a good hope,” will not commit. Whereby Saint Augustine teacheth us—against the doctrine of those heretics and these too—that a man may be a Christian man, and of the very same church, too, which Christ hath given himself for to make her fair and glorious... and may have also a true faith, that is to wit, a full belief of every necessary truth, and a full hope, that is to wit, a great, strong trust in Christ to be saved by Christ... and yet not a *good* faith, able to make the man good, because it is but Barnes’ faith, that is to wit, *only* faith, without well-working charity... nor a *good* hope, because it is a presumptuous hope, looking to be saved with damnable devilish living. And for these causes may the member of the very church here, when he dieth in such mind, for all his 20 25 30 35

acknowledging, and asking mercy, too, go from Christ's very church in earth to the devil's very church in hell.

For Saint Augustine saith here, as ye have heard, that they which have such sins as at the time of death should be remitted—that is to say, that hath not then such as be at his dying deadly both for their own nature and for lack of true repentance, with purpose of amendment and well using of the sacraments—shall be fully forgiven. That is to wit, if he have for attaining thereof used himself sufficiently in such wise as Saint Augustine here declareth—that is to say, in confession and acknowledging of his sins, with contrition and prayer, with good faith, and good hope, and a wary living, using diligence to withstand sin—then he shall be, saith Saint Augustine, forgiven. And when he is so at his death fully forgiven... then shall he be laid up for pure gold in the treasuries of God.

But Saint Augustine meaneth not that every man that is of the very church, nor that every man that dieth out of deadly sin, and acknowledgeth his sins when he dieth, and asketh mercy, shall be forthwith so fully forgiven that he shall go hence so clean and so pure, without spot or wrinkle, that he shall be by and by laid up for pure gold in the treasuries of God... but if he long before, with such other circumstances as I have before of Saint Augustine's own words rehearsed you, well and duly been accustomed long time to pray before, that God would make him without spot or wrinkle by washing his spots with the blessed sacraments and stretching out his wrinkles with the stretching them upon the stretcher or tenterhooks of the cross; and then when God hath in such wise washed out his spots... and in such wise washed out his wrinkles at the very last end, after which he can neither gather spot nor wrinkle more... that then it may please God to bring him into the shops, and there lay him where shall never be pressing nor stretching more. But if he by long time before his death pray duly thus... else shall he not at his death be by and by laid up for pure gold in God's treasuries, as Friar Barnes maketh it here seem, by misrehearsing of Saint Augustine's words... but he shall first be well purged... and all the spots and wrinkles that then remain

Note shall be clean burned out by the hot fire of purgatory—or by other men's

prayers and almsdeed, and other suffrages of the Church done for him, be depured and cleansed—before that he shall be laid up for pure gold in the treasuries of God.

And that Saint Augustine meaneth here none otherwise than I do declare him, ye may well perceive if ye well advise his words, which I have truly translated. And yet, because ye shall the less doubt thereof... Saint Augustine shall himself declare that I truly declare you this place, by his own very plain words in another place. For in the thirty-second sermon of the words of the Apostle, lo, thus he saith:

Augustine, De verbis Apostoli, Sermon 32 “No man ought to doubt but that with prayers of the Church, and with the wholesome Sacrifice, and with alms that is given for the souls of them that are departed, they are helped to be more mercifully dealt with of our Lord than their sins have deserved. For this thing, by the tradition of the old fathers, the whole Catholic Church observeth: that is to wit, that what time they that deceased in the communion and blood of Christ—at the time of the Sacrifice, in their place and order, remembrance made of them, prayer should be made for them... and not that only, but also that special rehearsal should then be made that the same Sacrifice is offered up for them, too. Now, when works of mercy are done in commendation and favor of them... who can doubt but that they are helped therewith, since prayer made for them unto God is not fruitless? It is not in any wise to be doubted but that these things succor and relieve them that are deceased. Howbeit, only such men, I say, as have so lived before their death that these things may do them good after their death. For in relief of them that be departed out of the body without faith working with charity, and without the sacraments of the same... such deeds of devotion are in vain used, the pledge or earnest penny of which devotion they lacked while they lived here, either because they would not receive the grace of God or because they received it in vain, treasuring and laying up for themselves not mercy but wrath. Wherefore, when any good work is done for them that are deceased by their lovers and friends, they merit

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not of new... but these things are given in reward, as things consequent and well following upon their merits which they deserved before, while they lived. For it is not said that these things should help them only while they here live, and not when they are dead.

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“And therefore every man when he endeth this life can nothing receive but that only which he hath deserved being here alive.”

Augustine, Sermon 41,

And in another place he saith thus:

De animabus defunctorum

“What thing soever of venial sins is not redeemed of us... it must be purged

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with that fire of which the Apostle saith that ‘the work shall appear by the fire... and if any man’s work burn, he shall suffer the loss.’ For either while we live in this world we labor ourselves

with penance... or else, truly because God so will or suffereth it, we are punished with many tribulations for these sins. And

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then if we give thanks unto God, we be delivered. Which thing is a-thiswise: if our husband, or our wife, or our son, die, or

if our substance, which we love more than we should do, be taken from us—for though we love Christ above that substance, so

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that if need were, we would rather lose that substance than deny Christ, yet because, as I have before said, if we love that substance

more than we *should*, and cannot while we live or when we die lose it without great sorrow—and yet, for all that, if when we lose

it we give thanks as good children unto God, which as a merciful father suffereth our substance to be taken from us... and if

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we with very humility confess that we suffer less punishment than we have deserved... the sins be in such wise purged in this

world that in the world to come the fire of purgatory can find either nothing or right little to burn. But then if we neither

thank God in our tribulation nor buy out our sins with good works... we shall so long abide in that fire of purgatory till the

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venial sins above-named be consumed up as wood, hay, and stubbles. But some man will say, ‘I force not how long I there

abide, so that I may at the last go to the everlasting life.’ Let no man say thus, my most well-beloved brethren... for the fire of

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*The sharpness of the fire
of purgatory*

purgatory is more sharp than any pain that in this world can be seen or thought or felt,” etc.

Lo, good Christian readers, ye may clearly see, by Saint Augustine's words *here*, that he meant not to deny purgatory *there*... but affirmeth it plainly, since he saith there is no doubt but that prayer and almsdeed, and the oblation of that holy Sacrifice offered for them in the Mass, maketh the souls that are departed to be the more mercifully dealt with, and their pains to be relieved. In which few words Saint Augustine witnesseth against more of their heresies than one. For he not only affirmeth purgatory against

A number of Saint Augustine's young Father Frith, and affirmeth also
godly lessons that almsdeed and prayer may
relieve the souls therein... but over that, he

teacheth us, against all these new sects, that good works be meritorious, not only for himself that doth them, but also to other folk. And yet over that, he teacheth us that we may here merit and deserve in this life that other folks' good deeds may merit for us and serve us when we be dead. It followeth also that since we may pray for the souls that have need, they may also pray for us, which have yet more need than they... not for our present pain temporal, but

Jas 5:16 for avoiding of perpetual, since Saint James saith, "Orate pro invicem, ut salvemini."

Saint Augustine affirmeth here also that the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ in the Mass is a sacrifice and an oblation to God, against Luther and all his adherents.

Finally, he teacheth us here that the tradition of the fathers, and the common observance and custom of the Catholic Church, is for the certification of a truth a sure, undoubted authority.

Now, good Christian readers, if ye like to take so much labor as to read Saint Augustine's words again in such wise as Barnes rehearseth them in his book... and then to compare them with his very words indeed, as I have truly translated them, ye shall marvel much to see what wiliness he hath used therein, and yet what lack of wit therewith.

For Barnes hath, as ye may see, taken pieces of Saint Augustine and patched them together with a word or twain of his own somewhere between, as though the words lay so together in the text as he rehearseth them... whereas he leaveth out by the way the very

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chief point of all, by which Saint Augustine excepteth them from forgiveness at their death that then have deadly sin; that is to say, them that do die therein. And Barnes leaveth off before he come to the point, lest we should see that they which be forgiven so clean at their death... must use such ways thereto... as not every man so sufficiently useth to be so soon so clean forgiven, that yet dieth in the state of grace and shall be laid up at last for pure gold in the treasuries of God, but he shall in the furnace of the fire of purgatory be purely refined first. 5

Also, whereas Saint Augustine, having his whole words well understood, saith no more but that every such man of the Church as dieth out of deadly sin, and, with help of God, in the virtue of Christ's Passion, by faithful prayer, contrition, and great heaviness of heart, with diligence used in avoiding sin and doing good, virtuous works in his life before, shall at his death be fully forgiven and laid up pure gold in the treasuries of God: Friar Barnes rehearseth his words in such wise as though Saint Augustine had said that *every* man of the very church, without any exception, should pass hence pure and clean and forthwith go to God; as though no man of this church could die in deadly sin; whereof Saint Augustine in these words—"quae talia habebat ut dimitterentur"—declareth plainly the contrary. 10 15 20

Barnes also concludeth, "Wherefore, by this means, the church of God is in the treasuries of God without spot or wrinkle." Which words, when I read, sounded unto mine understanding, and so have they to many that I know have read them, that "the church" is in the treasuries of God's foreknowledge and predestination *always* pure and clean; whereas Saint Augustine saith nor meaneth no more but that as many of "the church" as be forgiven—though many be not forgiven, because they be the let of their forgiveness themselves, for lack of due deserving—yet they that be, *shall when* they be, be laid up pure gold in God's treasury, in one or other of those good shops where shall never be more trial, pressing, nor stretching put unto them. 25 30

Barnes leaveth out also these words of Saint Augustine: that God is the most cunning workman, and goeth about the cleansing of our spots, and stretching out of our wrinkles, diligently... but yet, in this 35

world, in the course of our life, he is always in doing of it, and hath not fully done it till we part hence by death.

These words of Saint Augustine which Barnes here leaveth out (or purposely leaveth off ere he come at them) do plainly and fully agree with that exposition that I gave you, here in this book against

Eph 5:25–27

Barnes, of Saint Paul’s words that Barnes brought in for him, “You men, love your

wives as Christ loved the Church, and hath given himself for her that he might sanctify her and cleanse her in the fountain of water through the word of life, to make her to himself without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that she might be holy and without blame.” Upon which words Barnes there saith, “Here

have you, lo, the very, true church of Christ that is so pure and clean that she neither hath spot nor wrinkle.” Which words of Saint Paul, as I partly told him there, prove nothing his purpose. For Saint Paul saith there but that Christ gave himself to make *her* such...

and saith not that he shall make every *part* of her such, nor save in heaven all that he hath sanctified in Baptism. But likewise as, though God would every man were saved (which is to wit, if every man... so would himself), yet because many men of their own frowardness will walk to damnation, whom God will not wrestle with to save them spite of their teeth, because he considereth that he is of himself able to live without them... so, though he have given himself for his Church to make her glorious, without spot or wrinkle, and would have every man come and be part of his Church and in her to be saved, and of her by him to learn the truth (for he would, saith the Apostle, “every man should be saved and

1 Tm 2:4

come to the knowledge of the truth”), yet, as many men will never come into her (as

Jews, Turks, and Saracens), and many that have come into her have again gone from her (as have Luther, Huessgen, and Zwingli, Lambert, Hutchins, and Barnes, and many great heretics more), so, many a man that abideth in her till his dying day, and believeth her true doctrine—yet because he will *but* believe it, and not in well working follow it, but will without due repentance die in deadly sin, he departeth from her at his death as an incurable rotten

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member cast out in conclusion upon the devil's dunghill in hell.
 And those members of the Church that will work well, and not
 remain with Friar Barnes in "faith alone"... God shall make them
 glorious, without spot or wrinkle. But, as Saint Augustine saith
 here, though at their instant prayer he goeth still about it here... 5
 and always when they pray therefor, he is in doing of it, always washing
 and always stretching: yet, partly for intermission of their praying,
 partly for their continual new bespotting and wrinkling, he
 never endeth it here before their dying day; so that the very church
 is, here in earth, not even in the very best men thereof pure and clean 10
 always, without either spot or wrinkle... as against Saint Augustine's
 words here Barnes boasteth himself to prove by those words
 of the Apostle, and as though he had clearly proved it, saith, "Here
 have you, lo, the very, true church of Christ, that is so pure and so clean that it
 neither hath spot nor wrinkle." 15

But now is it a world to see how Barnes, after this boast in that place,
 endeth now Saint Augustine's words with the clean contrary
 sentence... against his own part... and concludeth all the whole
 matter quite against himself, and utterly destroyeth his own
 church... and, weening that pulling down were setting up, 20
 boasteth as much thereof, too.

For in the end, lo, thus he saith: "'And therefore here do we not live
 without sin... but we shall pass from hence without sin,' etc." Lo, these
 words are Barnes' own, so written as though they were Saint
 Augustine's own, with "etc." And then he bringeth in upon them, after 25
 his own "etc.," these words following: "Here have you clearly that the
 church of God is cleansed and purified by Christ for acknowledging of her sins."
 But letting pass that Saint Augustine saith not that the whole
 church of Christ here passeth hence without sin, nor that every
 man that once is of his church here, shall after be of his church in 30
 heaven, let us take Friar Barnes' own words as though they were
 as he would have them seem—the very words of Saint Augustine himself—
 and that they were none otherwise meant, neither, by Saint
 Augustine than Barnes would have them taken. Let us now see,
 then, first what saith here Friar Barnes, and then what saith Saint 35
 Friar Augustine Barnes.

First Friar Barnes boasteth and saith, "Here have you clearly that the

church of God is cleansed and purified by Christ, for acknowledging of its sins.” But then ask we Friar Barnes of which church is our question— of the church of Christ here in earth, or of the church of Christ in heaven? To this Friar Barnes must needs grant that all our matter of “the church,” between him and us, is of the church of Christ here in earth. Then will we ask him whether our matter be of men living, or of men dying? And since we speak of “the church” for the *doctrine* of “the church,” I suppose that Friar Barnes will grant that he speaketh of “the church” as the men be living, quick and quething, while they may speak and talk and confess what they believe... and meaneth not to speak of them only while they lie a-dying, speechless and giving up the ghost. Well, then ye perceive now what Friar Barnes saith, and of which church he boasteth, when he saith, “Here you see clearly that God cleanseth and purifieth his church for acknowledging of her sins.” And which church it is that he saith is clean and pure, without spot or wrinkle... you see that he meaneth the very church here in earth living and in good health, of which men have the true doctrine, because that the very church is it, he saith, that cannot err. Now, since we see what saith Friar Barnes—let us now see what saith Friar Saint Augustine Barnes. He saith, ye wot well, that “the church” shall pass hence without sin, and that it *is* in the treasuries of God without spot or wrinkle... but he saith that it liveth not here without sin.

Lo, good Christian readers, where saw you ever any man give himself so foul a fall as Friar Barnes hath here done... which, going about to prove us that the church of Christ living here in earth is a company all holy, pure, and clean, without spot or wrinkle of sin, bringeth in for him Saint Augustine... whose words altered and framed by Friar Barnes after his own fashion... plainly declare and show that the church of Christ while it liveth in earth liveth *not* without sin, and therefore is *never* pure and clean, without spots or wrinkles of sin.

And thus whereas Barnes said in the beginning that he would bring in Saint Augustine to prove his purpose plain, he seemeth rather to bring Saint Augustine in... with plain words to prove Friar Barnes a fool... especially since he seeth not yet what a foul fall he

hath... but, while he lieth in the mire allto tumbled in dirt, holdeth up his foul sleeve and boasteth what a cleanly coat he hath, so pure and so clean, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter could not find one drop of dirt thereon.

But now that he hath so shamefully lost his own church of only good, holy people unknown, clean and pure, without spot or wrinkle: yet that the very church must needs be an unknown church of only good, holy men at the least, though somewhat wrinkled and not all utterly spotless, and that it can in no wise be any known church—this will Friar Barnes, as he weeneth, well and substantially prove, so that though he prove not his own that he provideth, yet will he prove that it cannot be ours, but some other that neither he nor we be aware of. And therefore he saith... 5 10

Barnes

Such a church must there needs be, though that the carnal eye cannot see her, nor the fleshly reason can judge of her. Wherefore, we believe this article by *faith*—that Holy Church is a communion or fellowship of holy men. And we know it not by seeing or feeling, as we do the fellowship of drapers or mercers; for then were it none article of the *faith*. 15 20

More

Now let us argue like. A false Jew might have said in Christ's days while he preached in Jerusalem: "To believe Christ must be an article of the *faith*; ergo, Christ must be a person unknown, and not be perceived by the carnal eye, but only believed by *faith*, and not by seeing or feeling, as men know a draper or a mercer." Thus might in those days a false Jew have argued that Christ had not been very Christ, because he was a known person. 25

Jn 7:27 And this argument, in a manner, made the false Jews indeed, when they said, "We know this man, whence he is; but when Christ cometh, no man shall know whence he is." 30

But as it might have been answered them that as Christ was both by *faith* believed and yet was also by sight and feeling known, as well as was in such wise known any draper or mercer either... for the false Jews knew him by the one means only, and his true disciples 35

knew him by both... and Saint Thomas of India, after he
Jn 20:27–29 had both seen him and felt him, did
 by sight and feeling know his manhood,
 and therewith by faith believed his Godhood: even so, we
 know “the church” by sight, hearing, and feeling, as we know 5
 drapers and mercers—and we believe the Spirit of God abiding
Jn 16:13 therewith and leading it into all truth,
Mt 16:18; 28:20 and Christ, the chief head thereof, assisting
 it and preserving it from failing,
 against all the gates of hell. And we believe that it is but one 10
 church, by profession of Baptism holily dedicated unto God and
 severed and openly known from all the manifold open sects of
 heretics. As the common Creed saith, that is daily sung at the
 Mass, “we believe one holy and apostolic church.” Which word
 “apostolic,” wherefore it was put in, Friar Barnes will himself, as 15
 it seemeth, not let to confess, though Tyndale will not agree it.
 And we believe that the communion and fellowship of all such
 folk so hallowed and dedicated unto God, wheresoever they be in
 the world, agreeing together in the known Catholic belief,
 is the—both known *and* believed—holy, catholic church of Christ. 20
The communion of saints Also we believe the communion of
 saints in another manner besides that:
 that is to wit, we believe that such as live here in this church, and
 in this church also die, in the Catholic faith and in the state of
 grace, shall after this life have the communion and fellowship of the 25
 saints that are before departed into heaven, and that lived sometime
 in this same known Catholic church, and died in the same
 known Catholic faith.
 Now, if Friar Barnes ask me how I prove that these words of the
 Creed “sanctam ecclesiam catholicam” be understood of the known 30
 Catholic church: I will prove it by the words of Saint Augustine
 himself, because Friar Barnes, being professed friar of Saint
 Augustine’s order, would seem to set much by him. Lo, these be,
 therefore, the words of Saint Augustine...
Augustine, Sermon 181, “Ye must know that we ought to believe 35
 In vigilia Pentecostes the Church, and not believe *in* the Church...
 for the Church is not God, but the house

of God. The ‘catholic’ church the Creed calleth the church that is spread abroad throughout the whole world. For the churches of heretics, which be divers, are not called catholic or universal churches; for they be contained every sect in some proper place, and in its own province. But this *catholic* church is spread abroad with the shining light of one faith, from the rising up of the sun to the going down. There is no greater riches, no greater treasures, no greater honors, nor no greater substance of this world, than *The Catholic faith* is the Catholic faith, which saveth sinful men, and giveth to the blind their sight again, and healeth the sick; which also christeneth those that are newly come to Christian religion, and justifieth the faithful, repaireth penitents, increaseth the righteous folk, crowneth martyrs, giveth Orders to the clergy, consecrateth priests, prepareth us to the kingdom of heaven, and maketh us fellows and copartners with the holy angels in the everlasting inheritance. Whosoever he be, and what manner of man soever he be... he is no Christian man that is not in the church of Christ. For truly she is that only church of which our Lord gladly receiveth sacrifice... and which only may without any distrust to be heard make intercession for those that are wandered out of the way. For which cause also, our Lord commanded of the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, saying, ‘Ye shall eat it in one house only, and ye shall bear no part of that flesh forth outdoors.’ The lamb is eaten in one house because the very, true host, of our Redeemer, is offered up in the one Catholic church only. Of whose flesh God commanded and forbade, that no part should be borne out of the doors. For he forbiddeth us to *Mt 7:6* give any holy thing to dogs. In this church only is a good work fruitfully done... and therefore none received the reward of the penny but they *Mt 20:1–16* only that labored within the vineyard. It is she only that keepeth them with a strong bond of charity, that keep themselves within her. And for this cause, truly, the water of Noah’s flood carried the ark up to the higher places... but she destroyed as many as she found without the

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ark. She is only that church in which we may verily behold
the heavenly mysteries. And therefore saith our Lord to Moses, ‘I
Ex 33:21, 23 have a place, and thou shalt stand upon a
rock’; and, soon after, ‘I shall take away
my hand, and then thou shalt see me on the back half.’ For because 5
the truth is perceived and seen only out of the Catholic Church...
therefore saith our Lord that he hath *a* place from which he may be
seen. Moses is set upon a *rock* to behold God’s figure. For
except a man hold and keep the sure, fast ground of the faith... he
cannot discern and know the divine presence. 10

“‘Dissever,’ saith Saint Cyprian, ‘the sunbeam from the whole
body of the sun—the unity of the light receiveth no division.
Break off a branch from a tree... and as soon as it is once
broken off, it cannot anymore bud. Cut away a river from the
head, and anon it drieth up.’ 15

“By these words of Cyprian we perceive that the light receiveth
no division in the holy men that are predestinated unto the kingdom
of God, which can in no manner wise be divided from the
Church. And that the branch broken off from the tree can no
longer bud... we understand it of the budding of the everlasting 20
life. And the drying up of the river that is cut off from the conduit
head, in this wise understand we: that they are void and empty of
the Holy Ghost that are divided from the unity.

“The fellowship of the saints, that is to say. Let us hold ourselves
in the communion and fellowship of hope, with those saints which 25
are deceased in this faith which we have received. Therefore, if we
will have fellowship with the saints in the everlasting life... let
us think upon the following of them. For they must recognize and
find in us somewhat of their virtues, to the intent they may vouchsafe
to pray for us unto our Lord. For if we cannot bear the torments 30
which the saints suffered even to the death—yet at the leastwise
let us by their prayer and intercessions fight against
concupiscences. For neither Abraham nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were
put to death... and yet by the merits of faith and justice, they
deserved to be chiefly honored among the patriarchs. To whose 35
feast is gathered every man that is found faithful, righteous, and

laudable. And therefore, my dearest brethren, although we suffer no such thing—no bonds, no stripes, no imprisonment, none other bodily torments, nor no persecution of men for righteousness’ sake—yet we may be able to obtain the fellowship of the saints, if we labor to chastise our body and make it subject, if we accustom ourselves

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How we may obtain the fellowship of saints to pray unto our Lord with a humble spirit and a contrite soul, if we endeavor ourselves to take with a peaceable mind the spites that are done unto us by our neighbor, if we contend and strive with ourselves to love those that hate us and do us wrong, and to do them good and to pray gladly for their life and welfare, and to be with the virtue of patience, and the fruits of good works, garnished and made gay. For if our conversation be such... and if we also, according to the saying of the Apostle, ‘exhibit our bodies a lively host, holy and pleasant unto God,’ we shall be gifted with the heavenly honor that we may be in one glory rewarded with them that for our Lord’s sake gave their members to the death. For likewise as their death is precious in the sight of our Lord, so let our life be too... and then shall we be worthy also to enter into the place of the city above... and among the companies of the blessed martyrs, to render unto our Redeemer the vows of thanks.”

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Lo, here have ye heard, good Christian readers, how Saint Augustine understandeth and expoundeth both “sanctam ecclesiam catholicam” (the holy catholic church) and also “sanctorum communionem” (the communion, or fellowship, of saints). Whereby Friar Barnes may see that if he believe Saint Augustine as he would seem to do, then is his own fond imagination quailed by which he divineth after his divinity that these words “sanctorum communionem” do sharply prick the clergy, as he saith after in another place, in this manner...

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Barnes

That church that cannot err is all only the universal church which is called the communion and fellowship of saints—the which addition was made by holy fathers (for in Saint Cyprian’s time was there no mention of it), by all likelihood to declare the presumption of certain men and of certain congregations that reckoned themselves to be Holy Church. Wherefore, my lords, see well, too,

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lest the Holy Ghost have pricked you with this addition. For you have always made yourselves the Holy Church—yea, and that without any holiness.

More

If there hath never been any holiness at all in all the whole spirituality... then were those “holy fathers,” that Barnes saith added in the Creed “sanctorum communionem,” some wholly carnal fathers. Well, be it so, then, for Barnes’ sake. But I dare say they were none such fathers as Father-Friar Luther is, and as Father-Friar Huessgen is, that beget children by nuns. But this sufficeth here against Friar Barnes: that ye perceive by Saint Augustine here, that Friar Barnes’ fond invention is failed. 5 10

By these words of Saint Augustine, ye see also that Friar Barnes in his gay babble wherewith he would make men believe that the Church cannot be *the* church but if it suffer persecution, and that no man might come to heaven, nor be a true Christian man, but if he were persecuted—here, lo, good readers, besides that it is a great persecution unto the Church, and a right great grief and heaviness, to see so many of her members wax so rotten and fall away from her body by the incurable canker of these false, festered heresies... and that it is also sore persecuted both in body and goods by these false heretics in divers parts of Almaine... yet see you further here, in the afore-rehearsed words, the thing that I told you before—that as for persecution, it sufficeth to suffer it when it is of necessity put unto them... and men neither bound to go seek it nor so to suffer evil folk among themselves that the contagion of a few may corrupt a great many. Which grown once in great number, may fall unto rebellion and persecute all the country. For Saint Augustine showeth here well and clearly that without persecution, if we have (as would God we had!) so plenteously as our part were to have, such good, charitable works with the Catholic faith as himself rehearseth... we may be good Christian men and members... not only of the very church here in earth (which we may be by communion of faith though good works want), but also of the very church in heaven. 15 20 25 30 35

Saints pray for us.

Moreover, good Christian readers, ye see that Saint Augustine in these words doth

plainly show that the saints which are already in heaven do pray for us that are here in earth... which thing these heretics will in no wise agree.

Here see you also that these words “sanctam ecclesiam catholicam,” by which Friar Barnes would make us ween that the holy, catholic church were a secret, unknown church scattered about the world—Saint Augustine well and plainly declareth, if we consider well his words, that it must needs be this common-known Catholic church. 5

But now that I have plainly confuted Friar Barnes by Saint Augustine himself—whose order and rule Friar Barnes professed, and whose words he so often allegeth for his purpose, always proving against his purpose—I will now, for Friar Barnes’ further worship, confute him by the selfsame place of Saint Augustine which himself bringeth here forth for his special proof of his unknown holy church, to prove it a company of unknown faithful folk being holy by their only faith... whereof these are Friar Barnes’ words... 10 15

Barnes

This is well proved by your own law [*De con. Di. 4.c.*, “Prima igitur”] whose words be these: “Therefore is the Church holy—because she believeth righteously in God.” 20

And then Friar Barnes goeth forth with his own gloss upon these words and saith...

Hear you not the cause wherefore the church is holy? “Because she believeth righteously in God”; that is, she believeth nothing but in him, and she believeth nor heareth no word but his—as our Master, Christ, beareth witness: “My sheep hear my voice, and another man’s voice do they not know.” 25

More

Barnes here holdeth on his old craft, in furnishing his own glosses with falsifying the scripture of God. For ye shall understand, good Christian readers, that Saint John the Evangelist, out of whose gospel Barnes hath taken the words of our Savior Christ, rehearseth them not in such wise as Barnes doth—that is to wit, that the sheep of Christ “do not know the voice of any other man”—but he saith that 30 35

the sheep of Christ “do not follow any stranger, but do flee from him, because they know not the voice of strangers.” And now cometh Barnes and telleth us that Christ said that his sheep do not know the voice of “any other man”... as though the Church should refuse all other words than only those that Christ spoke in his own person. 5

But Christ said not they should hear “none other,” but that they should not hear *strangers*. For by other men whom he *sendeth*, his flock heareth his own words. And therefore he saith himself to his true Catholic preachers, “He that heareth you heareth me.”

Lk 10:16 But by *strangers*—that is to wit, by 10
heretics, which be strangers from the household of Christ’s Catholic Church, and which do strangely rehearse and strangely declare Christ’s Catholic scripture against the known Catholic doctrine of Christ’s known Catholic church—by the voice of such strangers (that is to wit, by the voice of such heretics) Christ’s sheep cannot hear their own Shepherd, Christ. And therefore they flee from every such stranger, according as Saint Paul—whose voice Christ’s sheep do hear, because he was another and *not* a stranger—saith unto Christ’s

Ti 3:10 flock, “That man that is a heretic after 20
the first or the second warning, eschew and flee from.”

And thus ye see, good readers, how Friar Barnes here falsifieth and wrong interpreteth the words of Christ in the Gospel of Saint John. 25

But now let us return to consider the words of that law that Barnes hath here rehearsed you... from which I have been, as ye see, a little letted by this other false point of his in false rehearsing the Scripture.

But, now, concerning that law, good readers... you shall understand that the words of that law be taken out of a sermon of Saint Augustine which he made unto certain persons forthwith upon their baptism. In which sermon, among many other things that he preached unto them (both in the same and other two sermons that he had made them before), he saith unto them thus: “Whereas we 30
have asked each of you, ‘Believest thou in Holy Church, remission of 35

sins, and resurrection of the flesh?’—we asked you not, after that manner, that you should even in the same manner as you believe in God believe in the catholic, holy church. Which church is *therefore* holy and catholic—because it believeth right in God—and therefore we said it not to the intent that ye should believe in the Church as ye should believe in God; but understand you that we bid you, and did bid you, that being conversant in the holy, catholic church, you should believe in God, and that you should believe also the resurrection of the flesh that is to come.” 5

Lo, good Christian readers, here have you heard that, in the self place where Saint Augustine saith that the Church is holy and catholic because it believeth right in God—because none of all the sects of heretics can be holy nor catholic, that is to say, universal, since very holiness can none be out of the right church, nor God shall suffer no sect of heresy to spread over all the world so as he spread the universal church—in the selfsame place, I say, Saint Augustine declareth that by these words “I believe in the holy, catholic church” is not meant that we shall believe therein as we believe in God... but that that we must, believing one, holy, catholic church, abide and be conversant in the same one, holy, catholic church... and, believing in God, continue in that one, holy, catholic church, and not go out thereof into any of so manifold diverse sects of heretics. By which ye may plainly perceive that Saint Augustine there declareth the holy, catholic church, of the right belief, to be the common one, universal, known church distinct and divided from all the known churches of heretics. For if it were unknown, how should he bid them, by that exposition of that article, abide and be conversant in it? Or how could he, as he saith also, a little before in the same sermon, as is also rehearsed in the same law, say that the ceremonies used in the baptism were instituted by the same catholic church? For if it were unknown, how could it anything institute or ordain? 10 15 20 25 30

And finally, to put out of all doubt and question that Saint Augustine abhorreth from Friar Barnes’ heresy that argueth, upon that article of the Creed, that *the* church should be an unknown church... Saint Augustine saith plainly, as I showed you before, against 35

Tyndale, that likewise as he were accursed that would say that
 Christ was not a man known, so accursed be he that saith the
Note church of Christ is not a church
 known.

Lo, thus are we now, good Christian readers, come unto an end of 5
 Friar Barnes' church, in which ye plainly see that he can neither
 agree with Tyndale's unknown church of "repentant sinners" nor
 impugn the common-known Catholic church of Christ, nor prove
 his own secret church of only saints unknown. Nor he hath not
 alleged, as ye see well also, neither any one text of Holy Scripture 10
 nor any sentence of holy doctor... but falsifying them and framing
 them afresh after his own fashion—yet have they not only
 nothing proved for him, but in conclusion clearly proved against
 him.

And therefore will I (to end where Barnes endeth himself) let 15
 you somewhat see how he handleth Saint Bernard, and therewith
 finish this book...

Barnes

But let us see what Saint Bernard saith on you: "They call themselves 20
 the ministers of Christ, but they serve Antichrist. They go
 gorgeously arrayed of our Lord's goods, unto whom they give
 none honor. And of these goods cometh the harlots' decking
 that thou seest daily, the game-players' disguising and kings'
 apparel. Of this cometh gold in their bridles, in their saddles,
 and in their spurs... so that their spurs be brighter than the 25
 altars. Of this cometh their plenteous winepresses and their full
 cellars, bolking from this unto that. Of this cometh their tuns
 of sweet wines. Of this be their bags so filled; for such things
 as these be, will they be rulers of the Church... as deacons, archdeacons,
 bishops and archbishops," etc. 30

My lords, I had thought to have added "cardinals and
 legates, abbots and priors," to have made the company more holy.
 But I durst not. How think you? Of whom doth he speak when he
 saith "bishops and archbishops"? What holiness doth he reprove
 when he speaketh of "gorgeous array," of "harlots' decking," of 35
 "game-players' disguising," of golden spurs, saddles, and bridles?
 If there were a hundred that did use it more than you... yet must

you needs grant that he speaketh of you. He passeth me sore in
 condemning of your holy ornaments. For he calleth you the
 servants of Antichrist... and your holy ornaments “harlots’
 decking,” and “game-players’ disguising”... and he saith that you are
 neither the church nor of the church, but the servants of Antichrist. 5
 How think you by Saint Bernard? It is time to condemn
 him! For he speaketh against Holy Church, and all holy ornaments!
 This dare I well say: that if the best Christian man within the realm
 should preach these words of Saint Bernard... you would not
 stick to condemn him for a heretic. But you were wont to call 10
him “sweet Bernard.” But methinketh that he is sour enough in this
 thing. Wherefore, dispute the matter with *him*—that you may come
 into the church—and not with *me*!
Finis.

More 15

Now, good readers, here is an end of Friar Barnes’ process concerning
 “the church”... which process he hath ended with Saint
 Bernard. By whose words Barnes would it should seem that Saint
 Bernard were of his opinion—that is to wit, that such as are evil
 are not of *the* church. And then were *the* church an unknown 20
 church of only good folk alone; howbeit, not yet precisely *his*
 church... for *his* church is, ye wot well, a church of folk not
 meanly good, but of folk so good, so pure, and so clean that there
 be not among them all so much as either spot or wrinkle.

Howbeit, though Saint Bernard should not prove Barnes’ 25
 church... yet would Friar Barnes that Saint Bernard should seem to
 prove *the* church to be at the least an unknown church of only good
 folk... and so to prove that the known Catholic church were not
the church. For as for Barnes, of truth, and all his fellows too, so they
 might disprove and destroy this church that is... they care not 30
 greatly for the making of another.

Yet would Friar Barnes farther, that Saint Bernard should seem
 to despise and set at naught all holy ornaments, and call them
 “harlots’ decking”... and then by the same means despise all other 35
 holy ceremonies of the Church.

But I shall show you, good readers, first that Saint Bernard proveth nothing for Friar Barnes, or against the known Catholic church, though his words were but as Friar Barnes rehearseth them.

Secondly shall I show you that Friar Barnes playeth with Saint Bernard here as ye have seen him before play with Saint Augustine, and with Saint Paul, and with Saint John the Evangelist—that is to wit, rehearse him false and change some words, and keep some words away, to make his matter seem sweet. Finally shall I show you that Saint Bernard—not in this heresy only (concerning the question “Which is *the* church?”), but also in all Friar Barnes’ other heresies—was his very special enemy; and then will I make an end.

For the first point, if Saint Bernard said here all as Friar Barnes rehearseth him... yet what had he said for Friar Barnes concerning *the* church? Do all those words amount to any more than that there are in every kind of ministers of *the* church some that are naught? And who denieth that? And then he saith also that all such as so be... do serve Antichrist and not Christ. And who saith nay? Who saith the evil folk serve God well? Doth not every man agree that evil Christian people do by their deadly sins serve the devil? If Friar Barnes will anything prove us by Saint Bernard, he must show where Saint Bernard saith that such as are evil are not of *the* church!

He showeth us no such word. And yet might Saint Bernard, and many another holy man, say such a word... and yet mean no such thing thereby. For he that would say in a sermon that a monk that breaketh his obedience, or any of his other vows, “is neither monk nor Christian man, but much worse than a Jew,” meaneth not thereby that he is no longer a monk indeed nor a member of his own monastery. Nor he that would say that a woman that breaketh her obedience to her husband “were not a wife” meaneth not that her husband were therefore discharged of her and may take another wife. Nor he that saith a drunken wife “is no woman, but a sow,” meaneth not thereby, pardie, that all her children shall be pigs.

Antichrist.” So that whereas Saint Bernard saith that though they serve Antichrist, yet they *be* the ministers of Christ in his church here... Friar Barnes turneth that another way, and maketh as though Saint Bernard said not that they *be* so, but said only that they *call* themselves so. And in like wise after, in the end, whereas Saint Bernard saith, “Pro huiusmodi volunt esse, et sunt, ecclesiarum praepositi . . .” (that is, “For such things as these be will they be rulers of churches, and so they be, as deans, archdeacons,” etc.), Barnes hath translated it thus: “For such things as these be, will they be rulers of the Church—deacons, archdeacons,” etc.; and these words “so they be” he leaveth out, as though Saint Bernard said not that they *were* any rulers in the Church, but only saith that they *would* be so.

And then, when he hath in such wise falsely translated Saint Bernard to make him seem to say so... then he lieth out loud, and saith unto them himself, “Lo, Saint Bernard saith that you be neither the church nor of the church.” Whereof, as ye see, Saint Bernard saith by plain words the contrary... which plain words of Saint Bernard Friar Barnes hath, as ye plainly see, of plain and pure malice manifestly and falsely changed. And whosoever that is learned and read that same sermon of Saint Bernard shall there evidently see that Saint Bernard calleth the very church of Christ the common-known Catholic church, and none unknown church. For he lamenteth there the estate of the church which he calleth also there “the body of Christ”; whereby ye may see that he speaketh of the very church of Christ in earth.

Now, then showeth he there that this church hath been in diverse times diversely vexed... first by paynims, that were never of it; secondly, by heretics, which were of it and went out of it; and thirdly, by naughty folk and evil rulers that be of it still and go not out, of whom he saith those words that Barnes hath falsely translated; and fourthly, by very good men thereof also, which abiding therein, and being also still thereof, be yet sometimes beguiled by the subtle sleight of the most wily devil, under color of going about some far better thing. And this process of those four vexations of the Church, Saint Bernard there bringeth in

Ps 91:5-6 upon these words of the Prophet, “A timore nocturne, a sagitta volante in dia, a negotio perambulante in tenebris, ab incursu et daemonio meridiano,” assigning to every one of those four vexations one of those four kinds of devils. By all which whole process together, whoso be learned and read it shall see Barnes’ heresy concerning the very church very fully and plainly overthrown. For there shall he plainly see that Saint Bernard whom Barnes here bringeth in to prove that evil folk be none of the very church of Christ, but only good, holy folk... declare there expressly that the very church of Christ—which he calleth there “the body of Christ”—is the whole number of both good and bad, diverse of living and yet one in belief... out of which one church all the churches of heretics be departed. 5

Now, whereas Barnes also saith that Saint Bernard calleth all the holy ornaments “harlots’ decking,” and “game-players’ disguising,” as though Saint Bernard did as himself doth—mock and scorn all hallowing of copes, vestments, and chalices, and such other ornaments as are used in the church about the Divine Service... which kind of hallowed things Friar Barnes in mockage and scorn accounteth among other, profane things, and joineth together (in the leaf of his book next before) Books, bells, candles, chalices, oil, chrism, and holy water, with horses, hounds, and such other goodly gear—to hear him now make as though Saint Bernard said the same, it is a thing too abominable! For which cause, to the intent ye may the more clearly know how far Saint Bernard was from the favoring of Friar Barnes’ heresies, I shall give you a plain example or twain. 10 15 20 25

Bernard’s third sermon on Psalm 91:3 Saint Bernard likeneth apostates unto the traitor Judas. I would Friar Barnes had spied and brought us forth *that*; for in that place he likeneth unto Judas not only those apostates that cast off their habits and run out at rovers, as Friar Barnes doth, and as Judas did after the Maundy... but also those religious folk that are apostates in their mind, and yet abide still in their habit and in their cloister because they cannot run out of their cloister and cast off their habit, for fear of worldly shame. By which words of 30 35

Saint Bernard ye may, good readers, perceive that such apostasy as is in our wretched days with much people little esteemed was had in Saint Bernard's time among all Christian people for a thing so shameful and abominable that those which else would fain have run out of religion, and thought themselves in the fire, almost, all the while they were therein, yet durst not, for all that, run out, for the very shame that they should have had to look any man in the face. 5

Saint Bernard also, detesting such apostasy and the pestilent heresies into which such apostates commonly do fall, writeth unto *Bernard, Letter 241* Hildefonsus, the Earl of Toulouse, against one Henry, an apostate run out of religion and corrupting the country with many such poisoned heresies as these apostates do now. And to the intent that ye may the better and the more fully perceive the goodness of Saint Bernard in this matter, and his fruitful labor and pain taken to the honor of God and profit of Christian people, and by God againward with many great open miracles allowed and approved against the said Henry, Friar Barnes' double brother... that is to wit, as well in heresy as in apostasy... I shall rehearse you somewhat of the matter out of the story that was by a very virtuous, holy man, in the same time that the thing was done, written in the life of Saint Bernard. "In the parts of Toulouse, one whose name was Henry—sometime a monk, and after that a lewd apostate, of a very ungracious living and pernicious doctrine—by his persuasive words had turned the wavering people of that country... and, as the Apostle foresaid of certain folk, he lived in hypocrisy, and lied, and made merchandise of them by false, feigned words. For he was a manifest enemy of the Church, derogating unreverently both the holy sacraments and ministers of the same. And he had now prevailed very much in his malice. For as our reverend father Saint Bernard, writing of him to the prince of Toulouse, among other things saith, 'Everywhere, almost, where he went, men might find the churches without people, people without priests, priests without due reverence, and, finally, Christian men without Christ.' 10 15 20 25 30 35

"The life of Christ was shut from the babies of Christian folk, while the grace of Baptism was denied. Prayers were mocked at, and the

oblations for men's souls, praying to saints, the sentence of
 excommunication, the pilgrimage of faithful folk, the building
 of churches, the sparing from bodily work on the holy days, the
 consecrating of the holy chrism and oil, and, finally, all manner
 ordinances of the Church, were set at naught. In this necessity this 5
 holy man, often thereunto instantly required by the Christian folk of
 that country, at the last took his journey—persuaded and brought
 thereunto by the most reverend father in God Albericus, bishop of
 Ostia and legate of the See Apostolic. And when he came
 thither, he was received of the people there with an incredible 10
 devotion, as though an angel had come down unto them from
 heaven. Nor long might he not tarry with them, for that no man was
 able to keep back the throng of the people from him... so great
 was the multitude of them that came to him daily and nightly,
 calling upon him for his blessing and his help. Yet preached he 15
 certain days in the city of Toulouse, and in all such other places
 as that wretch most had haunted and most grievously had
 infected many a simple soul in the faith—in those places Saint
 Bernard instructed and strengthened them that were wavering,
 revoking them that erred, setting up again those that were 20
 overthrown, overthrowing and keeping under by his
 authority the subverters, and all those that were obstinate; all
 whom he overthrew and repressed in such wise that they neither
 durst resist nor so much as appear and show themselves. Howbeit,
 though that heretic was then fled, and had hidden himself... 25
 yet were his ways in such wise stopped, and his paths so beset, that
 scant he could after lurk sure in any place... and was at the last
 taken and fast bound, and brought to the bishop.

“In this journey of Saint Bernard, God was in his said servant
 glorified by many miracles, while he called back the hearts of some 30
 from their wicked errors, and some also cured from diverse
 diseases of their bodies.

“There is a place, in the same country, called Sarlat, where, after
 his sermon finished, they brought many loaves of bread to the
Hallowed bread servant of God (as the custom was everywhere) 35
 to be hallowed; which loaves of
 bread—he lifted up his hand, and in the name of God blessed them

with the Sign of the Cross, and said unto the people, ‘By this shall ye know that the things which we tell you be true, and the things which these heretics tell you be false: if ye see that your sick folk after that they have tasted of this bread be cured.’ Then the reverend father the bishop of Carnotensis, that great, famous man Bishop Galfred (for he was there present and next the man of God), somewhat fearing lest that miracle of curing should not fall upon every sick man that should eat of that bread, said unto the people, ‘Those sick folk shall find help that eat of this bread with a good faith.’ But then Saint Bernard, nothing doubting of the power of our Lord, answered, ‘That is not the thing that I would have said... but that verily, *whosoever taste* thereof shall be *cured*, to the intent they may thereby know that we be true, and the very, true messengers of God.’

“So great a number of sick people, by the tasting of that same bread, recovered, that the tidings thereof was published throughout all the province... so that that holy man, returning by the places near thereabout, was for the intolerable concourse of people fain to turn out of his way, and feared to go thither.”

Now, good Christian readers, here may ye perceive that holy Saint Bernard—with whose words Friar Barnes, as though Saint Bernard were his special patron, so proudly maketh an end of all his peevish process—is so fully, so openly, and so plainly against him in all his whole heresies that a man would marvel where Friar Barnes’ wit was when he brought him in. For first we have seen that the *very* words of Saint Bernard which Barnes bringeth new-framed by himself, and falsely forged for his own advantage, do plainly make against his purpose that he bringeth them for. And now ye see farther, here, that Saint Bernard also was very enemy to Barnes’ all other heresies... and not only did preach against the selfsame heresies that Barnes now setteth forth, but did also prove them false, and the faith of the Catholic Church true, by manifold open miracles. And finally, whereas Barnes reproveth the Church for persecuting of heretics—ye see that holy Saint Bernard, whom Barnes so specially bringeth in for his part, did plainly pursue them, and labored for their punishment himself.

And further have I showed you that Saint Bernard, in the selfsame
 process out of which Friar Barnes hath picked and falsifieth
 those few words that he bringeth... doth plainly, to Friar Barnes'
 confusion in his principal purpose of "the church," declare and make
 open that the very, true church of Christ, his Mystical Body here 5
 in earth, is no secret, unknown church, as Friar Barnes goeth about
 to make it seem... but is, out of all question, this one, common, well-known
 Catholic church of all Christian nations, as I before have
 specified, left together in the stock of unity of the known Catholic
 faith, distinct and divided from all the manifold withered 10
 branches of so many sundry schisms and sects as from the
 beginning unto these wretched days have with obstinate malice
 willfully fallen therefrom.

And in this wise, good Christian readers, here end I this book against
 Friar Barnes' evil and un-Christian process... wherewith against the 15
Mt 16:18 promise of Christ, the devil and he
 labor in vain to pull down Christ's
 church.

Thus endeth the Eighth Book.

The Ninth Book

Which is a recapitulation and summary
proof that the common-known Catholic
church is the very, true
church of Christ 5

Ye have, good Christian readers, by my seven books before, heard at
great length the secret, unknown church devised by William Tyndale.
And in the eighth have ye heard the secret, unknown church framed and set
up by Friar Barnes. Of which two churches ye shall, if ye consider well
the descriptions and the differences, besides that neither nother of 10
them proveth his own church, yet ye shall, I say, see that neither of
their churches can stand and agree with other.

Now, if I should farther show you, as I gladly would, saving that
it would ask more time and labor than were well done to lose—
else would I gladly, as I said, have showed you both Luther's church 15
and Hus's church, and Huessgen's church, and yet some other churches
of more men's making, too, every one of all which hath built themselves
an unknown church, in the devising whereof they have gone so
far beyond their own wits, and set up their churches so far
above the sun, that whoso read them and consider them well will 20
surely think in himself that when they sat and mused upon that
matter, they were so far inspired with the spirit of the buttery that
the goose was over the moon. For (besides all their other follies too
frantic for any man) neither in the people of their church nor
in the signs and tokens whereby their church should be known—for 25
known will each of them have his church, and yet they will all have
all their churches unknown—not one of them agreeth with another,
saving that as each of them would have his church by
some signs and tokens known, so will they all have all their churches
unknown. And in conclusion so they be indeed, and to no man more 30
unknown than every man's own to himself.

And yet all their own signs and tokens, if they would follow them,
would lead them plain unto our own common-known Catholic
church. For there is not a sign or token that aught is, that any of
them all have devised to know *the* church by, but it is (as ye shall after 35
see) plainly found in this known Catholic church.

But while they be not content to acknowledge this known church
 for the very church notwithstanding that they see therein the very
 marks and tokens of the very church that they devise for sure
 marks themselves, but will, for all that, go run out of this known
 church, in which they find their marks, to seek a church unknown 5
 which neither by those marks nor any other they shall never find
 while they live, nor if there were any such, and that they should
 happen on it at adventure, yet by those marks nor none other they
 could never know—and, of a very truth, “very church” such as
 any of them all devise is there nowhere none!—fare they not, therefore, 10
 all the whole meinie, like a mad sort of drunken sots that, when they
 were sitting by the fire to warm them, were suddenly fallen in
 such a frantic folly that, weening the very fire were not that they
 sit by, would run out rashly in a sudden rage, every man a
 sundry way, to seek a very fire somewhere without in the frost? 15

Surely, good Christian readers, there is a plain figure of these false,
 foolish, brutish, beastly folk in Holy Scripture, in the nineteenth chapter of
 Genesis. For like as there the beastly Sodomites were so struck
 blind, by the stroke of God, that they fumbled about and could not
 find the door to enter into Lot’s holy house, which they went 20
 about with their abominable beastliness to pollute and defile: so these
 beastly people, these abominable heretics which nothing so
 greedily go about as to pollute the sanctuary of God and shame
 their own mother Holy Church... whereas if they tarried with her,
 they might by the motherly cure and diligent help of her attain 25
 remedy of their other sicknesses... they run out in a mad rage, and
 yet having an imagination of some truth remaining in their mad
 heads—that is to wit, that out of *the* church there can none health
Health cannot be had out of the Church be had—they wander about seeking *the*
 church, each a sundry way; and, each 30
 always leaving *the* church upon his back
 as they went out at several doors, the farther ever that each of
 them goeth forward... the farther ever each of them goeth from her.

And they be not only fallen in this frenzy that they go farther
 and farther from her to seek her, but, which is the most madness 35
 that can fall in a frantic head, they confess, every one, that they go
 seek her whom if they might hap to find, they could not yet tell
 whether they had found her or not. For they confess, all the meinie,
 that the church which they seek is, and always shall be, unknown.

And yet do they, for all that, of their farther folly devise, each of them, tokens whereby she might be known—and say still, for all that, that she can never be but secret in this world where they seek her, and evermore still unknown.

Wherefore, good Christian readers, letting those fond fellows
5
alone, and leaving them seeking *the* church, which while they
go fromward, till they turn back again, they shall never find—we
shall, for an end of all this whole matter, now in this last book
shortly gather together, and in a brief sum ponder and consider
10
the substance of, such things as have at length been said in these
eight books of this whole work before. Of all which I will in this
one book bring you forth but the truths touching the proof of
the common-known Catholic church to be the very church of
Christ in earth, that in such wise hath and evermore shall have the
true doctrine in her that she shall never be suffered of God to fall in
15
any damnable error. These proofs will I shortly gather you together,
with very little reasoning thereupon, except the fewer things,
forasmuch as the most part shall be such things as already be debated,
argued, and proved in mine eight former books of this work,
wherein I have confuted the contrary follies of Tyndale and Friar
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Barnes; which books if they can, between them both, well answer and
avoid—then, that thing once done, they shall have answered the
great part of that I shall show you here. Howbeit, some things yet
shall I show you, good readers, in this last book besides, that shall
have such vigor and strength therein that though they had (which
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I wot well they never shall) well and sufficiently avoided all that I
have answered them in all my former eight books, yet shall the
rest of those reasons and authorities, that I shall in this last book
bring you, clearly confute all that ever they have written in the
matter for their parts both, and clearly prove you mine. 30

First, good readers, it shall be necessary, for the better perceiving,
that we consider by what means and what wise we come to this
question of *the* church. For when ye see for what cause these heretics
bring in question and in doubt this questionless and clear,
undoubted church, then shall ye thereby see a special light to put
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away the darkness within which they would fain walk, and to
perceive their legerdemain with which they would juggle forth
their falsehood and shift the truth aside.

Ye wot well first, good readers, that all the variance between

them and us riseth upon the surety of such things as are to be believed upon the loss of salvation.

In these things both they and we be well agreed that reason hath no full and perfect instruction without help of Revelation. For not only in things only to be believed, but in many things also that are to be done or left undone, for anything that reason can tell either them or us, we be fain to seek the certainty of Revelation. 5

Revelation Now, they and we be both, I suppose, agreed that Revelation is, in general, the showing of a thing by God unto his creature, either immediately or by a means, in some such wise that the same creature by his only natural powers should either not at all or not so fully without that showing have attained the perceiving thereof. 10

But now begin they and we to vary upon the means of Revelation. For *we* say that God hath made his revelation to his church partly by writing, partly without, and that in those two manners the revelations of God still abide and continue in his church, in Scripture and traditions delivered by the evangelists and apostles of Christ unto the Church, and that over that, Christ himself and his Holy Spirit do still, by secret inspiration, reveal and open unto his church every necessary truth that he will have his church farther know and bound to believe. 15

But of this say they the contrary. For they say that God, albeit that unto the church of Christ he did give all his revelations without writing, and not one by writing (for the true expositions of the old Scripture by him taught and before not perceived, he gave his church in the beginning without writing)—yet they say that the evangelists and apostles *did write all* those things, as far forth as should be necessary for salvation; so that, the corps of Scripture being finished in the apostles' days, our Lord never gave any necessary revelation since, nor never will again while the world shall stand. And this they say without any proof, and bid us be bold upon their bare word to believe them. But *God* they will in no wise that any man shall believe without *writing*. But this folly of theirs I have fully confuted, both in divers other parts of this work and especially in the last chapter of my Third Book. 25 30 35

But then go we farther with them, and since they will believe but the Scripture, we tell them that there arise many doubts upon the Scripture. And we ask them how we shall be sure of the true understanding of the Scripture, concerning such doubts as rise upon any necessary points. For of such points great doubts there arise many. 5

The Scripture, unto heretics, In this question they be loath to come near
is as plain as a packstaff. the point. For first they tell us that there be no such doubts, but that allthing is in the Scripture as plain as a packstaff. For they say that there is no difficulty nor hardness appearing thereupon but that by conferring and comparing one place with another, every man may find out the truth well enough. 10

Then tell we them that though they said truth—that every man might by such collation of every place with other find out the truth—yet were it not plain for every man, nor yet plain for any man but for him that could do so. And yet not for him, neither, fully so plain as a packstaff, since it will make some man’s hands rough, with turning the Book so often to and fro, before he try out every such truth on that fashion. 15

Also we show them that when of every man that have so turned the Book to seek for it, some have taken and understood the Scripture one way, and some turning the same Book and searching therefor also, have taken and understood it another way... now riseth the doubt for him that hath not turned it himself, nor cannot so good skill thereof, by what means he may be sure that he mistake not the truth—yea, and also by what means each of the others, also, that hath so turned the Book himself, may be sure that himself be not deceived as well as he weeneth the other is, that taketh it contrary to his mind, namely while he seeth that among the others that think him deceived, there are men that have wit and learning as he hath, and have taken labor about it as himself hath done. 20

2 Pt 3:15–16 Then add we to this that the book of Scripture hath such things in it written by Saint Paul as be confessed hard by Saint Peter, and therefore hard would it be to make therein all manner thing so light. 25 30 35

Rv 3:7; 5:1–10 We lay also that the Scripture is in the Apocalypse called the book “clasped

with seven clasps” which the Lamb shutteth and then doth no man open it, and the Lamb openeth it and then doth no man shut it.

But when we tell them this, then glad be they. For then they think themselves at home, and say that we say truth therein, and that of truth no man can teach it but God himself. And then they help us forth therewith, rehearsing the prophecy of Isaiah recited by our
Is 54:13; Jn 6:45 Savior in the Gospel of John, that all men
Is 6:9; Mt 13:13–15 shall be taught of God, and that therefore to whomsoever God will open the Scripture,
 he shall understand it, and they that he will not open it to, they shall read it and understand it not, but hearing it, they shall not hear it. And of these two sorts the one is (say they) the number of his elects, and the other, the number of reprobates. For his elects he will teach, they say, because he hath chosen them, and the other he will not, because he would not choose them.

Now, when they tell us this tale, and that we see that it were a long tale, a strange, and a dark, to fall in dispicions upon God’s election, prescience, predestination, and eternal sentence of reprobation... we spare and forbear those matters, and bring them a little into the light out of that deep darkness in which they would fain walk. And we ask them, therefore, whether notwithstanding all this teaching that God teacheth his elects himself—whether he do not, I say, command *all* folk, elect or not elect, to come to Baptism and to belief, and learn the same either by declaration of Scripture or otherwise of men’s mouths, such as himself by a certain order and form from time to time appointeth for to teach them. For did he
Mt 28:19–20 not send his apostles and his disciples to
Jn 21:15–17 teach and preach? And did he not bid
Lk 10:16 Saint Peter feed his sheep? And did he not say, “He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me”? To this, though they be loath, yet be they fain to come and agree. Well, say we then, whosoever so doth and liveth well therewith shall, for all this babbling, be saved, and shall be an elect but himself be the let. For no man shall be reprobate and damned without his own fault, whatsoever they say.

Then ask we them farther, whether Christ meant all this but for

the apostles' time alone, or else to endure after forever: that men should, besides the inward teaching of God, be taught ever outwardly, one man of another. This conclusion they grant also, not only for the necessity that reason and Scripture driveth and forceth them so to do, but also for that they must else grant that there were no cause why they should preach themselves, and preach they will themselves, to die therefor. 5

Then ask we them whether that company which come together to learn and to teach the right faith, and to live in Baptism after the profession of Christ's faith and doctrine of living truly taught and learned, have the assistance of Christ and his Holy Spirit therein or not, and whether of that company—or, at the least, of some part of that company—these words of Christ be always verified: "I will not leave you fatherless; but I will send you another Comforter, that shall *Jn 14:16–18, 26; 16:13* teach you allthing, and lead you into all *Mt 28:20* truth, and I myself am with you all days, unto the end of the world." 10 15

To this in conclusion they consent also. Then say we farther that forasmuch as they with whom Christ is perpetually assistant, and whom he leadeth into all truth, be they that have the surety of doctrine, therefore of them it is surety to learn as well the necessary understanding of Scripture as all other necessary lessons beside, if anything be necessary beside Scripture. 20

To this they be also, as far as I perceive, driven in conclusion to condescend. Then say we farther that it followeth also thereupon that of them also, that have that perpetual assistance of Christ and his Holy Spirit, we must learn this also, and have this doubt of them assoiled, and believe them therein: that is to wit, whether there *be* beside the Scripture any necessary thing to be learned. For they with whom Christ and his Holy Spirit is evermore assistant to lead them into every necessary truth—they, I say, cannot damnably err in that point, but it must needs be that if they think there be things necessary to be believed beside the Scripture, then so there be indeed. 25 30

And in this point our adversaries will agree with us, I think. For yet in all this way they may ween they walk safe enough. 35
Mt 28:20 Then descend we somewhat lower, and
Jn 16:13 ask them whether they with whom Christ hath promised to be assistant here in earth unto the world's end, and with his Holy Spirit to lead them into all

truth, be any one particular person alone, or a congregation and company.

To this yet—because Christ abideth here in earth with no one man perpetually till the world’s end, because no man abideth here so long himself—our adversaries will agree that he speaketh it of a congregation. And finally they will agree that the same congregation in which that assistance is, and by that assistance, that faithful, true, perfect doctrine by the inspiration of the Spirit, is the very church of Christ, and that all the particular parts thereof, as well men and women as the particular companies, make one, whole, universal church of Christ through the whole world. This will they not let to agree, for yet they may wade on well enough. 5 10

But then in this we vary with all our adversaries: that all they say that this church is a company of men and women unknown, which unknown church diverse of them frameth of diverse fashions, some making it of meetly good, some of very good, some of so good as there be no such, and some of such as be (they say) both good and bad all at once. And some one man maketh it of more fashions than one, as Tyndale doth, and Barnes, both. But in that one point, for all that, agree they all together: that they would, every one, prove the true church unknown. For if *the* church be *known*, then be these folk known all for heretics. 15 20

The true church And we, on the other side, say that the very, true church *is* known, and that it is finally, without any farther subtlety, this common-known Catholic church of all Christian people abiding in the old, so long continuing stock, agreeing together in faith and doctrine, albeit the living of the great multitude be far unlike the perfection of their profession. 25

Now, good Christian readers, in conclusion, it appeareth plainly between them and us that a very church of Christ there is and ever must be in earth, till Christ come again unto Judgment and end all this world. 30

And it is plain also that the church which they and we both do seek in this question is not the church in heaven, *toward* which we be walking, but the church in earth, *in* which we be walking. 35

And this is a clear thing also: that albeit men may speak of diverse churches—as of a church of good men, a church of evil men, a

church of both, a church of elects into Baptism, a church of eternal elects, a church of repentants, a church of impenitents, a church of those that stand for the while in the state of grace, a church of those that are predestinated unto eternal glory—yet by how many manner of means soever a man may use that word “church,” plain it is that the church which is the very church of Christ here in earth is, for all that, but one church, though the same have (as indeed it hath) many particular parts, whereof, for the convenience and agreement with the whole church, every one company is called a church. But the whole very church, which is therefore called the Catholic church (that is to wit, the universal church)—this can be but one.

Finally, it appeareth plainly also that the cause for which they and we both seek out the very church is because we might attain thereby the surety of the very truth in doctrine, be it only by the true understanding of the Scripture or by the Scripture and other revelations beside.

Now, these things thus between them and us agreed (as I think they needs must, and in effect they do, consent and agree with us), let us go farther and consider the point that standeth between us in variance, which is in effect but whether the very church of Christ, that we both seek for, be this common-known Catholic church of ours, or some unknown church of theirs.

In which thing I will show you, first, that it must needs be a known church and none unknown. Which one point proved alone, quite overthroweth all them.

Secondly I will prove you that the very church is this known Catholic church of ours.

Thirdly will I show you that if it be an unknown church, yet is it a part of this known church, and none unknown church of any of all theirs.

Fourthly will I show you by what marks and tokens, part of their own devising, part others beside, that every man may plainly perceive and see that the very church of Christ here in earth neither is nor can be no manner church of theirs, nor, finally, none other but this common-known Catholic church which all they refuse.

Let us go now to the first point, that is to prove you that the very church of Christ in earth is and must needs be a known church, and no church unknown.

foolish cause that their master Luther laid, that the very cause must be, not to teach it (though one teach another *in* it), but rather to

Jn 16:13

learn *of* it, for the surety of the doctrine that is nowhere but in it, because in it only

Christ and his Holy Spirit is forever assistant, to teach it and lead it into every truth. And of this cause assigned, they see well themselves that since no man can be sure of an unknown church, it must needs follow that the very church, the which cannot err, and by whose teaching therefore a man may be sure, must needs be a known church.

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And thus have I once proved you that the very church must needs be a known church.

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Another reason to prove that the very church is a known church is this. That there is a known church, every man seeth and every heretic agreeth. But of all those that say that the same known church is not the very church, but that an unknown church is the very church, never one could hitherto prove it, but every one that hath gone about to prove it hath proved himself a fool, and hath had each of his own fellows against him. For none of them agreeth with other, but each of them hath assigned a diverse church from all his own fellows. Whereby it appeareth well that all their device of an unknown church is but a very fantastical imagination, like not, as Friar Barnes mocketh, to *intentio secunda*, for that will be a little better proved than he proveth his unknown church, but like unto *lapis philosophorum*, or to *quinta essentia*, which never man could make yet; but as for to make *aurum potabile*, that is a plain, common practice. For there are enough that can turn into drink both gold and silver, copper, brass, and pewter, and any manner thing that men may get any money for.

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Another reason is there to prove that the very church must needs be a known church. For all they which deny it and say it is unknown, yet in their peevish processes whereby they would prove it unknown, and wherein they describe, each of them, their own fantastical church unknown, there is not one of them but he deviseth and imagineth marks, tokens, and signs by which his unknown church—and which he saith *cannot* be known—may, for all that, be known; as ye see both by Tyndale and Barnes.

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Then say we thus unto them: “Sirs, if it be necessary that the very

church should be known, God, which can make a church as well
 as any of you, hath of likelihood made his very church a church
 already known. And if it be *not* good nor necessary that his
 very church should be known, but that God hath himself for
 that cause made it unknown, and such also, as all you say, that it *cannot* 5
 be known: wherefore are all you so mad to break your fond,
 feeble brains about it, against your own purpose, to make it appear
 and be known?" What shall they say to this, trow we? In good
 faith, I cannot tell; saving that to save themselves, they will, I ween,
 assay to steal away in the dark with some such riddles as Tyndale doth, 10
 and like as he windeth out with "sinning and yet not sinning" and "error
 and yet none error," so will they come at last with "known and yet
 not known"—and "church and yet not church," and "Christ and yet not
 Christ," and "God and yet not God," too.

Another reason is this: the common articles of the faith be requisite 15
 to be had of every man *before* he meddle with the reading
 of the Scripture. For if he shall without knowledge had of them
 before, and without firm credence given to them before, go seek
 them out in the Scripture, he shall both be long ere he get them and
 shall also stand in great peril to fall into the contrary heresies, as 20
 other heretics have done before.

But then, those articles must some man teach them, or give them the
 creed wherein they be contrived. Which whoso do, if they believe
 him as a private person, they can give him but slight credence.
 Wherefore, his credence dependeth upon that that he is one of the 25
church, and teacheth and giveth that the whole *church* hath
 received of God and believeth and delivereth to be believed. But he
 that teacheth these articles, or delivereth this creed, cannot be
 known as a member, or a minister, of a church unknown; nor they
 that refer all unto the Scripture cannot say that any man can 30
 before the Scripture well known and understood by him know
 what the church unknown believeth; ergo, the credence of him that
 should teach those articles, or deliver the creed, dependeth upon a
 known church. And no church can have credence in matters of
 true faith but the very, true church; ergo, a known church is the 35
 very, true church, and then is the very, true church a known
 church.

Moreover, it is now agreed at the last by Tyndale, and none of all these heretics do deny it, but that the perpetual virginity of

*The perpetual virginity of
our Lady cannot be
proved by Scripture.*

our Lady is an undoubtable truth, and to be believed when it is taught, though he might be saved by the belief of other articles if he had never happed to hear

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word of this. This do these folk agree which yet say the very church is unknown. But then I ask them wherefore they think themselves bound to believe. He cannot say, "By the Scripture." For the Scripture doth not prove it. And that is so far forth true that Saint Jerome, which for that article argueth against Helvidius the heretic, doth not prove—nor so much as goeth about to prove—it by any one word of Scripture, but only proveth Helvidius a liar in that he said that the Scripture said the contrary.

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Now, since they believe that article not for the Scripture, wherefore think they themselves bound to believe it? Not for any one man's word, I suppose, especially since no one man that saith it speaketh of any revelation that himself hath had of it. There is no doubt but the cause of the bond they must lay to be the bond whereby we be bound to give credence to the whole *church*. And this church can be none unknown church. For we cannot know what the unknown church believeth; ergo, the church that they believe therein, and which they think themselves bound to believe therein, is a known church. But they will think themselves bound to believe no church but the very, true church; ergo, by their own reason, the very, true church is a known church.

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If they will answer and say that by the Scripture they know what the unknown church believeth, for they know that they believe all the same things that they see themselves be by the Scripture to be believed—to this answer ye wot well that this objection of the perpetual virginity of our Blessed Lady is a plain stop, since they cannot be sure by the Scripture that the unknown church believeth that article that they find not surely taught in the Scripture. Also, if it were so... that they might hereafter find in the Scripture such things as may clearly prove the article—as peradventure they may, for many mysteries are there in the Scripture more than are yet peradventure understood. And also meseemeth that it may be meetly well proved by the plain Scripture indeed, by such a means as these men, I ween, will not speak it. For it appeareth, as I have

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declared in my *Dialogue*, that our Lady had vowed perpetual chastity; and then, considering that she did never actually sin, which she

A proof of our Lady's perpetual virginity should have done if she had broken her vow, whereof we find no dispensation nor no sufficient proof of the breach

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thereof—these things set together seem to prove meetly well the perpetuity of her virginity.

But yet, since no proof of Scripture can serve them, by Luther's rule, but very plain, open, and evident, they will never prove this point by Scripture—and also not so much as speak thereof, because friars that break their vows and wed nuns have no list to be acknown that our Lady did vow chastity.

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And of very truth, both in this point and many other necessary truths, though they be spoken of in Scripture, and some insinuation made of them, and some light given toward them—yet, many circumstances considered, it shall well appear that the fullness of the persuasion and sure belief groweth by the secret revelation inspired by the Spirit of God into his whole *church*, and, with credence giving thereto, inspired after into every man that cometh thereto and learneth thereof... and that of none but of a known church.

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But, as now I was about to say, if these folk will (as I wot well they will not) say hereafter, in time to come, that this article *is* proved by Scripture, and therefore they perceive by the Scripture what their unknown church believeth therein: this will nothing hurt mine argument. For yet shall they be driven, for all that, to grant that they could not *before* lay that cause of their belief, all the while that themselves perceived it not proved by Scripture—which hath been yet ever hitherto, as ye plainly perceive by them. And so shall they be fain, at the leastwise hitherto, though they would after change... to confess yet, for all this while, that they have in this article believed some known church; and consequently shall they thereby be driven to grant that the very church of Christ hath hitherto been openly known.

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Another reason that the very church must be a known church is this: God hath ever from the beginning had his church a known church, in the place where he would have it. For first the church was increate; that is to wit, the church or congregation of the three eternal Persons, of which each knew other.

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Second was his church of the whole number of angels... a known church, each to other, all good at the first. And when Lucifer with his fellows offended so highly in pride that they would out of that church, as Luther and his fellows by pride are gone out of this church... yet after their sin conceived till the vengeance taken, they were still in one church, were the time long or short. And then was there, as it seemeth, in heaven one known church, for the while, of both good and bad together, as there is now in this church. But as soon as God had expelled those heretics and schismatics out of heaven, as the Church hath expelled these heretics and schismatics here, as it always doth expel and put out all such others when their obstinate and incurable malice is perceived: then remained there in heaven a known church of only good, and with Lucifer in hell a known only church of only naught, and each of these churches forever.

Now, if any man will here object and argue that the evil angels tarried not in heaven at all, but that in the turning to themselves, or to Lucifer, was in itself a turning from God and a losing of their state, and no time of tarrying between their sin and their exposition, but that as receiving of sin is expelling of grace, so was in them the conceiving of pride the loss of heaven—I will not at this time prolong this matter with that dispicions, which if ever we fall to, they shall peradventure then find that I might defend this well enough. And if I could not, they shall peradventure find farther not so great change in the matter for my principal purpose, that I should greatly need.

And therefore, for the while without any more reasoning, I say yet again that since it appeareth by Scripture that they were expelled and put out of heaven and thrown down thence, and not but for their sin, and therefore not before their sin but after: they tarried there till they were put thence, and so were there that while both good and bad together.

Moreover, God began his church of mankind... a known church in Paradise. And when man and woman had offended both (both, I say, in breach of God's commandment, but not both against faith and belief of God's words; for Adam was not deceived, as Saint Paul saith), God punished it and drove it thence into earth,

and there made it and kept it a known church of folk, sometimes good, and sometimes some good and some bad. For out of this church when God expelled Cain and his generation, yet kept he the known church of the good and faithful generations known. And after, when he washed away the whole people of the earth, he reserved in the ship of Noah the known church of a few folk, and yet among these few not always good. 5

After kept he and continued his known church of faithful generations to Abraham, and in Abraham and his succession, and after called that known church in Egypt—though it were then waxen very weak in faith with the fellowship of idolaters and subjection unto faithless folk—and that known church he called and brought thence into desert under Moses and Aaron, and in desert kept it a known church. And when they waxed idolaters, heretics, and schismatics, he punished them and divided commonly the faulty from the flock, and either killed them or by the death of part of them changed and amended the remnant. 10 15

After that, he continued his known church under judges, priests, prophets, and kings in the twelve tribes of Israel, till the days of Rehoboam, the son of King Solomon. 20

After that, when the ten tribes for anger swerved and departed from their own natural liege lord unto Jeroboam—then remained, as Saint Cyprian saith, the very church in Judea, and in these two known tribes he kept his known church.

Very truth it is that, little and little, the same known church decayed, and waxed weak in faith, and new, naughty doctrine against Christ's coming was sprung up therein, and the weeds began to overgrow the corn. But yet, for all that, until his own coming, there he kept his known church, that was then called the synagogue of Moses, and so was that—his known church—*his* church, and the truth of doctrine so preserved therein that in it was the truth, and many good-faithful folk therein, and *only* in it was the truth, as many false as were therein, as our Savior 25 30

Jn 4:22 witnesseth himself unto the woman of Samaria, saying, “You worship ye wot ne'er what, but we worship that we know, for health is of Judea.” 35

Now, when that in the synagogue, the known church of God, there was grown so great confusion that albeit there were many good-faithful folk therein, yet by the means of many evil masters abiding still among the good, many light people began to be misled: God of his goodness, not willing to suffer the people to fall in perplexity, but that they should easily and readily be sure of the true doctrine, came himself down, the Second Person of the Trinity, equal with either of the twain, and by the sending of the Father and the working of the Holy Ghost (and yet as well the sending as the working, the deed of all three) became incarnate, and took flesh in the pure womb of our Blessed Lady, and being in her holy belly very flesh, very soul, and very God, in one perfect person of our Savior Christ, God and man together, was of her born
Mt 1:18—2:1 in Bethlehem without pain, as he was begotten without fleshly pleasure. And after, he gathereth his apostles and his other disciples, and began his own, new church of Jews and Gentiles both, and was himself the head cornerstone—which the Jews reprov'd and rejected, and would not be built upon it... and yet was he laid, for all that, for the very angle- and corner-stone upon which both the side walls, of the Jews and of the paynims, were joined in one together, as it was by David prophesied: “The stone which they that were in building have reprov'd, here is it made for that head of the angle.”
Ps 118:22 Here began he his church a known church—and a notable and *well* known. Also, of that same known church, so begun, there hath by succession continued a church this fifteen hundred years well known. Finally, after all this world ended, when Christ shall deliver the kingdom to his Father, then shall God have his universal church a known church forever. Wherefore, since God hath had from the beginning, and from before all beginning, and shall have in the end also, to last without end, his church ever known in heaven, and hath himself, both at the first making and at every change since, made his church in earth a church well known also: what cause have these folk now to say that he will have his church in earth unknown?
Moreover, the head of *the* church is, and from the beginning hath

been, a known head. And as the man hath been sometimes a good man and sometimes an evil, and yet, for all that, as well the bad as the good hath still been head of *the* church, and a known head: what cause have they to say that any of the members may not be a member of *the* church though he be an evil man?—but would make as though God had set a known head unto an unknown body, and made a shepherd upon such a flock of sheep as he could not wit which they were. 5

To this argument they will give two solutions. One, by denying that God hath made over his church evermore a known head. And another answer will be that the known head is head but upon the known church, and that the unknown church... which is the very church... hath an unknown head, which is, they will say, none but Christ. 10

To their first answer when we reply that, passing over all the time from Adam to Christ, Christ was himself a known head upon his church of his twelve apostles, and upon all his disciples that he took into him, both the good and the bad; and then he appointed Saint Peter for his successor, and head and chief shepherd to feed and govern his whole flock after his death, and so forth the 15

Mt 16:18–19; Jn 21:15–19 successors of him ever after: to this they will grant that Christ was head of his very church; “that is to wit,” will they say, “of the *unknown* church—and yet *his known* church, that is to wit, the church that was known to *him*, for he always knew who were his—and of the same unknown church he is the head still.” And here will they fall from reasoning into preaching, and with a gay glorious process will they describe us the holiness of that both known and unknown head, and the holiness of that both known and unknown body, the head known to the body by its voice, and the body known to that head by its faith. And then, as they will first fall from proving to preaching, so will they soon after fall from preaching into their unreasonable railing, against all the known church, and all the known heads thereof, from Christ’s days to their own. And in all that railing will they forget the ribaldrous heads of their own churches—the friars that run in apostasy and make whores of nuns—and run will they forth all against ours. And first will they fall from Saint Peter, and 20 25 30 35

refuse him for head of *the* church, and so forth down all the remnant of his successors, by row.

But we shall not need to dispute this point with them, for thus far forth as yet. For if Christ did not appoint Saint Peter for the chief shepherd over all his flock, yet can they not say nay but that yet at the least he appointed Saint Peter with others, and that they were all known heads. And they did also substitute others, which were known heads also. And ever after by succession, known heads... to succeed of such as, by the blessed sacrament of Holy Orders, were by special consecration, as by a certain spiritual generation, borne inheritable to those rooms. 5 10

This point (make these heretics at the Sacrament of Orders never so many mocks, for hatred that they bear to all good order, and the great hunger that they have to bring all out of order)—yet that this is the very order, the plain Scripture proveth them. And that this hath ever since Christ's own day been the continually used order, as shameless as they be, they cannot for shame say nay. 15

Then conclude I yet again as I began: that since God did ordain known shepherds upon his flock, that is to wit, upon his church, his flock must be a known flock and a known church. For he would as well that the shepherd should know his flock as that the flock should know their shepherd. 20

Now, after their first answer thus avoided, they will come in with the second, and say that Christ did ordain those *known* shepherds for the *known* flock—that is to wit, the known church, which they deny not to be *a* church. But they deny it to be *the* church—that is to wit, the *very* church. For *that* is (will they say) the secret, unknown church whereof only Christ is head, and no man under him but himself, and which church is therefore free and subject unto none other, neither law nor creature, neither in earth, hell, nor heaven, but they be God's good, holy children living in the law of the Spirit and the evangelical freedom to do what they list, for they can list nothing but as the Spirit leadeth them. And therefore hath not all the world any power to make any law to stop them of their holy highway; no, not so much as the breadth of one hair. 25 30 35

To this answer will we ask them whether the flock of sheep whereupon Christ did set the known shepherds was his flock and his church, or not. This can they not deny. For he did not set shepherds upon the devil's flock, but would his shepherds should get them from the infidels that were the devil's flock, and help to make them ones of his flock, and then feed them and govern them, and lead them forth with faith and good works in the way of life, with the food of God's word such as the Spirit hath taught them, were it in writing or unwritten. 5

For as for such as would not come into that flock—Saint Paul said of these that be without, “What have we to do, what sinful life they live?” So that these men, ye see, may not deny but that the flock whereupon our Savior did set the known shepherds were his flock. 10

For if they will stick upon the denying thereof, and will not care for Saint Paul: then shall at the leastwise our Savior himself overthrow such antichrists with the spirit of his own holy mouth with which he said unto Saint Peter, “Peter, if thou love me, feed thou my sheep.” 15

Jn 21:15–17 Lo, Christ called the flock upon which he made Saint Peter shepherd... not the sheep of any other, but his own. 20

Now, since it cannot then be denied by these folk but that the church (that is to say, the flock) upon which our Savior did set those known shepherds was *his* flock (that is to say, *his* church), we must ask these folk that are heretics and enemies to the known church whether Christ have of *his* any more churches in earth than one. If they say yea, then go they further than ever they went before. For ever hitherto they have said that this *word* “church” is diversely taken, and that the name of “church” is used in Scripture sometimes for the common-known multitude of good and bad both together, as it is sometimes for the house to which they resort, and as it is sometimes for every particular church of the same; yet have they ever said that Christ's very church neither is nor never was at any time, nor at any time should be, but one... which was, they always said, the secret, unknown sort of only holy men. 25 30 35

In this they all have ever hitherto agreed, though they all have each varied from other in the farther understanding of those holy

folk, since some call them only elects, and some only such as are good at the time, and so forth, some others in their other fashions.

Also for this have they laid ever against us that the church of Christ *could* not be *known*, but *must* only be *believed*... and have always laid for their part the words of the *Creed*, “sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.” Of which we sing at the Mass also “*unam sanctam et apostolicam ecclesiam*”... so that except these geese go from their old flock and give over all their old gaggling—yea, and all the truth too—they must needs agree that Christ neither hath nor never had, nor shall have, but one church in earth. 5 10

Then if they will confess, as of truth they must, that Christ’s church can be but one, and I have already proved you that the known flock over which he ordained known shepherds be his church: it followeth of necessity not only that his church in earth is a known church, but also, since he hath in earth no more churches but one, it followeth, I say, farther, that his church can be none unknown. 15

Now, if they would avoid this conclusion with some fond shift, and say that Christ hath in earth more churches of his own than one, but he hath in earth no more *very* churches of his own but one, and say therefore that the known Catholic church is his church, but yet, for all that, it is not his *very* church, for his *very* church, that is but one, is only his secret church unknown—when they shall come to this shift between “his church” and “his very church,” as though all were not one, “a horse” and “a very horse,” nor “an ass” and “a very ass”—we shall tell him plain again that he that would shake the water from his feathers with such a shift were even a goose and a very goose. 20 25

For if they will say that Christ hath here two or three catholic or universal churches of his own (for of his universal church speak we, ye wot well, and not of any particular church but as a member of the whole)—the very name of “universal” must needs prove him a fool. For out of his universal church what church of his can there be? 30

And yet if we would wink at that and suffer them to say that Christ hath two catholic churches (that is to wit, two universal churches), the one holy, the other unholy, and that of those two 35

both be his, but the *holy* catholic church is his *very* church, unknown, and the unholy catholic church is his church also, but not his *very* church, and therefore it is known, and that the words of the Creed “one holy catholic church” speaketh of the *very* church of Christ, that is holy and unknown, and that is only the church of Christ that cannot err—remember, by the way, good readers, that against this folly standeth still the first reason that I began with, of the surety of doctrine, which of this holy catholic unknown church cannot be had. 5

But now against that unreasonable reason of theirs—of their two catholic churches of Christ, the one holy, the other unholy, and the holy is the *very* church and unknown—I lay them Saint Paul, which writeth to *known* churches and calleth them “holy” and “faithful” and “callers upon the name of God”... as he doth the church of the Romans, and the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Colossians... and yet in the same “sanctified,” “holy,” “faithful” churches findeth he many unsaintly vices, as I have partly before declared in the confutation of Friar Barnes’ unknown holy church. Whereby it appeareth that known particular churches, the parts of the catholic or universal known church, be those that are holy, and then followeth it that the whole known catholic or universal church that is made of those parts is the church that is holy, though there be members unholy therein, as there must needs be when there be members unholy in the particular churches that are the parts thereof—and yet do those unholy members no more let the whole universal church to be called holy than the unholy members being in that part thereof that was the church of the Romans, or the Corinthians, or the Galatians, or the Ephesians, or the Thessalonians, letted Saint Paul to call these particular churches holy. 10 15 20 25

Moreover, good Christian readers, ye perceive very well that all they do affirm that the catholic holy church which only church, they say, is Christ’s *very* church... is such a spiritual thing of its nature that neither that church nor any member thereof can while it is in this world be known to any other member of the same church. This saith Friar Barnes, this saith Tyndale, this saith Friar Huessgen, and this saith lewd Luther, too—so far forth that he saith that if Saint Peter were alive again, no man could know whether he were of *the* church or not, because that though it were so 30 35

that we could know that he were good, yet we should not, for all that, know whether he should persevere and abide still good or no.

Now say I that of the very church of Christ in earth, *all* the parts must be of one nature, and that as all the parts and members thereof must be, by these men, holy... so must, by these men, all the parts and members thereof be ever in this world unknown to every other member that is in earth a living member of the same church; and then that of the parts and members, the head is not only among all others one, but also above all others the chief. This knoweth every man. Whereupon it followeth, I say, that either had our Savior Christ none holy church in earth here in his own time, while he lived here, or else that himself was neither head nor member thereof, or that at the leastwise he was to none of his very church either head or member known. 5 10

Now, that Christ in his time had no church in earth were a mad thing to say. And that himself was not head of his own church were more than mad to say. And that he was unknown—what that were to say, I shall not need to tell them, but let Saint Augustine say. For *he* saith that all that so say be *accursed*... and then saith a little farther besides, that concludeth all this whole matter. For this is his saying, lo: that like as he is accursed that saith Christ was not known, so is he accursed that saith the church is not known. 15 20

Note

And this have I, good readers, proved again—that the very, catholic, true church of Christ here in earth must be a church known and no church unknown. 25

Consider now, good readers, that they have no color to bear their wily-foolish invention in devising *the* church to be unknown lest the authority of the known church should damn their heresies, saving that they take a color by reason that evil men may seem to be excluded from God, and to be no part of his Mystical Body. And then if that were so, the only *good* men must be *the* church, and since we cannot know which be they, *the* church must needs be unknown. 30

But now, good readers, if it appear plain unto you by the very Scripture itself that the church of Christ is that number of both good and bad together, and that evil men, though they be evil, be yet still in the catholic church as long as they abide in the catholic 35

church, not being put out for any obstinate malice—if this, I say, by plain Scripture appear, then is all the wily folly of these heretics avoided.

Now is this point such as there is nothing in the Scripture neither more often nor more evident than that *the* church is, here in earth, the number not of only good, but of good and bad together. 5

If we should begin in the Old Testament, with the ark of Noah, and the synagogue, which was the figure of Christ's church: every man knoweth, that looketh in the Scripture, that neither they that were in Noah's ship nor they that God gave the Law unto, and to whom he made his promises and gave his assistance, were all continually good, but were both good and bad together. And yet, continually to Christ's time, he gave his continual assistance unto them, as appeareth by all the whole corps of Scripture, wherein we see the miracles that God wrought for them, and the prophets that he sent to them. And finally unto them did he keep the great promise 10 15

Dt 18:15 of the sending of our Savior Christ, of whom Moses prophesied, saying, "A prophet of your nation, and of your brethren, like unto me, shall your Lord God suscite and raise up for you: him shall you hear," etc. 20

But I neither will for so plain a matter overburden the reader in this book with the more manifold than necessary rehearsing of every place that through the Old Testament proveth this matter... nor also of the New Testament neither, but rather, for a sample, will of some few put you in remembrance. 25

Mt 25:1–13 What meaneth our Lord by his parable of the ten virgins, five fools and five wise, abiding and looking for the spouse that should come to the marriage? Meant he not plainly the whole company present here in this world, of which though all bring the lamps of faith, yet some, for sloth, lack the oil of good works, for which their "faith alone," lacking the light of grace, shall find the gate of glory shut against them when the spouse with the wise virgins shall be gone in? 30

Mt 25:14–30, 41–45 What meaneth our Lord, in the selfsame chapter of Saint Matthew, by him that hid his talent in the ground? Meaneth he not of him that employeth not well the gifts that he giveth him here in his church? 35

Where our Savior saith that at the Day of Judgment he shall lay to the damned souls the lack of good works of mercy, is it not plain that he meaneth there of them which while they lived were of his church here? For of those that be not of his church, but be infidels, they without any such discussing of their works be damned, for their infidelity. 5

1 Cor 5:9–13

When Saint Paul said unto the Corinthians, “I have written unto you, in an epistle, that ye should keep no company with fornicators; but I meant not the fornicators of the world... or covetous men, or ravengers, or idolaters. For then—if ye should meddle with none of those—ye must have been fain first to have gone out of the world! But now have I written unto you that ye shall have no meddling with any such... if he that is named a brother among you be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or evil-tongued, or drunkaloo, or ravenous. With such folk do not so much as eat! But as for them that be without, what have we to judge? Be ye the judges of them that be within; for as for those that be without, God shall judge. Take you away the evil man from among yourselves”— 10 15

Here ye see plainly that Saint Paul maketh a clear difference between the fornicators, the covetous men, ravengers, and idolaters, that be abroad in the world, among Jews and paynims, and those that be of the church of Christ and yet fall to the same vices still. 20

1 Cor 11:20–22, 27–32

And when Saint Paul, writing to the Corinthians, showeth them of their evil behavior used at their housel, in the receiving of the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ, for which he showeth them that, by the merciful punishment of God, many fell sick and many died among them, to teach them to amend their faults—to whom did Saint Paul write this? Was not this written unto them that were of *the* church? Which albeit that they were not good nor without great evil, yet for the while that they lived here were, by communion of faith and sacraments, members of Christ’s Mystical Body the Church, in which body every part beareth other, and the strong supporteth and strengtheneth the feebler, and the whole the sick, according to the 25 30 35

Rom 15:1

counsel of Saint Paul, “We that are stronger must bear and sustain the infirmity of them that are feeble and sick.”

Mt 18:15–18 Our Savior also saith, “If thy brother offend thee, thou shouldst first warn him secretly. And if that cannot serve, then before witnesses. And if he amend not thereby neither: then,” saith our Savior, “tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, then let him be taken as a paynim and a publican.” And by and by our Lord saith, “I tell you truth: Whatsoever thing ye bind upon earth shall be bound in heavens, and whatsoever ye loose in earth shall be loosed in heavens.” 5

Now, good readers, here ye see that there be evil men in “the church,” that do such things as if they amend not... be to be put out of “the church,” and to be accounted as paynims. For here could be no binding nor loosing in “the church” if there were no sin in “the church.” For the binding and loosing *is* of such things, as our Savior saith in the twentieth chapter of Saint John: “Of whom that ye shall remit, *Jn 20:23* the sins be remitted them, and of whom ye shall retain, the sins be retained.” 10

So that ye may see that in “the church” are sins remitted, which could not be if there were no sinners in it.

Now, if these slippery serpents will say (as Tyndale already saith) that this is meant but at the first coming in of “the church” by penance and Baptism, and that after the first receiving into “the church,” they that deadly sin again be not of “the church” till they be good again (as Barnes saith); or that they never were of “the church,” for if they had been, they could not fall to deadly sin (as Tyndale *2 Sm 11:2–12:14; 1 Chr 21:8* saith): we lay against these foolish errors the holy prophet David, an elect of God, and that yet after deadly sinned and yet returned to God again. 15

2 Chr 33:1–20 We lay Manasseh, which after his great abominable deeds did penance and attained mercy. 20

Thirdly, we lay the blessed apostle and prince of apostles Saint *Lk 22:54–62* Peter, which deadly denied his Master, and at his bitter weeping had his sin forgiven him. 25

And as we may lay of the examples a great heap of them that in God’s church have grievously sinned, both in the synagogue and in the church of Christ since: so may we lay you a great heap of authorities and plain texts of the Scripture by which every man 30

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may see that *the* church is a congregation of both good and bad together.

But here wot I well that these heretics perceive this point so well themselves for true that they cannot but confess it.

But what say they then thereto? “We deny not,” say they, “but there is a church of good and bad together.” This saith Tyndale; this saith Barnes; this say they all. This is so plain that they be all fain to tell the same tale themselves. But how do they answer it then? They answer it thus: They say that this is not the church that they speak of. But then we ask them again: the church that they speak of or must speak of—is it any other but the church of Christ here in earth? And hath Christ any more churches here in earth than one? If he have no more but one (as indeed he hath not), and then that—that church of good and bad together—be Christ’s church, then is it the church that they must speak of, or else must they hold their tongues.

Now, that the company of good and bad together is Christ’s church appeareth by all the places of Scripture alleged before, as ye may clearly perceive if ye well consider them and the circumstances. Ye shall also well see it by this: that in many of those places in which either our Savior himself or his apostles, or the old prophets in the Old Testament, do speak of that same company in which be both the good and bad... do not let, for all the bad folk that be in it, to call that same company and congregation good and holy. For the synagogue our Lord himself by the mouth of Moses called holy, saying, “Thou art a people holy unto thy Lord God.” And as for the church of Christ being mingled of both good and bad, in all the parable in which he speaketh of that mingling... calleth it either his flour, as Saint John the Baptist calleth it in the third chapter of Matthew, where Saint John speaketh of Christ, saying that “he hath his fan in his hand, and shall make clean his flour, and the wheat he shall gather into the garners, and the chaff and straw he shall burn up with inextinguishable fire”—here ye may see, good Christian readers, that Saint John calleth the church that is here in earth Christ’s “flour”; for only

in *the* church is the wheat mingled with the straw, and out of *the* church is there no wheat, but straw only.

Mt 25:1–13 Now, in the parable of the ten virgins, five wise and five foolish... and also in the parable of our Savior, in the thirteenth chapter of Saint Matthew, where our Savior likeneth *the* church unto “a net cast into the sea, that gathered both good fish and bad”... and also in the other parable, in which our Savior likeneth his church unto a field in which himself sowed good corn and maketh good men, and the devil doth after sow cockle, or darnel, and maketh evil men (as our Savior, his own mouth, expoundeth it)—in all these parables our Savior calleth his church mingled of good and bad “the kingdom of heaven”; and by what more holy name can he call it? 5

So that thus ye may see, good Christian readers, that the church mingled of both good and bad *is* the holy church... except Christ’s church in his own days was not holy, because of one Judas. And surely, when the church of our Savior’s own apostles was not all good, but had a false traitor in it, that man may seem stark mad that affirmeth now that Christ’s church of so many a thousand thousand must needs be all pure and good. 10

And therefore, as I say, in Christ’s flour there shall ever be in this world both corn and chaff and straw, and in Christ’s net in the sea of this world there shall never lack bad fish among the good, and in Christ’s field here upon earth there shall never lack cockle among the corn. And yet shall it still be Christ’s *holy* church, and his *holy* field—so holy that he calleth it “the kingdom of heaven.” For be there never so much cockle in that field, yet doth God continually out of that field, with his fan, cleanse from the cockle good corn, and sendeth it pure and clean unto heaven, and in that field like as the devil turneth the corn into cockle, so God turneth again much cockle into corn. And this marvelous strange turning never ceaseth, nor never shall, while this world endureth. 15

Cyprian, Book 3, Epistle 3, to Maximus And therefore, as holy Saint Cyprian saith, “if we see cockle in the Church, yet should neither our faith nor our charity be letted or hindered thereby, so that because we see cockle in the Church 20

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we would ourselves therefore go from the Church. Let us no more but labor that we may be corn ourselves, that when the corn shall be laid up in the garners of God, we may of our works and labor receive the fruit.” The Apostle saith in his epistle that “in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but there are vessels also of wood of tree, and of earth, and some be occupied in honorable business, and some in dishonest and vile; let us therefore endeavor ourselves, and labor in all that we may, that we may be made a vessel of gold or silver.” And so, good Christian readers, ye see that the church of Christ is a company mixed of good and bad... and that mixed company, these heretics cannot say but that it is a known church. And therefore, whatsoever they babble, it plainly appeareth that the church of Christ is a church known.

2 Tm 2:20–21 Moreover, when the Apostle wrote to put that incestuous person “out of the church” which defiled his own father’s bed as did Reuben and Absalom—out of what church did the Apostle bid them put him? Was it not out of the church of Christ? What were he the worse else for the putting out? And was it out of any unknown church? And when he commanded to receive the man after his penance “into the church” again, into what church commanded he to receive him? Was it not into the church of Christ? What were he the better else for the receiving? And was it an unknown church that he was received into? If these folk will say that he was put out of an unknown church, and received into an unknown church again: then shall they fare much like as if they would set up a gate in the midst of New Market Heath, and then go through to and fro, and say they go in and out, where no man could tell when they were within and when they were without... but if the door were devised for them with three trees for the nonce, of a plain, homely fashion, and with a string by the half keep them plumb, right under the hance... tied strait up for swerving.

1 Cor 5:1–5 Saint Paul saith that God hath
Gn 35:22 ordained in his church diverse manner of
2 Sm 16:22 orders: first, apostles; secondly, prophets;
thirdly, doctors; and then powers, and then the gifts of

healing, help and relief, governances, the diverse kinds of
1 Cor 14:1–26 languages, and interpretations of the
 Scripture. Now seeth every man well
 enough that these orders be not in unknown churches, for these be
 things well known and these persons well known by them, and 5
 God, by this order of these great gifts, specially setteth them out to
 the show. Whereupon it followeth that the church of Christ must be a
 known church. Saint Paul saith also, “Let two or three of the prophets
1 Cor 14:29 speak, and let the remnant judge.”
 Now, these “remnant” that shall judge— 10
 shall they be known folk, or unknown? And he also that speaketh, of
 whose word they shall judge—shall he be known, or unknown? If
 both he that speaketh and all the remnant that judge upon him
 must needs be known, and no man doubteth but that the Apostle
 there speaketh of the church of Christ, what question is there, then, but 15
 that Saint Paul showeth us well that the church of Christ must be a
 church known?
1 Cor 6:1–8 When Saint Paul also biddeth the
 Corinthians that, rather than they
 should sue before paynim judges, they should appoint for judges of 20
 their own even such as were “contemptible in the church,” he meant
 not that an unknown company should appoint unknown judges!
 And therefore it appeareth plainly that Saint Paul’s mind was far
 from these men’s imagination which now would have the church
 of Christ unknown. 25
1 Cor 11:22 When Saint Paul also saith unto the
 Corinthians, “Do ye condemn the church
 of God, and make them ashamed that have not of their own?”—no man
 doubteth but that he there calleth “the church” the whole known
 company. 30
1 Cor 11:2–16 Also, where he giveth certain orders to
 be observed in “the church” especially at
 the Divine Service—as that men should be bareheaded and women
 cover their heads, and some such other things—that blessed apostle
 well foresaw that there would contentious heretics arise, and bring 35
 all such good ceremonies in debate and question, and labor to have
 them set at light. And therefore, to put all such heretics to silence

as would with babbling put down the good, virtuous ceremonies of the Church, he said, “If any man will be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the church of God.”

Now is it plain here, by Saint Paul, that he meaneth not an unknown church.

Mt 18:15–17

If they regard not Saint Paul, yet at the leastwise let them consider, then, when our Savior commanded himself that, upon him that would neither amend by secret warning nor by warning before two or three witnesses, we should finally complain “unto the church”—he meant not, pardie, that they should complain unto an unknown church, but either he meant that men should go to an openly known church to complain... a church that they might soon find and have recourse unto... or else he mocked his hearers, if for their uttermost remedy he would send them to a church unknown... such one as they should never find, or if they hit it by hap, could not yet wit whether it were it or no.

What wretch could thus think of Christ, which is the very Way and Truth? For by that means, the way of Christ—yea, that way that is

Jn 14:6

very Christ himself—should not set us in the right way, but lead us *out* of the way and make us walk about in a maze, where we should never find the way out, if he would bid us seek out the church of elects, or the church of only good folk. For this lieth hidden in the heart, and

1 Sm 16:7

Ecc 9:1

as our Lord said to Samuel, “man seeth those things that appear, but God it is that looketh into the heart.” And also, “No man knoweth whether he be worthy love or hatred.”

1 Cor 4:4

Saint Paul also saith, “I know nothing in my conscience, but yet by that am I not justified.” Now, if no man knoweth this of himself, whether he be good or no: much less knoweth he this of another man, of whom in such secret things we must needs leave the judgment unto God, as Saint Paul in the same place warneth us, and saith, “Do not ye,

1 Cor 4:5

therefore, judge before the time; until our Lord come, which shall illumine the hidden

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and strife; wrath, contentions, seditions, heresies, envy, manslaughter, drunkenness, banquetings.”

Lo, Saint Paul, good Christian readers, saith that heresies be such openly known things as is adultery, fornication, or idolatry. And whereby be the heresies so open? Not always by plain, open Scripture; 5
for by the Scripture, divers of the great false errors—though the truth be by the Scripture, when it is thoroughly considered, the stronger, yet is it at the leastwise in the meanwhile disputable and seemeth doubtful. How be, then, the heresies so manifestly known 10
for false as manslaughter is known for sin? Surely because each of those heresies is a point held against the common-known Catholic faith; that is to wit, against the faith of the common-known Catholic church. For evermore from the beginning, as soon as any man began to hold an opinion against anything that the whole known catholic church believed... forthwith it was thereby perceived, 15
known, and reprov'd for a heresy. And he that first brought it up, and those that after fell to him, were, if they amended not upon charitable warning, put out of the catholic church as Lucifer and his partakers were put out of heaven, according to the counsel of Saint Paul, that saith, “That man that is a heretic, after once or twice 20
Ti 3:10–11 warning eschew him, knowing surely that
1 Cor 5:13 the man is perverted”; and as he saith also, in another place, “Put away the evil man from you.” And when he is put away by any particular church, 25
he is put quite out of all the whole catholic or universal church. For not only every particular congregation or company, but also every particular *person* of the catholic church is called Catholic because all the particular members together make but one catholic or universal church. And therefore, like as he that is accused lawfully 30
out of a particular church is accused out of the whole catholic church, because that same particular church doth it as a part and as the minister of the whole catholic church in that it lawfully doth: so the man that is offended by his brother’s false doctrine or other evil behavior, and is for his obstinate heart driven according to the bidding of Christ to “complain to the church,” and that “if he then do 35

Mt 18:15–17 not hear and obey the church,” he shall
 be taken not as a “paynim” only, but also as
 a very “publican”—that is to say, he shall be put out of “the church” as one of
 the worst kind of paynims. For some paynim that lacketh the right faith
 hath yet honest worldly conditions; but he that will not be reformed by 5
 “the church,” Christ biddeth that he shall be voided “the church”... and reputed
 and taken of “the church” not only as a faithless fellow, but also as a
 very false, cankered knave, that would break not only all religion
 but also all honest order—as do these friars that wed nuns. This man,
 I say, that so complaineth to the particular church, complaineth to 10
 the catholic church. For the officers of the particular church be
 officers of the catholic church, since every particular church—and
 every particular *person*, also—of the catholic church is, as I have
 told you, for the entire unity of the whole catholic church, called
 Catholic. 15
 And therefore Friar Barnes’ solution given unto that place of the
 Gospel, which I have before (in mine Eighth Book) answered and
 avoided, is not worth a rush. Now, that every particular faithful
 person of the catholic church, though this word “catholic” signifieth
 universal, is yet called Catholic, ye perceive by the very common 20
 manner of every man’s talking, wherein every man saith of a heretic,
 “This man is no Catholic man.” And of him in whom they
 perceive, by his faithful communication or his good, virtuous, Christian
 works, a good zeal to the catholic faith and doctrine, they say,
 “This is a good Catholic man.” But yet, because ye shall the more surely 25
 see that this manner of speaking is neither of late newly begun nor
 yet arisen of naught, but risen upon the entire unity of the whole
 catholic church, and that all those that are accursed lawfully out of
 any church are accursed out of the whole catholic church; and that ye
 may also perceive that the *very* Catholic Church hath ever been a 30
 true, known church against all heretics, as all the sects of heretics
 have been ever known false churches, departed and
 put out of it and making themselves parties against it: all the old holy
 writers in every age do fully and plainly declare it.
 For Saint Augustine saith, in his book against the Manichaeans, that 35
 the thing which (among other things) held him in the common-known
 church from all the sects of heretics was even the very

name of Catholic, by which name the very, right-faithful, Christian church was universally known from all the false professed “faith” of faithless christened heretics.

We may perceive also by old authentic writers that at such time as some heresies were so strong and mighty that they had gotten into their sects the strength of great princes of Christendom, and corrupted also no little part of the clergy, and therewith were waxen so fierce and so malicious that they caused evil, perverted princes to drive the good-faithful bishops out of their bishoprics, and the false heretics intruded by force and violence into their places, and many virtuous people of the right faith were by the heretics’ means put to great trouble, and by all the means that possibly could be devised was it labored to suppress the very faith, and bring up the false heresies instead: yet could they never, when they had all done, find the means but that evermore this word “Catholic” was the common-known word running in every man’s mouth, that made the difference between the true church and theirs, and between every person of the true church and every person of their ungracious sect, in so far forth that a good, holy, virtuous man of the true, catholic church, if he met with another Christian man whom he had not lately seen, lest he might hap unawares to meddle with any heretic of those whose whole sect was accursed, would, ere he meddled with him, demand and ask him first, “Art thou a Catholic man?” By which confessed... was included the detesting of all manner kinds of heresy. And this question whether he were Catholic... would a very holy, virtuous man not let to ask of him whom he had heard or known, before such heresies began, to have been imprisoned by paynims, and to have suffered much martyrdom for Christ’s sake. For yet if he should, for all that, have stiffly swerved from any point of the catholic faith that the catholic church believed, he would have esteemed all his martyrdom so little that he would, according to the counsel of Saint John, not so much as have vouchsafed to bid him once good morrow.

Now, when that one holy man asked another, “Art thou Catholic?”—

what meant he by that question? Did he, trow you, mean to have him tell him whether he were one of God's eternal elects certainly predestinated to glory (which only sort is, saith Tyndale, the catholic church)? Or whether he were a good, holy, virtuous man, so pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle, that Saint Peter might find no fault in him (which only sort is, saith Barnes, the catholic church)? I suppose nay, neither nother. For if he had asked him these two questions, he would have answered unto the first... that he hoped yea, but whether he so were or not, God could tell and not he. 5

And unto the second I dare well say he would not have failed full shortly to say nay. But when that unto the question asked him whether he were "Catholic" or not, he would answer so boldly yea... he wist well that by that word was no more meant but whether he were of the catholic church, not fallen therefrom, nor put out thereof for any notable crime or any manner schism or heresy. For whether he were in living a good man or an evil, the other had not such cause to be by and by so curious and inquisitive as at the first meeting to demand him forthwith the question. But when the heresies were so rife, lest he should negligently fall in fellowship of some man that were excommunicated, he thought himself bound in that point to be circumspect. So that ye may, good Christian readers, well and clearly see that though the catholic church be holy, yet never holy man took it as these heretics take it: that every catholic man or woman—that is to wit, every member of the catholic church—is holy in holy living, so that for lack of knowledge who be they, the catholic church should be a church unknown. 10 15 20 25

For whereas all the old holy doctors and saints of every age write so fully and so wholly, and so consonantly together, against all kinds of schisms and heresies, and clearly declare that they which in such wise depart out of the "holy, catholic church" can never have remission of their sins, nor never can be saved, but if they return unto the "catholic church" again: every child may soon see that all those holy saints call the "holy, catholic church" of Christ, in only which the truth of doctrine and holiness of grace is had, no other church but the common-known catholic church out of which all the known several scattered sects of heretics and schismatics do depart. 30 35

Wherefore, since I have, good Christian readers, well and plainly proved you—by reason, by Scripture, and by old holy saints, interpreters of the Scripture—that the *very* "catholic church" of Christ

is and must needs be a known church, and cannot be hidden nor
Jn 14:6 unknown, if our Savior say truth himself...
 which is himself the Truth, and
 therefore cannot say but truth... and he saith, as ye wot well, of his
Mt 5:14 own very church, "That city cannot be 5
 hidden that is set upon a hill," meaning that
 his own city, the church first and principally set upon himself,
 cannot be but known: I will with this finish the first part, and
 now make you plain the second; that is to wit, that none other 10
 church in earth is Christ's church but only this common-known
 catholic church of ours. The proof of which second part not only
 followeth, but also confirmeth, ye wot well, the first, since everything
 that proveth Christ's church to be *this* known church proveth it
 also to be *a* known church. For though it might be *a* known 15
 church and yet not *this* known church, but some other known
 church than this—yet can it by no means be *this* known
 church but if it be *a* known church.

The Second Point: that is to
 wit, that the very church of
 Christ here in earth is 20
 this common-known
 church of
 ours

To the first proof of this will I first presuppose the thing that
 is indeed true: that is to wit, that I have already proved that the very 25
 church is a church known. And then will I join thereto the confession
 of our adversaries the heretics, which, affirming that the very
 church cannot be known, do thereby, ye wot well, affirm that none
 of all *their* known churches is the very church, nor none other, besides
 ours. For when they deny our known church and all others, they 30
 deny, ye wot well, *all* others. Then say I to them thus: "The very church
is a known church. But ye confess your own selves it is none of all
 your known churches, nor any other known church that might be
 assigned. Ergo, but if ye void well that it is a known church (which
 is impossible for you), ye be driven either to confess that the very 35

church is this known church of ours... or else to confess, at the leastwise, that standing still in your old froward heresy, ye go clearly about to leave Christ here in earth no very church at all. Wherein ye be then convicted of the very worst error, and the most froward folly, that any frantic heretic could be brought unto. For this were both against the plain, open Scripture and against your own reason, and against your own clear agreement evermore granted before.” But now, for the proof that this common-known Catholic church is the very church (which proveth, as I say, the first point also: that the very church is a known church), I shall here again summarily resume those two reasons which I have already so defended against Tyndale that every child may perceive them for clear. Of which two the first is an argument often made by Saint Cyprian, the effect whereof is this: The very church of Christ must needs be that church that had its beginning with Christ and his apostles, and hath been kept and continued, by continual succession, from that beginning, before all heresies, and which church is the tree and the very stock... out of which and from which all the sects of heresies be sprung, and as withered, blasted branches be fallen off; but the church continued from the beginning, out of which all sects of heretics be come, and from which they be fallen, is the common-known Catholic church; ergo, the common-known Catholic church is the very, true church of Christ.

This argument hath Tyndale sore labored to assoil, as I have showed you in my Sixth Book. Whereby ye may perceive that the effect of all his solution shortly standeth in this: that whereas I say that the church that was before all the sects of heretics, and out of which all they be come, is the very church... he denieth not that directly, nor he denieth not—but expressly confesseth!—that this common-known Catholic church is, by continual succession, the same church that was begun by Christ and by his apostles, nor he denieth not that all the sects of heretics have gone out of the same church; but he denieth that all that go out of the same church be heretics. For he saith that there may go out of the same church not only false heretics, for heresy, but also true-faithful folk, for the true faith. But against this solution of Tyndale standeth not only Saint Cyprian but also *all* the holy doctors and saints, both new and old, unto our

own days, and they lay against Tyndale the words of Saint John, that
1 Jn 2:19 saith of the heretics departing out of the
Church, “They be gone out of us, but they
were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would have abided
with us.” By which words Saint John showeth not only that heretics 5
go out of the Church (which thing Tyndale confesseth), but also that all
they which go out of the Church be not of *the* church—which thing
Tyndale denieth.

But, now, as for Saint Cyprian and all the remnant, Saint John the
Evangelist and all... Tyndale weeneth to shake off with a proper invention, 10
as it seemeth to himself, of a similitude between the synagogue of the
Jews and the church of Christ. For he saith that like as Christ and
his apostles departed out of the church of the Jews because the
doctrine thereof was then corrupted and waxen false, and therefore
by their departing out thereof were not heretics, but were themselves 15
become the very church: so, saith Tyndale, since this common-known
universal church of Christ hath been this eight hundred years corrupted,
and the doctrine thereof all this while false, “we,” saith he,
“that in the time of such corruption and falsehood do depart out thereof,
be not heretics, but we be the very church, because we go from the 20
church of them that now be heretics.”

Now, good readers, in what wise I have avoided at length, and
refuted clearly, this proper, feat invention and evasion of Tyndale, ye
may see before, in my Sixth Book. But this shall I shortly say besides,
for this present: that by this manner of answer, Tyndale maketh God a 25
Mt 28:20 breaker of the promises which he hath
Jn 16:13 made unto his church in Scripture—to be
therewith all days unto the end of the
world, assistant himself, and with himself his Holy Spirit sent by himself
to teach his church and to lead it into every truth. This promise 30
had he, by Tyndale’s tale, broken, if he had suffered, this eight
hundred years, that doctrine of his church to be false, and fallen into so
many damnable errors as Tyndale layeth to our charge. And
therefore I ween that every wise man will think that it were no
damnable error to believe that rather Tyndale lieth than that our 35
Savior would so far break his promise that he hath so faithfully made.

Moreover, since everything must needs have a beginning; and that Tyndale cannot (I trow) to this say nay himself, but that though the Jews did use to suffer all their dissonant and contrary-believing sects to dwell and abide together... yet the guise of Christ's church hath ever been, from the beginning to this present time, to suffer therein no such confusion of contrary beliefs in the necessary points of doctrine, to the destruction of souls, but evermore those that first began them, the Church hath put them out shortly, and they have gotten themselves out of the Church and departed, having no power to abide therein, but as soon as the devil had once entered into them by their heresies, they ran out openly from the church of Christ into the church of hell (as the hogs, after the legion of devils entered once in unto them, had none hold of themselves, but ran headlong into the sea): now, being the perpetual custom of the Catholic Church from the beginning, according to the bidding of Saint Paul, "Let there be no schisms among you, but all you say one thing," and also, "If there be a heretic, then after once or twice warning, eschew him"—and mark that Saint Paul saith not, "*dispute* with him," but "*warn* him, and after eschew him if he leave not his heresy." For though he would, as Saint Peter biddeth, that every man should be able to give a reason of his faith and hope unto every man that would ask him, and that the curate should be ready to teach the ignorant that is yet untaught: yet those that would against the well-known, common-believed points of the Church begin a contrary doctrine, he would they should be reprov'd in the matter, and their folly and falsehood by all manner means openly declared and proved in their faces, to their rebuke and shame, but not in such wise reasoned and disputed with them as it should be granted to be a thing doubtful and debatable and yet uncertain till it be better considered, but that in such things they should be warned and reprov'd and avoided, and no man after vouchsafe, but if they amended, to bid them once Godspeed. Therefore, as I began to say, this being from the beginning of the Church the perpetual guise and custom, and that custom grounded upon the scripture of God: ye see well, good readers, that the Church *could not* this eight hundred years together be fallen into such damnable heresies. For you perceive well that everything must needs have a beginning, and this thing could

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have none. For if these things which the Church now believeth, and, as Tyndale saith, this eight hundred years hath believed, concerning purgatory, and holy days, and fasting days, and praying to saints, and going in pilgrimages, and believing in the Sacrament of the Altar, and believing that it were not lawful for monks and friars and nuns once vowing chastity afterward to wed together... and many such other like—if these heretics' things, I say, be heresies, and all they that have believed thus all this eight hundred years... then not only they that first began them, and they that after followed them therein, would have departed out of the Church, as all other heretics ever did, and as these heretics do now, but also the Church, that was good and true before these heresies began, would, ye wot well, have condemned and avoided for heretics, eight hundred years ago, those persons that began them first... and so forth, ever after, all such as would raise them again... as they did, and ever have done, the Arians and every other sect of heretics since. And so could, ye wot well, the heretics never have obtained over the good church so far as to *be* “the church,” or to be taken for “the church,” and eight hundred years together, continually, to succeed “the church”... and the very church, that was before, suffered to vanish away, as it were if Tyndale told us true. For other succession hath it not than only *this* church... but if all the sects together do succeed and continue it which be gone out thereof, of all which sects each contrarieth other. For no one sect of them all do these folk assign the successor of that old church. 5 10 15 20 25

Also, these sects resuscitate and raise up again divers of the same heresies which the old church of nine hundred years ago, and of a thousand years ago, condemned. And therefore they cannot be the successor of the old church, but be gone as well out of that as out of the church of this eight hundred years last past, out of which they confess themselves gone. 30

Finally, all the whole Church from the beginning, this fifteen hundred years, hath believed that good works wrought in faith, hope, and charity shall be rewarded in heaven, and that it is well done to go in pilgrimages, and to pray to saints, and to pray for all Christian souls, and that the prayer and almsdeed of good Works which shall be rewarded in heaven 35
Christian folk here doth help to relieve the souls in the pains of

purgatory; and that the very Blessed Body and Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that therefore it is there to be honored; and that no person professing and vowing chastity may for his pleasure lawfully break his vow and wed; and so forth, of many such other things like. These things hath, I say...

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There can be no more found of
this Ninth Book written by
Sir Thomas
More.